

Dom. 1413

An. Regni. 1.



Henrie the fift, prince of Wales, sonne and heire to Henrie the fourth.



Henrie prince of Wales,
son and heire to H. Henrie
the fourth, boine in Wales
at Spennymouth on the river
of Wye, after his father was
departed toke upon him the
regiment of this realme of
England, the twentieth of
March, the morrow after

proclaimed king, by the name of Henrie the fift, in
the yeare of the world 5375, after the birth of our sa-
viour, by our account 1413, the third of the emperor
Sigismund: the thre and thirtieth of Charles the first
French king, and in the seventh yeare of gover-
nance in Scotland under Robert brother to him that
(before entrance into his kingdome 1390) had John
to name, which by deuisse and order of the states was
changed into Robert the third, who at Kotsaie (a
towne in the Island of Got, 1406) deceased by occa-
sion thus. As upon hope in this governo; to himselfe
conceiued how to come to the crowne; he at the ca-
stell of Falkland, latelie had samisht his cosine Da-
uid the kings elder sonne and heire (a dissolute yong
prince) yet to his fathers exceeding sorrow, at whose
deceasse the father verie carefull, and casting for the
safegard of James his yonger son and heire, from
Walle the rocke in a well appointed ship, under charge
of Henrie Saintcleere earle of Wikenie, into
France to his old friend king Charles for good educa-
tion and safetie this yong prince he sent: who in the
course, whether for tempest or tendernes of stomach,
toke land in Poweshire at Flamborough; that after
by wisdom and good consideration of the king and
his counsell was thought verie necessarie here to be
retained. But by the sudden newes of this state, the
father (at supper as he sat) so stroken at hart that well
nie straight had he fallen doونه dead, yet boine into
his chamber, where for greafe and pine within thre
daies next he deceased. The yong king James his
sonne after an eightene peares state, in which time
he had bene well trained in princehood, at last with
right honorable marriage at saint Marie Queries
unto Jane daughter to the earle of Summerset, co-
sine unto Henrie the first then king, and with manie
other high gratuities here beside was sent and set in
his rule and kingdome at home.

Such great hope, and god expectation was had of
this mans fortunate successe to follow; that within
thre daies after his fathers deceasse, diuerse noble
men and honorable personages did to him homage,
and swore to him due obedience, which had not bene
sene done to any of his predecessors kings of this
realme, till they had bene possessed of the crowne.
He was crowned the ninth of April being Passion
sundae, which was a soze, rugged, and tempestuous
day, with wind, snow and flet, that men greatlie
maruelled thereat, making diuerse interpretations
what the same might signifie. But this king euen at

first appointing with himselfe, to shew that in his
person princelie honours should change publike man-
ners, he determined to put on him the shape of a
new man. For whereas aforesaid he had made him-
selfe a companion unto maistrilie mates of dissolute
order and life, he now banished them all from his pre-
sence (but not unrewarded, or else unpreferrd) in bi-
tting them upon a great paine; not once to approach,
lodge, or sojourne within ten miles of his court or
presence: and in their places he chose men of gran-
tie, wit, and high policie, by whose wise counsell he
might at all times rule to his honour and dignitie,
calling to mind how once to his offense of the king
his father, he had with his fist striken the chiefe iustice
for sending one of his minions (upon desert) to pri-
son, when the iustice stoutlie commanded himselfe al-
so streit to ward, & he (then prince) obeyed. The king
after expelled him out of his princelie counsell, banisht
him the court, and made the duke of Clarence (his
yonger brother) president of counsell in his stead.
This reformation in the new king Christ. Okl. hath
reported, fullie consenting with this. For saith he,

*Ille inter iuuenes paulo lasciuior ante,
Defuncto genitore grauis constansq; repente,
Moribus ablegat corruptis regis ab aula
Assuetos sacros, & nugatoribus acrem
Panem (si quisquam sua tella reniserit) addit,
Atq; ita militatus facit omnia principe digna,
Ingenuo magno post consultoribus usus, &c.*

In Angl. prgl.
sub Hen. 5.

But now that the king was once placed in the ro-
all seat of the realme, he vertuously considering in
his mind, that all godnesse cometh of God, deter-
mined to begin with some thing acceptable to his di-
uine maiestie, and therefore commanded the cleargie
sincerelie and trulie to preach the word of God, and to
line accordingly, that they might be the lanternes of
light to the temporallie, as their profession required.
The laie men he willed to serue God, and obeie their
prince, prohibiting them about all things breach of
matrimonte, custome in swearing; and namelie, wil-
full perurie. Beside this, he elected the best learned
men in the lawes of the realme, to the offices of iu-
stice; and men of good liuing, he preferred to high de-
grees and authoritie. Immediatlie after Easter he
called a parliament, in which diuerse good statutes, and
wholesome ordinances, for the preservation and ad-
uancement of the common wealth were deuised and
established. On Trinitie sundae were the solemn
reques done at Canturburie for his father, the
king himselfe being present thereat.

About the same time, at the speciall instance of the
king, in a conuocation of the cleargie holden at
Wales in London, it was ordeined, that saint Ge-
orges daie should be celebrate and kept as a dou-
ble feast. The archbishop of Canturburie meant to
haue honored saint Dunstanes daie with like reue-
rence, but it toke not effect. When the king had fet-
led things much to his purpose, he caused the bodie of
king

3 parliament.

Thom. Walsin.
The funerals
of king Hen-
rie the fourth
kept at Cant-
urburie.

S. Georges
day made a
double feast.

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Abr. Pl. out
Polychron.

king Richard to be removed with all funerall dignitie convenient for his estate, from Langley to Westminster, where he was honorable interred with quene Anne his first wife, in a solempne tombe erected and set up at the charges of this king. ¶ Polychronicon saith, that after the bodie of the dead king was taken up out of the earth, this new king happily tendering the magnificence of a prince, and abhorring obscure buriall, caused the same to be conveyed to Westminster in a rotall seat (or chaire of estate) covered all over with blacke velvet, adorned with banners of divers armes round about. All the hostles likewise (saith this author) were appareled with blacke, and bare sundrie lutes of armes. Many other solemnities were had at his interment, according to the qualite of the age wherein he lived and died.

Also in this first yere of this kings reigne, sir John Blacwell, which by his wife was called lord Cobham, a valiant capteine and a hardie gentleman, was accused to the archbishop of Canturburie of certeine points of heresie, who knowing him to be highlie in the kings favour, declared to his highnesse the whole accusation. The king first having compassion of the noble man, requited the prelates, that if he were a strayed sheepe, rather by gentleness than by rigour to reduce him to the fold. And after this, he himselfe sent for him, and right earnestlie exhorted him, and lovinglie admonished him to reconcile himselfe to God and to his lawes. The lord Cobham not onelie thanked him for his most favourable clemencie, but also declared first to him by mouth, and afterwards by writing, the foundation of his faith, and the ground of his beleefe, affirming his grace to be his supream head and competent iudge, and none other person offering an hundred knights and squiers to come to his purgation, or else to fight in open lists in defense of his iust cause.

The king understanding and persuaded by his counsell, that by order of the lawes of his realme, such accusations touching matters of faith ought to be tried by his spirituall prelates, sent him to the Tower of London, there to abide the determination of the clergie, according to the statutes in that case provided, after which time a solempne session was appointed in the cathedra church of saint Paule, upon the thye and twentieth day of September, and another the five and twentieth daie of the same moneth, in the hall of the Blakke friers at London, in which places the said lord was examined, apposed, and finally heard, and in conclusion by the archbishop of Canturburie denounced an heretike, & remitted againe to the Tower of London, from which place, either by helpe of friends, or favour of keepers, he privilie escaped and came into Wales, where he remained for a season.

After this, the king keeping his Christmasse at his manor of Eltham, was advertised, that sir Roger Aston knight, a man of great wit and possessions, John Wotton esquier, John Weuerlie priest, and a great number of other were assembled in armour against the king, his brethren, the clergie and realme. These newes came to the king, on the twelfth daie, in Westminster, whereupon understanding that they were in a place called Ficket field beside London, on the backe side of saint Giles, he straight got him to his palace at Westminster, in as secret wise as he might, and there calling to him certeine bands of armed men, he repared into saint Giles fields, nere to the said place (where he understood they should fullie meet about midnight) and so handled the matter, that he took some, and slew some, such as stood with his pleasure. The captives of their aske mentioned, being apprehended, were brought to the kings presence, and to him declared the causes of their commotion

rising, accusing a great number of their complices.

The king vied one policie, which much served to the discomfiting of the adversaries (as Thom. Walsingham saith) which was this: he gave order, that all the gates of London should be strictly kept and garded, so as none should come in or out, but such as were knownen to go to the king. Whereby came it to passe, that the chiefest succour appointed to come to the captives of the rebels, was by that meanes cut off, where otherwise suerlie (had it not bene thus prevented and staied) there had issued forth of London to have joined with them, to the number (as it was thought) of fiftie thousand persons, one and other, servants, prentises, and citizens, confederate with them that were thus assembled in Ficket field. Divers also that came from sundrie parts of the realme, hasting towards the place, to be there at their appointed time, chanced to light among the kings men, who being taken and demanded whether they went with such speed, answered, they came to meet with their capteine the lord Cobham.

But whether he came thither at all, or made shift for himselfe to get away, it doth not appeare; for he could not be heard of at that time (as Thomas Walsingham confesseth) although the king by proclamation promised a thousand marks to him that could bring him forth, with great liberties to the cities or townes that would discover where he was. By this it maie appeare, how greatlie he was beloved, that there could not one be found, that for so great a reward would bring him to light. Among other that were taken was one William Spurlie, who dwelt in Dunsfable, a man of great wealth, and by his occupation a brewer, an earnest maintainer of the lord Cobhams opinions, and (as the sayde ran) in hope to be highlie advanced by him if their purposed deule had taken place, apparant by this; that he had two horses trapped with guilt harness led after him, and in his bosome a paire of gilt spurs (as it was deemed) prepared for himselfe to weare, looking to be made knight by the lord Cobhams hands at that present time. But when he saw how their purpose quailed, he withdrew into the citie with great feare to hide himselfe, howbeit he was perceived, taken, and finally executed among others.

To conclude, so manie persons hereupon were apprehended, that all the prisons in and about London were full, the chiefes of them were condemned by the clergie of heresie, and attainted of high treason in the Guildhall of London, and adjudged for that offense to be hanged and hanged, and for heresie to be consumed with fire, gallowses and all, which judgement was executed the same moneth, on the said sir Roger Aston, and eight and twentieth others. ¶ Some saie, that the occasion of their death was onelie for the conveying of the lord Cobham out of prison. Others write, that it was both for treason and heresie, and so it appeareth by the record. Certeine affirme, that it was for feined causes furnished by the spiritualltie, more upon displeasure than truth, and that they were assembled to heare their preacher (the sayde Weuerlie) in that place there, out of the waie from resort of people, lest they might not come together openly about any such matter, without danger to be apprehended, as the manner is, and hath bene, ever of the persecuted flocke, when they are prohibited publickly the exercise of their religion. But howsoever the matter went with these men, apprehended they were, and divers of them executed (as before we have heard) whether for rebellion or heresie, or for both (as the sayde of the indictment importeth) I need not to spend manie words, with others have so largelie treated thereof; and therefore I refer those that wish to be more fullie satisfied herein unto their reports.

Sir John
Blacwell
escaped out
of the Tower.

Titus Livius.
1414

Hall.
A commotion
raised by sir
Roger Aston
and others.
Titus Livius.

The rebels
surprised.

Thom. Wals.

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W. P.
Le Rofier la
second partie.

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The Wall.

Berle reflo-
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dome of Nor-
thumberland.

W. P.
Le Rollet la
second partie.

Whilke in the Lent season the king laie at Wil-
lingworth, there came to him from Charles Dolphin
of France certeine ambassadors, that brought with
them a barrell of Paris balles, which from their
maister they presented to him for a token that was
taken in verie ill part, as sent in scozne, to signifie,
that it was more meet for the king to passe the time
with such childishe exercise, than to attempt any wor-
thy exploit. Wherefore the k. wrote to him, that per-
ought long, he would tolde him some London balles
that perchance should shake the walles of the best
court in France. This yeare, Thom. Arundell arch-
bishop of Canturburie departed this life, a stout
prelat, and an earnest mainteiner of the Romish re-
ligion: Henrie Chichele bishop of saint David suc-
ceeded the same Arundell in the see of Canturburie,
and the kings confessor, Stephan Watrington a Car-
melite frier was made bishop of S. David. Henrie
Berle then but a child, sonne to the lord Henrie Ber-
le surnamed Hotspur, after his fathers deceasse,
that was slaine at Shrewesburie field, was conueied
into Scotland, and there left by his grandfather,
where ever since he had remained: the king there-
fore pitied his case, and so procured for him, that he
came home, and was restozed to all his lands and
earldome of Northumberland, which lands before
had bene given to the lord John, the kings brother.

A case verie strange, and for manie causes alwaies
right worthy of remembrance, in this yeare 1414,
the second of this kings reigne did befall, which con-
teining in it so manie matters for knowledge of
Gods great power and iustice, of wilfull breaking
his diuine lawes, of the easie slip into ruine where his
mercie both not staie vs, the busie bogging of the di-
uell alwaies, our weakenesse in combat with him,
into what outrage and confusion he haleth where he
is not withstood, with what tyrannie he tormenteth
where he vanquisheth, what the will and power of
a soueraigne ouer a subiect may force in cases of ini-
quitie, where by vertue and grace he be not restrai-
ned: the zeale of a parent, the pangs of a child, but
chastie the verie plague of Gods wrath and in-
dignation vpon wilfull and obstinate offenders, all
which at those daies though touched in paples, yet at
all times and euerie where so well seruing for exam-
ple and warning, it hath bene thought verie conue-
nient the same in our stories also here to be noted,
which was thus. At this time newes were brought
into France, how king Lancelot (the aduersarie to
Lewes king of Sicill) was departed, and in man-
ner thus. It hapned that he fell in loue with a yong
damosell his owne physicians daughter (a puzell ve-
rie beautifull) and he in hope to inioy hir the easlier,
caused hir father for his consent to be talked withall
in the matter, which he vtterlie refused to grant, and
shewed forth manie reasons for him; but at last all
causes & excuses reiected, sith (though constrained)
he must needs assent, feigned himselfe willing and
content. And forcing talke with his daughter vpon
his mind in the matter, chaste how meet it were
the used his counsell how best with the king to keepe
hir still in grace, he gaue hir a little box of ointment,
and instruction withall, that when the king should
come to haue his will, the should asoze with that
balme annoint all hir toombe; the damosell on gods
obseruation did after (at oportunitie) as hir father
taught hir. Whereupon so pittifullie came it to passe,
that the verie same night the king laie with hir, his
bellie and hers were by and by set as it were all on
a smyging fier, with tormentes of such vnquench-
able scorching and burning euen into the verie en-
trailes, that he of his kingdome, his life, his loue; and
the of hir princelie promotion, thus some both fogt,
ther made a sorrowfull end. After the plaie of this la-

mentable tragedie, the physician fled for his safetie;
and straight vpon the newes king Lewes gathered
a great assemblie, wherewith to passe towards Na-
ples, and sent before a good companie vnder the lord
Longnie marshall of France.

In the second yeare of his reigne, king Henrie
called his high court of parlement, the last daie of A-
prill in the towne of Leicester, in which parlement
manie profitable lawes were concluded, and manie
petitions moued, were for that time deferred. A-
mongst which, one was, that a bill exhibited in the
parlement holden at Westminster in the eleuenth
yeare of king Henrie the fourth (which by reason the
king was then troubled with ciuill discord, came to
none effect) might now with good deliberation be
pondered, and brought to some good conclusion. The
effect of which supplication was, that the temporall
lands deuoutlie giuen, and disordinatlie spent by re-
ligious, and other spirituall persons, should be seized
into the kings hands, sith the same might suffice
to mainteine, to the honoz of the king, and defense of
the realme, sixtene earles, sixtene hundred knights,
six thousand and two hundred squiers, and a hundred
almshouses, for reliefe onelie of the poore, impo-
tent, and needie persons, and the king to haue cleere-
lie to his coffers twentie thousand pounds, with ma-
nie other prouisions and values of religious houses,
which I passe over.

This bill was much noted, and more feared among
the religious sort, whom suerlie it touched verie nere,
and therefore to find remedie against it, they deter-
mined to assaie all waies to put by and ouertrow
this bill: wherein they thought best to trie if they
might moue the kings mood with some sharpe in-
uention, that he should not regard the importunate
petitions of the commons. Whereupon, on a daie in
the parlement, Henrie Chichele archbishop of Can-
turburie made a pithe oration, wherein he declared,
how not onelie the duchies of Normandie and Aqui-
taine, with the counties of Anion and Paine, and the
countrie of Gascoigne, were by vndoubted title ap-
pertaining to the king, as to the lawfull and onelie
heire of the same; but also the whole realme of
France, as heire to his great grandfather king Ed-
ward the third.

Herein did he much inuete against the surmised
and false sained lawe Salike, which the Frenchmen
alledge euer against the kings of England in barre
of their iust title to the crowne of France. The verie
words of that supposed lawe are these, *In terram Sali-*
cam mulieres ne succedant, that is to saie, Into the Sa-
like land let not women succeed. Which the French
glossers expound to be the realme of France, and
that this lawe was made by king Pharamond, where-
as yet their owne authozs affirme, that the lawe Sa-
like is in Germanie, betwene the riuers of Elbe
and Sala; and that when Charles the great had ouer-
come the Saxons, he placed there certeine French-
men, which hauing in disbeine the dishonest maners
of the Germane women, made a law, that the fe-
males should not succedd to any inheritance within
that land, which at this daie is called Helsen, so that
if this be true, this lawe was not made for the realme
of France, nor the Frenchmen possessed the land Sa-
like, till foure hundred and one and twentie yeares
after the death of Pharamond, the supposed maker
of this Salike law, for this Pharamond deceased in
the yeare 426, and Charles the great subdued the
Saxons, and placed the Frenchmen in those parts
beyond the riuier of Sala, in the yeare 804.

Moreouer, it appeareth by their owne writers, that
king Pepine, which deposed Childerike, claimed the
crowne of France, as heire generall, for that he
was descended of Blithild daughter to king Clo-
gg. j. thair

Anno Reg. 2.
I 4 I 4

A bill exhibi-
ted to the par-
lement against
the clergie.

The archbis-
hop of Can-
turburies o-
ration in the
parlement
house.

The Salike
law.

Helsen,

haire the first: Hugh Capet also, who usurped the crowne upon Charles duke of Lozaine, the sole heire male of the line and stocke of Charles the great, to make his title seeme true, and appeare good, though in deed it was starke naught, conueied himselfe as heire to the ladie Aingard, daughter to king Charles maine, sonne to Lewis the emperour, that was son to Charles the great. King Lewis also the tenth or therwise called saint Lewis, being verie heire to the said usurper Hugh Capet, could neuer be satisfied in his conscience how he might iustlie keepe and possesse the crowne of France, till he was persuaded and fullie instructed, that quene Isabell his grandmother was lineallie descended of the ladie Ermengard daughter and heire to the aboue named Charles duke of Lozaine, by the which marriage, the blood and line of Charles the great was againe vnted and restored to the crowne & scepter of France, so that more cleere than the sunne it openlie appeareth, that the title of king Pepin, the claime of Hugh Capet, the possession of Lewis, yea and the French kings to this daie, are deriued and conueied from the heire female, though they would vnder the colour of such a fained law, barre the kings and princes of this realme of England of their right and lawfull inheritance.

The archbishop further alleaged out of the booke of Numbers this saying: When a man dieth without a sonne, let the inheritance descend to his daughter. At length, hauing said sufficientlie for the proufe of the kings iust and lawfull title to the crowne of France, he exhorted him to aduance forth his banner to fight for his right, to conquer his inheritance, to spare neither blood, sword, nor fire, with his warre was iust, his cause good, and his claime true. And to the intent his louing chaplains and obedient subiects of the spiritualtie might shew themselves willing and desirous to aid his maiestie, for the recouerie of his ancient right and true inheritance, the archbishop declared that in their spirituall conuocation, they had granted to his highnesse such a summe of monie, as neuer by no spirituall persons was to any prince before those daies giuen or aduanced.

The earle of Westmerland perswadeth the king to the conquest of Scotland.

When the archbishop had ended his prepared tale, Rafe Percill earle of Westmerland, and as then lord Warden of the marches against Scotland, vnderstanding that the king vpon a couragious desire to recouer his right in France, would surerlie take the wars in hand, thought good to moue the king to begin first with Scotland, and therevpon declared how easie a matter it should be to make a conquest there, and how greatlie the same should further his wished purpose for the subduing of the Frenchmen, concluding the summe of his tale with this old saying: That Who so will France win, must with Scotland first begin. For matters he touched, as well to shew how necessarie the conquest of Scotland should be, as also to proue how iust a cause the king had to attempt it, trusting to persuaide the king and all other to be of his opinion.

The duke of Excester his wise and pithie answer to the earle of westmerlands saying.

A true saying.

But after he had made an end, the duke of Excester, uncle to the king, a man well learned and wise, who had bene sent into Italie by his father, intending that he should haue ben a preest replied against the earle of Westmerlands oration, affirming rather that he which would Scotland win, he with France must first begin. For if the king might once compass the conquest of France, Scotland could not long resist; so that conquere France, and Scotland would soon obvie. For where should the Scots learne policie and skill to defend themselves, if they had not their bringing by and training in France? If the French pensions maintained not the Scottish nobilitie, in what case should they be? Then take awaie

France, and the Scots will soon be tamed; France being to Scotland the same that the sap is to the tree, which being taken awaie, the tree must needs die and wither.

To be brieue, the duke of Excester used such earnest and pithie persuations, to induce the king and the whole assemblie of the parlement to credit his words, that immediatlie after he had made an end, all the companie began to crie; Warre, warre; France, France. Whereby the bill for dissoluing of religious houses was cleerelie set aside, and nothing thought on but onelie the recouering of France, according as the archbishop had moued. And vpon this point, after a few acts besides for the wealth of the realme established, the parlement was proroged vnto Westminster. ¶ Some write, that in this parlement it was enacted, that Lollards and heretikes with their maintainers and fauourers should be *ipso facto* adiudged guiltie of high treason: but in the statute made in the same parlement against Lollards, we find no such words: albeit by force of that statute it was ordeined, that persons so conuicted & executed, should lose their lands holden in fee simple, and all other their goods and cattels, as in cases of felonye.

During this parlement, there came to the king ambassadores, as well from the French king that was then in the hands of the Malientiall faction, as also from the duke of Burgognie, for aid against that faction; promising more (as was said) than late well in his power to performe. The king shortly after sent ambassadores to them both, as the bishop of Durham, and Spozwich, with others. ¶ Moreover at this parlement, John the kings brother was created duke of Bedford, and his brother Humphrie duke of Glocester. Also, Thomas Beaufort, marquisse Dorset, was created duke of Excester. Immediatlie after, the king sent ouer into France his uncle the duke of Excester, the lord Greie admerall of England, the archbishop of Dublin, and the bishop of Spozwich, ambassadores vnto the French king, with five hundred horse, which were lodged in the temple house in Paris, keeping such triumphant chere in their lodging, and such a solempne estate in their riding through the citie, that the Parisiens and all the Frenchmen had no small meruell at their honorable port.

The French king receiued them verie honorable, and banketted them right sumptuouslie, shewing to them iusts and sportfull pastimes, by the space of three daies together, in the which iusts the king himselfe, to shew his courage and aduinitie to the Englishmen, manfullie brake speares and lusslie tourneyed. When the triumph was ended, the English ambassadores, hauing a time appointed them to declare their message, admitted to the French kings presence, required of him to deliuer vnto the king of England the realme and crowne of France, with the entier duchies of Aquitaine, Normandie and Anjou, with the countreies of Poitou and Maine. For other requests they made: and this offered with all, that if the French king would without warre and effusion of christian blood, render to the king their maister his verie right & lawfull inheritance, that he would be content to take in marriage the ladie Katharine, daughter to the French king, and to indow hir with all the duchies and countreies before rehearsed: and if he would not so do, then the king of England did expresse and signifie to him, that with the aid of God, and helpe of his people, he would recouer his right and inheritance wrongfullie withheld from him, with mostall warre, and dint of sword. ¶ This in effect doth our English poet compile in his report of the occasion, which Henrie the

ambassadors from the French king and the duke of Burgognie.

Creation of Dukes.

Harding.

ambassadors sent to France.

Thom. Wall. It is not like that in this council the king means to take any thing from the king of France, where it be- gan in the que- nes of saint Martin, in this second year 1445.

The council of Constance.

The earle of Westmerland and others sent to the generall council.

Enguerant.

Great preparation for the French wars.

Abt. F. and in August 1444.

An. Reg. 23.

fit toke to arreare battell against the French king: putting into the mouthes of the said king of England ambassadors an imagined speech, the conclusion thereof he maketh to be either restitution of that which the French had taken and detained from the English, or else fier and sword. His words are these,

*—raptum nobis aut redde Britannia,
Aut ferrum expectes, ultrices in super ignes.*

The Frenchmen being not a little abashed at these demands, thought not to make any absolute answer in so weightie a cause, till they had further breathed; and therefore prayed the English ambassadors to take to the king their maister, that they now having no opportunitie to conclude in so high a matter, would shortly send ambassadors into England, which should certifie & declare to the king their whole mind, purpose, and intent. The English ambassadors returned with this answer, making relation of every thing that was said or done. King Henrie after the returne of his ambassadors, determined fullie to make warre in France, conceiving a good and perfect hope to have fortunate successe, with victorie for the most part followeth where right leadeth, being advanced forward by iustice, and set forth by equitie.

And because manie Frenchmen were promoted to ecclesiasticall dignities, as some to benefices, and some to abbeies and priories within the realme, and sent daile innumerable summes of monie into France, for the relafe of their naturall countrymen and kinsfolke, he therefore in favour of the publike wealth of his realme and subjects, in a counsell called at London, about Michaelmas, caused to be ordained, that no stranger hereafter should be promoted to any spirituall dignitie or degree within this realme, without his especiall licence, and full consent; and all they that should be admitted, should find sufficient securities, not to disclose the secrets of this realme to any forren person, nor to minister aid or succour to any of them with monie, or by any other meanes. This was confirmed in a convocation called at the same time by the new archbishop of Cantuarie.

Howsoever, such as were to go unto the generall counsell holden at Constance, were named and appointed to make them readie: for the king having knowledge from the emperor Sigismund, of the assembling of that counsell, thought it not convenient to sit still as an hearer, and no partaker in so high a cause, which touched the whole state of the christian common-wealth, as then troubled by reason of the schisme that yet continued. Wherefore he sent thither Richard earle of Warwick, the bishopps of Bath and Exeter, the abbat of Westminster, and the prior of Worcester, with divers other doctors and learned men of the spiritualtie; besides knights and esquires. They were in number eight hundred horses, so well appointed and furnished, as well the men as horses, that all nations marvelled to see such an honorable companie come from a countrie so far distant.

Diverse other things were concluded at that present: for the king had caused not onelie the lords of the spiritualtie, but also of the temporaltie to assemble here at London the same time, to treat speciallie of his journey that he purposed to make thither into France: and hereupon meanes was made for the gathering of monie, which was granted with so good a will both of the spiritualtie and temporaltie; that there was levied the summe of three hundred thousand markes English: and herewith order was given to gather a great host of men, thorough all his dominions. And for the more increasing of his navie, he sent into Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, to

conduct and hire ships for the transporting and conveying over of his men and munitions of war, and finally provided for armour, victuals, monie, artillery, carriage, boates to passe over rivers covered with leather, tents, and all other things requisite for so high an enterprise.

The Frenchmen having knowledge hereof, the Dolphin, who had the gouernance of the realme, because his father was fallen into his old disease of frensie, sent for the dukes of Berry and Alanson, and all the other lords of the counsell of France: by whose advise it was determined, that they should not onelie prepare a sufficient armie to resist the king of England, when so ever he arrived to invade France, but also to suffice and furnish the townes on the frontiers and sea coasts with convenient garri- sons of men: and further to send to the king of England a solemn ambassage, to make to him some offers according to the demands before rehearsed. The charge of this ambassage was committed to the earle of Wandosme, to maister William Bourcier archbishop of Burges, and to maister Peter Fremell bishop of Aiseur, to the lords of Berry and Beaumont, and to maister Gaultier Cole the kings secretaire, and diuerse others.

These ambassadors accompanied with 350 horses, passed the sea at Calis, and landed at Dover, before whose arrivall the king was departed from Windsor to Winchester, intending to have gone to Hampton, there to have surveied his navie: but hearing of the ambassadors approaching, he tarried still at Winchester, where the said French lords shewed themselves verie honorable before the king and his nobilitie. At time prest, before the kings presence, sitting in his throne imperiall, the archbishop of Burges made an eloquent and a long oration, dissuading warre, and praising peace; offering to the king of England a great summe of monie, with diuerse countries, being in verie deed but bare and poore, as a dowrie with the ladie Catharine in marriage, so that he would dissolve his armie, and dismis his soldiers, which he had gathered and put in a readinesse.

When his oration was ended, the king caused the ambassadors to be highlye feasted, and set them at his own table. And after a date assigned in the foresaid hall, the archbishop of Cantuarie to their oration made a notable answer, the effect whereof was, that if the French king would not glue with his daughter in marriage the duchesse of Aquitaine, Anjou, and all other feignories and dominions sometimes appertaining to the noble progenitors of the king of England, he would in no wise retire his armie, nor breake his journey; but would with all diligence enter into France, and deströie the people, waste the countrie, and subvert the townes with blood, sword, and fire, and never cease till he had recovered his ancient right and lawfull patrimonie. The king answered the archbishops saying, and in the word of a prince promised to performe it to the uttermost.

The archbishop of Burges much grieved, that his ambassage was no more regarded; after certefine brags blustered out with impatience, as more pressing upon his prelate, than respecting his dutie of consideration to whom he spake and what became him to saye; he prayed safe conduct to depart. Which the king gently granted, and added withall to this effect: A little esteeme your French brags, & lesse set by your powder and strength; I know perfectly my right to my region, which you usurpe; & except you denie the apparant truth, to do your selues also: if you neither do nor will know it, yet God and the world knoweth it. The power of your maister you see, but my puissance

Anno Reg. 3.
Ambassadors
out of France

A proud pre-
sumptuous
prelat.

The wise an-
swer of the k.
to the bishop.

G g. y.

Dom. 14. 14.

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Thom. Wall.
It is not like
that in this
counsell
was meant
that was ad-
vised from
London to
Westminster,
where it be-
gan in the oc-
casions of some
Spartan, in
this second
page 145.

The counsell
of Constance.

The earle of
Warwick and
others sent to
the generall
counsell.

Exaggerant.

Great prepa-
ration for the
French wars

Abr. F. out of
In Angl. Hist.
sub Henr. 5.

“ since ye haue not yet tasted, If he haue louing sub-
 “ iects, I am (I thanke God) not distressed of the same:
 “ and I fate this vnto you, that before one yeare passe,
 “ I trust to make the highest crowne of your countrie
 “ to scape, and the proudest miter to learne his humi-
 “ liatedo. In the meane time tell this to the blurper
 “ your master, that within three moneths, I will enter
 “ into France, as into mine owne true and lawfull
 “ patrimonie, appointing to acquire the same, not with
 “ brag of words, but with deeds of men, and dint of
 “ sword, by the aid of God, in whome is my whole trust
 “ and confidence. Further matter at this present I
 “ impart not vnto you, sauing that with warrant
 “ you may depart suerlie and safelie into your coun-
 “ trie, where I trust sooner to visit you, than you shall
 “ haue cause to bid me welcome. With this answer
 “ the ambassadors were displeased in their minds (al-
 “ though they were highly intertained and liberallie
 “ rewarded) departed into their countrie, reporting to
 “ the Dolphin how they had sped.

After the French ambassadors were departed, the
 king like a prouident prince, thought good to take or-
 der for the resisting of the Scots, if (according to
 their manner) they should attempt any thing against
 his subiects in his absence. For that point appointed
 he the earle of Westmerland, the lord Scrope, the
 baron of Greystocke, sir Robert Umfrevill, & diuerse
 other valiant capteins to keepe the frontiers & mar-
 ches of Scotland, which sir Robert Umfrevill on the
 daie of Marie Magdalen fought with the Scots
 at the towne of Cederling, hauing in his companie
 onelie three hundred archers, and seven score spears,
 where he (after long conflict) due of his enemies sicke
 and odde, took three hundred and fiftie prisoners, dis-
 comfited and put to flight one thousand and more,
 whome he followed in chase aboute twelue miles, but
 their hands full of prizes and prisoners, retired home-
 ward (not without) to the castell of Rocheforrough,
 of the which he was capteine.

When the king had all promissors readie, and or-
 dered all things for the defense of his realme, he lea-
 uing behind him for gouernour of the realme, the
 queene his mother in law, departed to Southamp-
 ton, to take ship into France. And first princelie ap-
 pointing to aduertise the French king of his com-
 ming, therefore dispatched Antelope his purueuant
 at armes with letters to him for restitution of that
 which he wrongfully withheld contrary to the lawes
 of God and man; the king further declaring how
 lothe he was that he should be thus compelled for re-
 peating of his right and iust title of inheritance, to
 make warre to the destruction of Christian people,
 but when he had offered peace which could not be re-
 ceived, now for fault of iustice, he was forced to take
 armes. Wherefore he exhorted the French king in
 the howels of Iesu Christ, to render him that which
 was his owne, whereby effusion of Christian blood
 might be auoided. These letters chertie to this effect
 and purpose, were written and dated from Hampton
 the fift of August. When the same were presented to
 the French king, and by his counsell well perused,
 answer was made, that he would take equite, and
 prouide therein as time and place should be conueni-
 ent, so the messenger licensed to depart at his plea-
 sure.

When king Henrie had fully furnished his nauie
 with men, munition, & other provisions, perceiuing
 that his captiues, wished nothing so much as de-
 laie, determined his souldiours to go a ship-board and
 auaite. But for the hap, the night before the daie ap-
 pointed for their departure, he was crediblie infor-
 med, that Richard earle of Cambridge brother to
 Edward duke of York, and Henrie lord Scrope of
 Wadhams lord treasurer, with Thomas Craie a

knight of Northumberland, being confederat tog-
 ther, had conspired his death: wherefore he caused
 them to be apprehended. The said lord Scrope was
 in such fauour with the king, that he admitted him
 sometime to be his bedfellow, in whose fidelitie the
 king reposed such trust, that when any priuat or pu-
 blike counsell was in hand, this lord had much in the
 determination of it. For he represented to great gra-
 uitie in his countenance, such modestie in behauiour,
 and so vertuous zeale to all godlinesse in his talke,
 that whatsoeuer he said was thought for the most
 part necessarie to be done and followed. Also the said
 sir Thomas Craie (as some write) was of the kings
 priuie counsell.

These prisoners vpon their examination, confessed,
 that for a great summe of monie which they had re-
 ceived of the French king, they intended herelie el-
 ther to haue deliuered the king aliue into the hands
 of his enemies, or else to haue murdered him before
 he should arrive in the duchie of Normandie. When
 king Henrie had heard all things opened, which he
 desired to know, he caused all his nobilitie to come
 before his presence, before whome he caused to be
 brought the offenders also, and to them said. Having
 thus conspired the death and destruction of me, which
 am the head of the realme and gouernour of the peo-
 ple, it maye be (no doubt) but that you likewise haue
 sworne the confusion of all that are here with me,
 and also the desolation of your owne countrie. To
 what honoz (I say) for any true English hart to con-
 sider, that such an erecable iniquitie should ener so
 betwax you, as for pleasing of a forren entinie to
 imbue your hands in your blood, and to ruine your
 owne native soile. Reuenge herein touching my per-
 son, though I seeke not; yet for the safegard of you
 my deere frends, & for due preservation of all sorts, I
 am by office to cause example to be shewed. Get ye
 hence therefore ye paye miserable wretches to the re-
 ceiuing of your iust reward, wherein Gods maiestie
 giue you grace of his merete and repentance of
 your heinous offenses. And so immediatlie they
 were had to execution.

This done, the king calling his lords againe afore
 him, said in words few and with god grace. Of his
 enterprises he recounted the honoz and gloie, where-
 of they with him were to be partakers, the great
 confidence he had in their noble minds, which could
 not but remember them of the famous feats that
 their ancestors sometime in France had atchieved,
 whereof the due report for ener recorded remained
 yet in register. The great merete of God that had so
 grationlie reuealed vnto him the treason at hand,
 whereby the true harts of those afore him made so
 eminent & apparant in his etc, as they might be right
 sure he would neuer forget it. The doubt of danger
 to be nothing in respect of the certaintie of honoz
 that they should acquite, wherein himselfe (as they
 said) in person would be lord and leader through
 Gods grace. To whose maiestie as chertie was
 knowne the equite of his demand: even so to his
 merete did he onclie recommend the successe of his
 traucels. When the king had said, all the noble men
 kneled doونه, & promised faithfullie to serue him,
 duilie to obey him, and rather to die than to suffer him
 to fall into the hands of his enemies.

This done, the king thought that suerlie all treason
 and conspiracie had bene utterlie extinct: not suspec-
 ting the fies which was netolie kindled, and ceased
 not to increase, till at length it burst out into such a
 flame, that catching the beames of his house and fa-
 milie, his line and stocke was cleane consumed to
 ashes. Wherefore write that Richard earle of Cam-
 bridge did not conspire with the lord Scrope & Tho-
 mas Craie for the murdering of king Henrie to
 please

Harding.
 Throuer-
 throw to the
 Scots by sir
 Robert Um-
 freuill.

The queene
 mother gover-
 nour of the
 realme.

Hall.

King Henrie
 was to the
 traitours.

The effect of
 the earle of
 Cambridges
 indictment.

The earle of
 Cambridge
 and the othe
 traitors ap-
 peared.

It well.

An. Reg. 3.

Dom. 14. 15.

The earle of
Cambridge
other lordes
apprehended
for treason.
Thom. Wall.

Hall.

King Henrie
words to the
traitours.

The earle of
Cambridge
and the other
traitours ap-
prehended.

The earle of
Cambridge
maidenhead.

March.

pleaseth the French king withall, but onelie to the in-
tent to exalt to the crowne his brother in law Ed-
mund earle of March as heire to Lionell duke of
Clarence: after the death of which earle of March, for
Clarence secret impediments, not able to haue issue,
the earle of Cambridge was sure that the crowne
should come to him by his wife, and to his children, of
his begotten. And therefore (as was thought) he ra-
ther confessed himselfe for need of monie to be corrup-
ted by the French king, than he would declare his
inward mind, and open his verie intent and secret
purpose, which if it were espied, he saw plainlie that
the earle of March should haue tasted of the same
cruelty that he had drunken, and what should haue
come to his owne children he much doubted. There-
fore destitute of comfort & in despaire of life to saue
his children, he feined that tale, desiring rather to
saue his succession than himselfe, which he did in deed:
for his sonne Richard duke of Yorke not praislie but
openlie claimed the crowne, and Edward his sonne
both claimed it, & gained it, as after it shall appeare.
Which thing if king Henrie had at this time either
doubted, or foreseene, had neuer bene like to haue
come to passe, as Hall saith.

But whatsoeuer hath bene reported of the confes-
sion of the earle of Cambridge, certeine it is, that in-
dicted he was by the name of Richard earle of Cam-
bridge of Conneburgh in the countie of Yorke
knight, and with him Thomas Craie of Heton in
the countie of Northumberland knight; for that they
the twentieth daie of Iulie, in the third peare of king
Henrie the fifts reigne, at Southampton, and in di-
uerse other places within this realme, had conspired
together with a power of men to them associat, with-
out the kings licence, to haue led auaite the lord Ed-
mund earle of March into Wales, and then to haue
procured him to take vpon him the supreme govern-
ment of the realme, in case that king Richard the se-
cond were dead: and herewith had purposed to set
forth a proclamation there in Wales, in name of
the said earle of March, as heire of the crowne a-
gainst king Henrie, by the name of Henrie of Lan-
caster the usurper, to the end that by such meanes
they might draw the more number of the kings liege
people vnto the said earle; and further to haue con-
ueied a banner of the armes of England, and a cer-
taine crowne of Spaine set vpon a pallet, and laid in
gage to the said earle of Cambridge, by the king, to-
gether with the said earle of March into the parties
of Wales aforesaid.

Further, that the said earle of Cambridge, and sir
Thomas Craie had appointed certeine of the kings
liege people to repaire into Scotland, and to bring
from thence one Thomas Crumington; also an o-
ther resembling in shape, fauour, and countenance
king Richard, and Henrie Perie, together with a
great multitude of people to fight with the king, and
him to destroe in open field. Beside this, that they
had meant to twin certeine castles in Wales, and to
keepe them against the king: and manie other trea-
sons they had contriued, as by the indictment was
specified, to the intent they might destroe the king
and his children, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester,
and other the great lords & peers of the realme. And
Henrie Scrope of Spalham, of Flardest, in the coun-
tie of Yorke was likewise indicted, as consenting to
the premises. So that it appeareth their purpose was
well inough then perceiued, although hapilie not
much bnted abroad, for considerations thought ne-
cessarie to haue it rather hysht and kept secret.

About the selfe same time the lord Cobham with
his friends, whether as one of counsell in the conspi-
racie with the earle of Cambridge or not, was deter-
mined to haue made some attempt against the lord

of Aburgauennie, who being aduertised thereof, got
for his defense from Worcester, Perforce, Tenke-
burie, and other places thereabout, to the number of
foue thousand archers, and other armed men, which
came to him vnto his castell of Hancleie: whereof
when the lord Cobham was aduertised, he withdrew
again to such secret places about Saluerne, as he
had prouided for his suertie, to resort vnto: but a
priest that belonged vnto him, was taken, and di-
uerse other, who disclosed to the lord Aburgauennie,
one of the places where the said lord Cobham with
his men dyed to keepe themselves close. Vnto that
place the lord Aburgauennie went, where he found
in deed monie and armor piled vp betwixt two wals;
handsomelie conueied and framed for the purpose; but
the lord Cobham with his folkes were withdrawn
into some other place, after they once heard, that
the earle of Cambridge and the lord Scrope were
executed.

But now to proceed with king Henries doings.

After this, when the wind came about prosperous to
his purpose, he caused the mariners to weie by an-
chors, and hoise vp sailes, and to set forthward with a
thousand ships, on the vigill of our ladie daie the As-
umption, and toke land at Caer, commonlie called
Aldraur, where the riuer of Saine runneth into the
sea, without resistance. At his first coming on land,
he caused proclamation to be made, that no person
should be so hardie on paine of death, either to take
anie thing out of anie church that belonged to the
same, or to hurt or do anie violence either to priests,
women, or anie such as should be found without
weapon or armor, and not readie to make resistance:
also that no man should renew anie quarell or strife,
whereby anie fraie might arise to the disquieting of
the armie.

The next daie after his landing, he marched toward
the towne of Harflue, standing on the riuer of Saine
betwene two hills; he besieged it on euerie side, rat-
sing bulwarks and a bastell, in which the two earles
of Bent & Huntington were placed, with Cornwall,
Craie, Steward, and Porter. On that side towards
the sea, the king lodged with his field, and the duke
of Clarence on the further side towards Rome. There
were within the towne the lords de Monteuill and
Gaucourt, with diuerse other that valiantlie de-
fended the siege, doing what damage they could to
their abusers; and damming by the riuer that
hath his course through the towne, the water rose so
high betwixt the kings campe, and the duke of Cla-
rence campe (diuided by the same riuer) that the
Englishmen were constrained to withdraw their ar-
tillerie from one side, where they had planted the
same.

The French king being aduertised, that king
Henrie was arrived on that coast, sent in all hast
the lord de la Bzeth constable of France, the sene-
shall of France, the lord Bouciquall marshal of
France, the senehall of Penault, the lord Lignie
with other, which fortified townes with men, victuals,
and artillerie on all those frontiers towards the sea.
And hearing that Harflue was besieged, they came
to the castell of Candebecke, being not farre from
Harflue, to the intent they might succor their friends
which were besieged, by some policie or meanes: but
the Englishmen, notwithstanding all the damage
that the Frenchmen could worke against them, for-
rated the countrie, spoiled the villages, bringing ma-
nie a rich preie to the campe before Harflue. And da-
lie was the towne assaulted: for the duke of Glou-
cester, to whome the order of the siege was commit-
ted, made three mines vnder the ground, and appro-
ching to the wals with his engins and ordinance,
would not suffer them within to take anie rest.

Titus Lilius,

The king sat-
teth ouer into
France with
his host.

Titus Lilius,
A charitable
proclamation.

Princelie and
wise.

Harding.

The king be-
sieged Har-
flue.

Titus Linius.

For although they with their countermining sum-
what disappointed the Englishmen, & came to fight
with them hand to hand within the mines, so that
they went no further forward with that worke; yet
they were so inclosed on eche side, as well by water as
land, that succour they saw could none come to them:
for the king lieng with his battell on the hill side on
the one partie, and the duke of Clarence beyond the
riuier that passeth by the towne, and runneth into
Saine on the other partie, beside other lordes and cap-
teins that were lodged with their retinues for their
most advantage: none could be suffered to go in, or
come forth, without their licence; insomuch that such
pouder as was sent to haue bene conueied into the
towne by water, was taken by the English ships
that watched the riuier.

Harding.
Thom. Walf.The senen-
terth of Sep-
tember they
within Har-
sue peace par-
lor.

The capitaine within the towne, perceiuing that
they were not able long to resist the continuall as-
saits of the Englishmen, knowing that their walls
were undermined, and like to be ouerthrowne (as
one of their bulwarks was alreadie, where the earles
of Huntington and Kent had set vp their banners)
sent an officer at armes forth about midnight after
the feast daie of saint Lambert, which fell that yeare
vpon the tuesday, to beseech the king of England
to appoint some certeine persons as commissioners
from him, with whom they within might treat a-
bout some agreement. The duke of Clarence, to
whome this messenger first declared his errand, ad-
uertised the king of their request, who granting there-
to, appointed the duke of Excester, with the lord Fitz
Hugh, and sir Thomas Erpingham, to vnderstand
their minds, who at the first requested a truce vntill
sundae next following the feast of saint Michaell,
in which meane time if no succour came to remoue
the siege, they would undertake to deliuer the towne
into the kings hands, their liues and goods saued.

3 fine dates
respit.

The king aduertised herof, sent them word, that
except they would surrender the towne to him the
morow next ensuing, without any condition, they
should spend no more time in talke about the mat-
ter. But yet at length through the earnest sute of the
French lords, the king was contented to grant them
truce vntill nine of the clocke the next saturday, be-
ing the two and twentieth of September; with condi-
tion, that if in the meane time no reliefe came, they
should yeld the towne at that houre, with their bod-
ies and goods to stand at the kings pleasure. And for
assurance thereof, they deliuered into the kings
hands thirtie of their best capitaine and merchants
within that towne as pledges. But other wise, that
it was covenanted, that they should deliuer but one
lie to eue pledges, and that if the siege were not rais-
ed by the French kings power within six daies next
following, then should they deliuer the towne into
the king of England hands, and thirtie of the chiefe
personages within the same, to stand for life or death
at his will and pleasure: and as for the residue of the
men of warre and totonemen, they should depart
whether they would, without carieng forth either ar-
mour, weapon, or goods.

The king neuerthelesse was after content to
grant a respit vpon certeine conditions, that the
capitains within might haue time to send to the
French king for succour (as before he haue heard)
least he intending greater exploits, might lose time
in such small matters. When this composition was
agreed vpon, the lord Bacqueruill was sent vnto the
French king, to declare in what point the towne
stood. To whome the Dolphin answered, that the
kings power was not yet assembled, in such number
as was conuenient to raise so great a siege. This an-
swer being brought vnto the capitaine within the
towne, they rendered it vp to the king of England,

after that the third daie was expired, which was on
the daie of saint Maurice being the leuen and thirtieth
daie after the siege was first laid: The souldiours were
ransomed, and the towne sacked, to the great gaine
of the Englishmen. Some writing of this yelding
vp of Harflue, do in like sort make mention of the
distresse whereto the people, then expelled out of their
habitations, were giuen: insomuch as parents with
their children, young maids and old folke went out of
the towne gates with heauie hearts (God wot) as put
to their present shifts to seeke them a new abode. Be-
sides that, king Henrie caused proclamation to be
made within his owne dominions of England, that
whosoever (either handicraftsman, merchant, or
gentleman, or plowman) would inhabit in Har-
flue, should haue his dwelling giuen him gratis, and
his heire after him also inioy the like grace and fa-
uour: insomuch that great multitudes flocked to the
sea coasts, waiting wind and weather for their trans-
portage into Harflue, where being arrived, wonder-
full it is to tell, within how short a time the towne
was peopled. This doth *Anglorum praelia* report, saieing
(not without good ground, I beleue) as followeth;

tum flentes tenera cum prole parentes

Virgineisque choros veteres liquere penates

Tum populus cunctus de portu Gallicus exit

Machus, inarmatus, vacuus, miser, eger, indigens

Vtique nobis fides querat migrare coactus

Oppidulo belli potuerunt inire Britanni, &c.

All this done, the king ordeined capitaine to the
towne his vncle the duke of Excester, who establi-
shed his lieutenant there, one sir John Fastolfe, with
fiftene hundred men, or (as some haue) two thousand
and thirtie sir knights, whereof the baron of Carew,
and sir Hugh Luttrell, were two counsellors. And
because many of his nobles whilst this siege late be-
fore Harflue, fell sicke of the sir and other diseases,
diuerse also dead, amongst whom the earle of Staf-
ford, the bishop of Norwich, the lords Spolins and
Burnell were foure (beside others) the king licensed
his brother the duke of Clarence, John earle mar-
shall, and John earle of Arundell, being infected
with that disease, to returne into England.

King Henrie, after the winning of Harflue, de-
termined to haue proceeded further in the winning
of other townes and fortresses: but because the dead
time of the winter approached, it was determined by
advice of his counsell, that he should in all conueni-
ent speed set forward, and march through the countie
towards Calis by land, least his returne as then
homewards should of standerons tongues be named a
running away: and yet that tourne was aduised
perillous, by reason that the number of his people
was much diminished by the sir and other fevers, which
fore vered and brought to death above fiftene hun-
dred persons of the armie: and this was the cause
that his returne was the sooner appointed and con-
cluded.

But before his departing thence, he entred into
the towne of Harflue, & went to the church of saint
Martines, and there offered: All the men of warre
which had not paid their ransoms; he swore them on
the holie euangelists, to yeld themselves prisoners
at Calis by the feast of saint Martine in November
next. There were two strong towers standing on the
hauen side at Harflue, which looking for aid, did not
yeld, till ten daies after the towne was rendered.
When the king had repaired the walles, bulwarks
and rampiers about the towne, and furnished it with
bittels and artillerie, he remoued from Harflue to-
ward Ponthoisse, intending to passe the riuier of
Some with his armie, before the bridges were ei-
ther withdrawen or broken. Such bittels and other
necessaries as were to be carried with the armie, he
appointed

The kings
mercenary
ling forth
French
souldiours.Standing in
Picardie be-
tweene some
and Peron
all vnder the
war of Some.
Sir Hugh
Bourghier,
an
re
bo

W.P.

Diuerse cap-
tains knights

William de la

Come & bit-
his destroyed
where the
Englishmen
should passe.A skirmish
with the gar-
rison of Ex.

Enguerant.

William de la

William de la

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An. Reg. 3.

m. 14. 15.

Harthe pels
ed and fac
ed.

1br. Fl. out of
Engl. prel.
ub Hen. 5. and
Polychron.

Come a bit
the destroyed
where the
Englishmen
should passe.

3. Hermit
with the gar
rison of Co
Eggenant.

Stanchetaine.

Diuerse cap
tains knyghts

W. P.

Great death
in the hall by
the air.

The kings
mercifull de
ling with the
French pri
soners.

Rembing in
Pierre de
Amiens
a person
all the re
of Hen.
the king
Stanchetaine

appointed to be laid on horses, leauing the carts and
wagons behind for lesse incombze.
The French king hearing that the towne of Har
due was gotten, and that the king of England was
marching forward into the bowels of the realme of
France, sent out proclamations, and assembled peo
ple on euerie side, committing the whole charge of
his armie to his sonne the Dolphine and duke of
Aquitaine, who incontinentlie caused the brydges to
be broken, and the passages to be kept. Also they cau
ed all the corne and vittels to be conueied awaite, or
destroyed in all places, where it was conueied that
the Englishmen would passe. The king of England
nothing dismayed herewith, kept his iourne in spite
of his enemies, constraining them within diuerse
townes and holds to furnish him with vittels: but
yet as he passed by the towne of Cw, the garrison of
the towne issued forth, and gaue the Englishmen a
skirmish, who beat them into the towne with losse,
namelie of a right valiant man of armes, named
Lancelot Piers. There were manie Englishmen
hurt with quercels shot off from the lops and walls,
as they pursued the enemies vnto the gates.
At length the king approached the riuier of Some, &
finding all the brydges broken, he came to the passage
of Blanchetake, where his great grandfather king
Edward the thirde a little before had stricken the bat
tell of Cressie: but the passage was now so impeached
with stakes in the botome of the fozd, that he could
not passe, his enemies besides there awaite so swar
ming on all sides. He therefore marched forwards
to Arames, marching with his armie, and passing
with his carriage in so martiall a manner, that he ap
peared so terrible to his enemies, as they durst not of
fer him battell. And yet the lord Dalbryth constable
of France, the marshall Boncequault, the earle of
Wendome great master of France, the duke of A
lancon, and the earle of Richmond, with all the puis
sance of the Dolphin laie at Abulle, but euer kept the
passages, and coasted aloofe, like a hauke though ea
ger yet not hardie on hir prey. The king of England
kept on his iourne till he came to the brydge of Saint
Parence, where he found aboue thirtie thousand
Frenchmen, and there pitched his field, looking suer
lie to be fought withall.
Wherefore to incourage his capteins the more,
he dubbed certeine of his hardie and valiant gentle
men knyghts, as John lord Ferrers of Grobie, Re
ginald of Greiffocke, Piers Tempess, Christopher
Poissibe, Thomas Piskering, William Huddleston,
John Holbalton, Henrie Portimer, Philip Hall, and
William his brother, Jaques de Wyndon, and di
uerse other: but the French making no semblance
to fight, he departed in good order of battell by the
towne of Amiens, to another towne nere to a ca
stell called Bolwes, and there laie two daies looking
for their bidding of battell euerie houre. From
thence he came nere to Corbie, where he was staied
that night, for that the common people and pezants
mightie there assembled, hauing gotten them some
head and bartening by means of their number that
was great, and by trust of a strength (then ioined vn
to them) made of men at armes (manie to fall and
well appointed for fight) all of the garrison of Cor
bie: a strong towne well walled and warded. Here
upon at a streit (which they had preoccupied) they
scoutle from our armie not onelie kept the passage,
but also upon vs gaue a proud onset: wherein sir
Hugh Stafford knight lord Bourghchier, chiefeine
of a wing to the king vnder his standard of Guien,
and as then next to the entrie, though far inferior
in number, yet with readie and valiant encounter
receiued them. The force and slaughter grew great
both on the one side and the other, by the French in

speciall at first sight fiercelie pursued, in so much as
with an hardie charge vpon our men, they had both
beat downe the standard, and also from vs quite
waite it awaite, to their hie incouragement, and our
incredible despite and dismaie. Whereat one John
Bromley of Bromley in Staffordshire esquier, a
nere kinsman vnto the lord Bourghchier, was euen
streight so pearced at hart, as he could not contene
him, but by and by ran eagerlie vpon the French, and
with his souldiers (in whom wrath and teene had al
readie inflamed fire and desire of reuenge) did so
fiercelie set vpon them, that they were not onlie bea
ten backe, but also forced to abandon the place. At
this push the capteine cutting through the thickest,
strake downe the champion that bare the standard,
and so gloriouly recovered it againe, and after du
ring the fight (where as manie of the French lost
their liues) couragionlie ouer his souldiers auanted
it himselfe. The rest that fled awaite our people pur
sued in chaling & slaughter vnto Corbie vertie gates.
So in victorie, honor, and great ioy, with our small
losse (in comparison) thanks vnto Gods maiestie, the
cheefeine brought his host into his campe and order
againe. The singular prowes of this worthie capteine
the noble man highlie regarding, in an ample testi
monie thereof and vpon his owne honorable confi
deration, by a faire ancient deed yet extant at these
daies did giue him reward of fortie pounds annuite
for his life. The monument so plainelie declaring
the truth of the matter, with the maner and dignitie
of the feat, as it was done, hath bene thought vertie
met for the storie in hand here now to place it as fol
loweth.

John Brom
ley.

He came of a
pounger bzo
ther in the li
nage of the
right honora
ble the lord
chancelor that
now is 1585.

The kings
standard was
couered.

1585

A copie of the said deed.



*H*oc presens scriptum testatur, quod nos
Hugo de Stafford dominus le Bourgh
chier concessimus & per presentes con
firmauimus predicto consanguineo
nostro Iohanni Bromley de Bromley armigero,
pro suo magno auxilio nobis impenso in oppugna
tione contra Francos prope le Corbie; & presi
pue pro suo laudabili seruitio in recuperatione &
supportatione vexilli domini regis de Guien sub
nostra conductione, unam annuitatem sine annua
lem redditum quadraginta librarum legalis mone
te annuatim percipiendum, durante tota vita na
turali predicti Iohannis de Bromley, de & in om
nibus manerijs, terris, & tenementis nostris cum
pertinentibus in comitatu Stafford & Warwick, ad
festa Penthecostes & sancti Martini in hyeme
aquis portionibus. Et si contingat predictam an
nuitatem sine annualet redditum quadraginta li
brarum, a retro fore in parte vel in toto, ad aliquod
festum quo solui debeat, tunc bene licebit predi
cto Iohanni & assignatis suis in predictis manerijs,
ac in omnibus alijs terris & tenementis cum suis
pertinentibus prescriptis, distringere & distri
ctiones effugare & retinere, quousque de predicta
annuitate simul cum arrearagijs si qua fuerint, ple
narie sibi fuerit satisfactum & persolutum. Et ut
hac nostra concessio, & scripti huius confirmatio
(durante tota vita predicti Iohannis de Bromley
ut presertur) rata & stabilis permaneat, hoc scrip
tum impressione sigilli armorum meorum roborau
i. Hys testibus, Iohanne de Holland, Richardo
le Grenyll, Richardo de Horwood, Thoma le Fo
restar, & alijs. Datum apud Madeley decimo die
mensis Martij, anno regni regis Henrici quinti
post conquestum quarto.

**It. Henries
answer to the
Defiance.**

When he had thus answered the herald, he gaue him a princelie reward, and licence to depart. Upon whose returne, with this answer, it was incontinentlie to the French side proclaimed, that all men of warre should resort to the constable to fight with the king of England. Wherevpon, all men apt for armour and desirous of honour, dreyne them toward the field. The Dolphin soze desired to haue bene at the battell, but he was prohibited by his father: likewise Phillip earle of Charolois would glablie haue bene there.

They were lodged euen in the waite by the which
the Englishmen must needs passe towards Calis,
and all that night after their coming thither, made
great cheare and were verie merie, pleasant, and full
of game. The Englishmen also for their parts were
of good comfort, and nothing abashed of the matter,
and yet they were both hungrie, wearie, for trauel-
led, and vbered with manie cold diseases. Holobert re-
conciling themselves with God by bowell and stiff,
requiring allisiance at his hands that is the oneli
giuer of victoize, they determined rather to die,
than to yeld, or flee. The date following was the sixte
and twentieth of October in the yeare 1415, being
then fridate, and the feast of Crispine and Crispin
an, a day faire and fortunate to the English, but
most sorrowfull and vnluckie to the French,

The number
of the French
in this last
thousand.
Enguerrand.

The band of
of archers.

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bre
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and

om. 14. 15.

An. Reg. 3.

The number of the French army.

In the morning, the French capteins made thre battels, in the batward were eight thousand healmes of knights and equiers, foure thousand archers, and fiftene hundred crosbowes which were guided by the lord de la Bzeth, constable of France, hauing with him the dukes of Oyleance and Bourbon, the earles of Cleue and Richmond, the marshall Boucquart, and the maister of the crosbowes, the lord Dampier admerall of France, and other capteins. The earle of Wandosme with fiftene hundred men of armes were ordered for a wing to that battell. And the other wing was guided by sir Guichard Dolphin, sir Clugnet of Babant, and sir Letwes Bourdon, with eight hundred men of armes, of elect cholen persons. And to breake the shot of the Englishmen, were appointed sir Guilliam de Saueuses, with Hector and Philip his brethren, Ferrie de Maille, and Alen de Calpanes, with other eight hundred of armes.

In the middle ward, were assigned as manie persons, as were in the formost battell, and the charge thereof was committed to the dukes of Wat and Alanson, the earles of Fleuers, Wandemont, Blamont, Salinges, Grant Pie, & of Ruffie. And in the rereward were all the other men of armes guided by the earles of Parle, Dampmartine, Fauconberg, and the lord of Lourreie capteine of Arde, who had with him the men of the frontiers of Bolo-

nois. Thus the Frenchmen being ordered vnder their standards and banners, made a great shew: for furtie they were esteemed in number sir times as manie or more, than was the whole compante of the Englishmen, with wagoners, pages and all. They rested themselves, waiting for the bloudie blast of the terrible trumpet, till the houre betwene nine and ten of the clocke of the same daie, during which season, the constable made vnto the capteins and other men of warre a pithie oration, exhorting and incouraging them to do valiantlie, with manie comfortable words and sensible reasons. King Henrie also like a leader, and not as one led; like a soueraigne, and not an inferiour, perceiving a plot of ground betwene strong & meet for his purpose, which on the backe halfe was fenced with the village, wherein he had lodged the night before, and on both sides defended with hedges and bushes, thought good there to imbattell his host; and so ordered his men in the same place, as he saw occasion, and as stood for his most aduantage.

The number of the English army and archers.

First, he sent priuillie two hundred archers into a lone medow, which was nere to the bauntgard of his enemies; but separated with a great ditch, commanding them there to keepe themselves close till they had a token to them giuen, to let drue at their aduersaries: beside this, he appointed a batward, of the which he made capteine Edward duke of York, who of an haillie courage had desired that office, and with him were the lords Beaumont, Willoughbie, and Franhope, and this battell was all of archers. The middle ward was gouerned by the king himselfe, with his brother the duke of Gloucester, and the earles of Marthall, Drenford, and Suffolke, in the which were all the strong bilmen. The duke of Gloucester uncle to the king led the rereward, which was mixed both with bilmen and archers: The hostlemen like things went on euerie side of the battell.

The number of the English army.

Thus the king hauing ordered his battels, feared not the puillance of his enemies, but yet to prouide that they should not with the multitude of hostlemen breake the order of his archers, in whome the force of his armie consisted. For in those daies the people had their lims at libertie, with their hosen were then fastened with one point, and their iackes long and easie to shot in; so that they might brate bowes

of great strength, and shot arrowes of a yard long; beside the head he caused stakes bound with iron sharpe at both ends, of the length of fure or six foot to be pitched before the archers, and of ech side the footmen like an hedge, to the intent that if the harded horses ran rashlie vpon them, they might shortly be gozed and destroyed. Certaine persons also were appointed to remoue the stakes, as by the moueing of the archers occasion and time should require, so that the footmen were hedged about with stakes, and the hostlemen stood like a bulwarke betwene them and their enemies, without the stakes. This device of fortifying an armie, was at this time first inuented: but since that time they haue deuised caltraps, harrowes, and other new engins against the force of hostlemen; so that if the enemies run hazzlie vpon the same, either are their horses wounded with the stakes, or their feet hurt with the other engins, so as thereby the beasts are gozed, or else made vnable to mainteine their course.

A politike inuention.

Hall.

King Henrie, by reason of his small number of people to fill vp his battels, placed his bauntgard so on the right hand of the maine battell, which himselfe led, that the distance betwixt them might scarce be perceiued, and so in like case was the rereward intened on the left hand, that the one might the more readily succour an other in time of need. When he had thus ordered his battels, he left a small compante to keepe his campe and carriage, which remained still in the village, and then calling his capteins and soldiers about him, he made to them a right graue oration, mouing them to plaie the men, whereby to obtaine a glorious victorie, as there was hope certefie they should, the rather if they would but remember the iust cause for which they fought, and whome they should encounter, such saint-harded people as their ancestors had so often ouercome. To conclude, manie words of courage he vttered, to stirre them to do manfullie, assuring them that England should neuer be charged with his ransome, nor anie Frenchman triumph ouer him as a captiue; for either by famous death or glorious victorie would he (by Gods grace) win honour and fame.

K. Henries oration to his men.

It is said, that as he heard one of the host utter his wish to another thus: I would to God there were with vs now so manie good soldiers as are at this houre within England! the king answered: I would not wish a man more here than I haue, we are intened in comparison to the enemies but a few, but if God of his clemencie doe fauour vs, and our just cause (as I trust he will) we shall speed well through. But let no man ascribe victorie to our owne strength and might, but onelie to Gods assistance, to whome I haue no doubt we shall worthilie haue cause to giue thanks therefore. And if so be that for our offences takes we shall be deliuered into the hands of our enemies, the lesse number we be, the lesse damage shall the realme of England susteine: but if we should fight in trust of multitude of men, and so get the victorie (our minds being prone to pride) we should thereby perauenture ascribe the victorie not so much to the gift of God, as to our owne puillance, and thereby prouoke his high indignation and displeasure against vs: and if the enemy get the vpper hand, then should our realme and countrie suffer more damage and stand in further danger. But be you of good comfort, and shew your selues valiant. God and our iust quarrell shall defend vs, and deliuer these our proud aduersaries with all the multitude of them which you see (or at the least the most of them) into our hands. Whilste the king was yet thus in speech, either armie so maligned the other, being as then in open fight, that euerie man cried, Forward, forward. The dukes of Clarence, Gloucester, and York, were of

A wish. A noble courage of a valiant prince.

King Henrie rideeth forth to take view of the French armie.

The number of the French army three long thousand.

The battell of Agincourt, the 25 of October 1415.

The forward of the English army.

The forward of the English army.

The forward of the English army.

the same opinion, yet the king staid a while, least anie ieopardie were not foresene, or anie hazard not prevented. The Frenchmen in the meane while, as though they had bene sure of victorie, made great triumph, for the capitains had determined before, how to diuide the spoile, and the soldiers the night before had plaid the Englishmen at dice. The noble men had denised a chariot, wherein they might triumphantly conueie the king captiue to the citie of Paris, crying to their soldiers; Vasse you to the spoile, glorie and honoz; little wening (God wot) how some their bzags should be blowne awaie.

Here we may not forget how the French thus in their iollitie, sent an herald to king Henrie, to inquire what ranfome he would offer. Wherevnto he answered, that within two or thre houres he hoped it would so happen, that the Frenchmen should be glad to common rather with the Englishmen for their ranfoms, than the English to take thought for their deliuerance, promising for his owne part, that his dead carcasle should rather be a prize to the Frenchmen, than that his liuing bodie should paie anie ranfome. When the messenger was come backe to the French host, the men of warre put on their helmes, and caused their trumpets to blow to the battell. They thought themselues so sure of victorie, that diuerse of the noble men made such hast towards the battell, that they left manie of their seruants and men of warre behind them, and some of them would not once staie for their standards: as amongst other the duke of Bhabant, when his standard was not come, caused a baner to be taken from a trumpet and fastened to a speare, the which he commanded to be borne before him in stead of his standard.

But when both these armies comming with in danger either of other, set in full order of battell on both sides, they stood still at the first, beholding either others demeanoz, being not distant in sunder past thre bowshots. And when they had on both parts thus staid a good while without doing anie thing, (except that certeine of the French hoisemen aduancing forwards, betwixt both the hosts, were by the English archers constrained to returne backe) aduise was taken amongst the Englishmen, what was best for them to do. Wherevpon all things considered, it was determined, that with the Frenchmen would not come forward, the king with his armie imbatelled (as ye haue hard) should march towards them, and so leauing their trulle and baggage in the village where they lodged the night before, onlie with their weapons, armour, and stakes prepared for the purpose, as ye haue heard.

These made somewhat forward, before whome there went an old knight sir Thomas Erpingham (a man of great experience in the warre) with a warder in his hand; and when he cast by his warder, all the armie shouted, but that was a signe to the archers in the medow, which therewith shot wholie altogether at the banward of the Frenchmen, who when they perceived the archers in the medow, and saw they could not come at them for a ditch that was betwixt them, with all hast set vpon the foze ward of king Henrie, but yet they could iointe, the archers in the forefront, and the archers on that side which stood in the medow, so wounded the footmen, galled the hoisles, and combed the men of armes, that the footmen durst not go forward, the hoisemen ran together vpon plumps without order, some ouerthrew such as were next them, and the hoisles ouerthrew their masters, and so at the first iointing, the Frenchmen were foulely discomforted, and the Englishmen highly encouraged.

When the French banward was thus brought to confusion, the English archers cast awaie their

bowes, & toke into their hands, ares, malls, swordes, bills, and other hand-weapons, and with the same due the Frenchmen, untill they came to the middle ward. When approached the king, and so encouraged his people, that hostlie the second battell of the Frenchmen was ouerthrowne, and dispersed, not without great slaughter of men: howbeit, diuerse were released by their barlets, and conueied out of the field. The Englishmen were so busied in fighting, and taking of the prisoners at hand, that they followed not in chase of their enemies, nor would once breake out of their arraie of battell. Yet sundrie of the Frenchmen stronglie withstood the fiercenesse of the English, when they came to handle strokes, so that the fight sometime was doubtfull and perillous. Yet as part of the French hoisemen set their course to haue entered vpon the kings battell, with the stakes ouerthrowne, they were either taken or slaine. Thus this battell continued thre long houres.

The king that daie shewed himselfe a valiant knight, albeit almost felled by the duke of Alancon; yet with plaine strength he due two of the dukes companie, and felled the duke himselfe; whome when he would haue yeldeb, the kings gard (contrarie to his mind) due out of hand. In conclusion, the king minding to make an end of that daies toznie, caused his hoisemen to fetch a compasse about, and to iointe with him against the rereward of the Frenchmen, in the which was the greatest number of people. When the Frenchmen perceived his intent, they were suddenlie amazed and ran awaie like shepe, without order or arraie. Which when the king perceived, he encouraged his men, and followed so quicklie vpon the enemies, that they ran hither and thither, casting awaie their armour: manie on their knees desired to haue their liues saued.

In the meane season, while the battell thus continued, and that the Englishmen had taken a great number of prisoners, certeine Frenchmen on horsebacke, whereof were capitains Robinet of Bozenuill, Riffart of Clamas, Flambert of Agincourt, and other men of armes, to the number of sir hundred hoisemen, which were the first that fled, hearing that the English tents & pavilions were a good waie distant from the armie, without anie sufficient gard to defend the same, either vpon a conetous meaning to gaine by the spoile, or vpon a desire to be reuenged, entered vpon the kings campe, and there spoiled the hails, robbed the tents, brake vp chests, and carried awaie caskets, and due such seruants as they found to make anie resistance. For which treason and harkardie in thus leauing their campe at the verie point of fight, for winning of spoile where none to defend it, verie manie were after committed to prison, and had lost their liues, if the Dolphin had longer liued.

But when the outcrie of the lackies and boies, which ran awaie for feare of the Frenchmen thus spoiling the campe, came to the kings eares, he doubting least his enemies should gather together againe, and begin a new field; and mistrusting further that the prisoners would be an aid to his enemies, or the verie enemies to their takers in deed if they were suffered to liue, contrarie to his accustomed gentleness, commanded by sound of trumpet, that euerie man (vpon paine of death) should incontinentlie slaine his prisoner. When this dolorous decrea, and pittifull proclamation was pronounced, pittie it was to see how some Frenchmen were suddenlie stiked with daggers, some were hained with pollaxes, some slaine with malls, other had their throats cut, and some their bellies panned, so that in effect, hauing respect to the great number, few prisoners were saued.

When this lamentable slaughter was ended, the Englishmen

Hall.

The English gaue the onset.

The two armies iointe battell.

The French were taken.

The right soile and valiant challenge of the king.

The king.

Thanks given to God for the victory.

The French were taken.

The French were taken.

The French were taken.

The French were taken.

The French were taken.

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The French were taken.

Dom. 1419.

The French
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An. Reg. 3.

A French onler.

A French onler.

A French onler.

A French onler.

A French onler.

A French onler.

A French onler.

A French onler.

A French onler.

A French onler.

Englishmen disposed themselves in order of battell, ready to abide a new field, and also to invade, and newlie set on their enemies, with great force they assailed the earles of Harle and Fauconbridge, and the lords of Loraie, and of Thine, with six hundred men of armes, who had all that daie kept together, but now slaine and beaten downe out of hand. ¶ Some write, that the king perceiving his enemies in one part to assemble together, as though they meant to give a new battell for preservation of the prisoners, sent to them an herald, commanding them either to depart out of his sight, or else to come forward at once, and give battell: promising herewith, that if they did offer to fight againe, not onelie those prisoners which his people already had taken; but also so manie of them as in this new conflict, which they thus attempted should fall into his hands, should die the death without redemption.

The Frenchmen fearing the sentence of so terrible a decree, without further delay parted out of the field. And so about foure of the clocke in the after none, the king when he saw no apperance of enemies, caused the retreat to be blown; and gathering his armie together, gave thanks to almighty God for so happie a victorie, causing his prelates and chaplains to sing this psalme: *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*, and commanded everie man to kneele downe on the ground at this verse: *Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*. Which done, he caused *Te Deum*, with certaine anthems to be sung, giving laud and praise to God, without boasting of his owne force or antic humane power. That night he and his people took rest, and refreshed themselves with such victuals as they found in the French campe, but lodged in the same village where he laye the night before.

In the morning, Montjoye king at armes and foure other French heralds came to the king to know the number of prisoners, and to desire buriall for the dead. Before he made them answer (to understand what they would saie) he demanded of them whie they made to him that request, considering that he knew not whether the victorie was his or theirs. When Montjoye by true and iust confession had cleared that doubt to the high praise of the king, he desired of Montjoye to understand the name of the castell nere adjoining: when they had told him that it was called Agincourt, he said, Then shall this conflict be called the battell of Agincourt. He feasted the French officers of armes that daie, and granted them their request, which busilie sought through the field for such as were slaine. But the Englishmen suffered them not to go alone, for they searched with them, and found manie hurt, but not in ieopardie of their lives, whom they took prisoners, and brought them to their tents. When the king of England had well refreshed himselfe, and his souldiers, that had taken the spoile of such as were slaine, he with his prisoners in good order returned to his towne of Calis.

When tidings of this great victorie, was blowne into England, solemne processions and other praises to almighty God with bounce-fires and toisfull triumphes, were ordeined in everie towne, citie, and burrow, and the maiors and citizens of London went from the church of saint Simon and Jude to the church of saint Paule to the church of saint Peter at Westminster in devout maner, rendering to God hartie thanks for such fortunate lucke sent to the king and his armie. The same sundae that the king removed from the campe at Agincourt towards Calis, diuerse Frenchmen came to the field to view againe the dead bodies; and the peasants of the countie spoiled the carcasses of all such apparell and other things as the Englishmen had left: who took nothing but gold and silver, jewels, rich apparell

and costlie armour. But the plowmen and peasants left nothing behind, neither shirt nor clout: so that the bodies laye stark naked untill wednesday. On the which daie diuerse of the noble men were conveyed into their countries, and the remnant were by Philip earle Charolois (for lamenting the chance, and moved with pittie) at his costs & charges buried in a square plot of ground of sixtine hundred yards; in the which he caused to be made three pits, wherein were buried by account five thousand and eight hundred persons, beside them that were caried away by their friends and seruants, and others, which being wounded died in hospitals and other places.

After this their dolorous idurne & pittifull slaughter, diuerse clearks of Paris made manie a lamentable verse, complaining that the king reigned by will, and that counsellors were parciall, affirming that the noble men fled against nature, and that the commons were destroyed by their prodigallitie, declaring also that the cleargie were dumbe, and durst not saie the truth, and that the humble commons durst not obeyed, & yet ever suffered punishment, for which cause by diuine persecution the lesse number vanquished the greater: wherefore they concluded, that all things went out of order, and yet was there no man that studied to bring the unrulie to frame. It was no marvell though this battell was lamentable to the French nation, for in it were taken and slaine the flower of all the nobilitie of France.

There were taken prisoners, Charles duke of Orleans nephew to the French king, John duke of Bourbon, the lord Bouciquault one of the marshalls of France (he after died in England) with a number of other lords, knights, and esquires, at the least sixtine hundred, besides the common people. There were slaine in all of the French part to the number of ten thousand men, whereof were princes and noble men bearing banners one hundred twentie and six; to these, of knights, esquires, and gentlemen, so manie as made up the number of eight thousand and foure hundred (of the which five hundred were dubbed knights the night before the battell) so as of the meaner sort, not past sixtine hundred. Amongst those of the nobilitie that were slaine, these were the chiefe, Charles lord de la Brosse high constable of France, Jaques of Chatillon lord of Dampier admerall of France, the lord Rambures master of the crossbowes, sir Guiscard Dolphin great master of France, John duke of Alanson, Anthonie duke of Brabant brother to the duke of Burgonie, Edward duke of Bar, the earle of Heuers an other brother to the duke of Burgonie, with the earles of Harle, Audemont, Beaumont, Grandpre, Rouille, Fauconberge, Foies and Aestrike, beside a great number of lords and barons of name.

Of Englishmen, there died at this battell, Edward duke of Yorke, the earle of Suffolke, sir Richard Biskelie, and Davie Gamme esquier, and of all other not about five and twentie persons, as some do report; but other writers of greater credit affirme, that there were slaine about five or six hundred persons, Titus Linius saith, that there were slaine of Englishmen, beside the duke of Yorke, and the earle of Suffolke, an hundred persons at the first encounter. The duke of Glocester the kings brother was sore wounded about the hips, and borne downe to the ground, so that he fell backwards, with his feet towards his enemies, whom the king bestrode, and like a brother valiantlie rescued from his enemies, & so saving his life, caused him to be conveyed out of the fight, into a place of more safetie. ¶ The which order of this conflict which cost manie a mans life, and procured great bloodshed before it was ended, is liuelie described in *Anglorum praelij*; where also, besides the manner of disposing

Three graces
that held five
thousand and
eight hundred
copies.

Noble men
prisoners.

The number
slaine on the
French part.
Englishmen
slaine.

Englishmen
slaine.

Rich. Grafton
Titus Linius.

Abt. Fl. out of
Anglorum praelij
sub Henr. 5.

spoiling the armies, with the exploits on both sides, the number also of the slaine, not much differing (though somewhat) from the account here named, is there touched, which remembrance verie fit for this place, it were an error (I thinke) to omit; and therefore here inserted (with the shortest) as followeth.

*equitatus ordine primo,
Magnanimi satrapæ, post hoc cecidere secundo
Naharra comes, et tunc archiepiscopus (o Sans)
Præterea comites octo periere cruentis
Pulueribus, tria appellant quos voce barones
Plus centum, clari generis plus mille cadelant
Sexcenti, notig, decem plus millia vulgi
Ex Francorum, ter centum perdidit Anglum:
Et penes Henricum belli victoria mansit.*

Hall.

After that the king of England had refreshed himselfe, and his people at Calis, and that such prisoners as he had left at Harflue (as ye haue heard) were come to Calis unto him, the first date of Nouember, he with all his prisoners took shipping, and the same date landed at Douer, hauing with him the dead bodies of the duke of Poike, and the earle of Suffolke, and caused the duke to be buried at his colledge of Fobringhey, and the earle at new Elme. In this passage, the seas were so rough and troublous, that two ships belonging to sir John Cornetwall, lord Fanhope, were duien into Zeland; howbeit, nothing was lost, nor any person perisht. The maior of London, and the aldermen, apparelled in orient grained scarlet, and foure hundred commoners clad in beautiful murrie, well mounted, and trimlie hoisted, with rich collars, & great chaines, met the king on Blackheath, reioicing at his returne: and the clergie of London, with rich crosses, sumptuous copes, and massie censers, receiued him at saint Thomas of Waterings with solempne procession.

Titus Livius.

The great modestie of the king.

The king like a graue and sober personage, and as one remembering from whom all viceries are sent, seemed little to regard such baue poms and shewes as were in triumphant sort deuised for his welcoming home from so prosperous a iournie, in so much that he would not suffer his helmet to be caried with him, whereby might haue appeared to the people the blowes and dints that were to be seene in the same; neither would he suffer any ditties to be made and song by minstrels of his glorious victorie, for that he would wholie haue the praise and thanks altogether giuen to God. The newes of this bloodie battell being reported to the French king as then sojourning at Rone, filled the court full of sorrow. But to remedie such danger as was like to insue, it was decreed by councell, to ordeine new officers in places of them that were slaine: and first, he elected his chiefe officer for the wars, called the constable, the earle of Arminacke, a wise and politike capitaine, and an ancient enimie to the Englishmen. Sir John de Cozie was made maister of the crosse-bowes. Shortly after, either for melancholie that he had for the losse at Agincourt, or by some sudden disease letwes Dolphim of Viennois, heire apparant to the French king, departed this life without issue, which happened well for Robinet of Bournenill, and his sekowes, as ye haue heard before, for his death was their life, & his life would haue bene their death.

The death of the Dolphim of France. Part of those that spoiled the English campe.

I 4 I 6

After the French king had created new officers, in hope to relieue the state of his realme and countrie, soe shaken by the late great ouerthrow, it chanced, that Thomas duke of Excester capitaine of Harflue, accompanied with three thousand Englishmen, made a great rode into Normandie, almost to the citie of Rone, in which iournie he got great abundance both of riches and prisoners: but in his returne, the earle of Arminacke newlie made constable of France, intending in his first enterprize to win the

spurs, hauing with him aboute three thousand horsemen, incountred with the duke. The fight was handled on both parts verie hotlie, but because the Englishmen were not able to resist the force of the Frenchmen, the duke was constrained to retire with losse at the least of three hundred of his footmen.

Howbeit being withdrawen into an orchard, which was strongly fenced and hedged about with thornes, the Frenchmen were not able to enter vpon the Englishmen; but yet they took from them all their horses and spoile, & assaulted them till it was night, and then retired backe to the towne, not far distant from the place where they fought, called Wallenmont: this was vpon the 14 day of March. In the morning vpon the breake of the daie, the Englishmen issued forth of the orchard, where they had kept themselves all the night, & drew towards Harflue, whereof the Frenchmen being aduertised, followed them, & ouertooke them vpon the sands nere to Chiese de Caur, & there set on them: but in the end, the Frenchmen were discomfited, and a great number of them slaine by the Englishmen, which afterwards returned without more adu into Harflue. The French writers blame the constable for this losse, because he kept on the high ground with a number of men of war, and would not come downe to aid his fellows.

In this fourth yeare of king Henries reigne, the emperor Sigismund, cosine germane to king Henrie, came into England, to the intent that he might make an attonement betwene king Henrie and the French king: with whom he had bene before, bringing with him the archbishop of Remes, as ambassador for the French king. At Calis he was honorably receiued by the earle of Warwike lord deputy there, and diuerse other lords sent thither for purpose to attend him. Whereupon, the king sent thither thirtie great ships to bring him and his traine over. At Douer the duke of Gloucester, and diuerse other lords were ready to receiue him, who at his approaching to land, entered the water with their swords in their hands drawen; and by the mouth of the said duke declared to him, that if he intended to enter the land as the kings friend, and as a mediator to intreat for peace, he should be suffered to arrive: but if he would enter as an emperor into a land claimed to be vnder his empire, then were they ready to resist him. This was thought necessarie to be done for sauing of the kings prerogative, who hath full prebeminence within his owne realme, as an absolute emperor.

When the emperor hereupon answered that he was come as the kings friend, and as a mediator for peace, and not with any imperiall authoritie, he was of the duke and other his associates receiued with all such honors as might be deuised. The king with all his nobilitie receiued him on Blackheath, the seventh day of Aprill, and brought him through London to Westminster with great triumph. Shortly after there came also into England Albert duke of Holland, who was likewise friendly intertained. Both these princes, the emperor and the duke of Holland were conueied to Windsoze to saint Georges feast, and elected companions of the noble order of the garter, and had the collar and habit of the same to them deliuered, and sat in their thalls all the solemnitie of the feast. Shortly after that the feast was finished, the duke of Holland returned into his countrie; but the emperor tarried still, and assailed all manner of means to perswade the king to a peace with the Frenchmen.

But their euill hap, as they that were appointed by Gods providence to suffer more damage at the Englishmens hands, would not permit his persuasions to take place: for whereas peace was euen almost entering in at the gates, the king was suddenly stricken

The emperor earnestly me-
ney for
acc.The French king
by the
French.

Titus Livius.

The great over-
throw by sea
men to the
French by the
duke of Bed-
ford.The French
king of France
was defeated
by the English-
men.Titus Livius.
The duke of
Holland was
defeated by the
Englishmen.The duke of
Holland was
defeated by the
Englishmen.

The emperor
in correct me-
nator for
peace.

Further be-
lieved by the
french.

10 Reg. 4.
je emperor
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Titus Lilius.

3 great over-
flow by sea
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french by the
duke of Bed-
ford.

On french
name of the
benedict de-
fecta nauqua-
hant.

Titus Lilius.
Further re-
fined by the
Englishmen.

libert duke
of and
ineth into
England.

Could discor-
nought the
actes of
france.

red to displeasure upon a new occasion, for he being
advertised of the late of his men at the late conflict
in the territory of Acone, as ye have heard, refused to
be his own peace once named. The emperor
thereupon passed over that time till another
season, that some favourable aspect of the planets
should serve to further his purpose. And when he
thought the same was come, he landed againe the
bell of concord and amitie, which he put in so faire
a way, presented it with such effectious words, as
that shortly the king had taken it, if word had not
been brought about the same time, that Harling was
besieged of the French both by water and land, as it
was indeed, for the constable of France incouraged
by his last conflict (though the same was not much
to his profit) assembled an armie, and upon a sudden
laid siege to the towne. At the same instant John vi-
count of Harbott the vice-admirall of France,
brought the whole navie to the rivage and there ad-
joining to the towne, in purpose to have entered by
the water side; but the duke of Excester defeated his
intent, and defended the towne verie manfully.

King Henrie advertised hereof, meant at the first
to have gone with his navie in person to the succours
of his men; but the emperor dissuaded him from that
purpose, advising him rather to send some one of his
captains. The king following his loving and reason-
able advertisement, appointed his brother the duke
of Bedford accompanied with the earles of March,
Warshall, Driford, Huntington, Warwicke, Arun-
bell, Salisbury, Denonshire, and divers barons,
with two hundred saile to passe into Normandie, for
reliefe of the towne of Harfleur, which being great di-
ligence shipped at Aie, and after some hinderance by
contrarie winds, at length came to the mouth of the
river of Seine on the daie of the Assumption of our
ladie. When the vicount of Harbott perceived the
English navie to approach, he courageously set for-
ward, and gat the possession of the mouth of the ha-
wen. The duke of Bedford seeing his enemies thus
determined to come forward, set before certaine strong
ships, which at the first encounter vanquished and
tooke two french ships, the captains whereof were to-
rally and forward.

The duke followed with all his puissance, and set
on his enemies. The fight was long, but not so long
as perilous, nor so perilous as terrible (for battels
on the sea are desperate) till at length the victorie fell
to the Englishmen, so that almost all the whole navie
of France, in the which were manie ships, hulkes,
carries, and other small vessels to the number of five
hundred was taken. Amongst other vessels that were
taken, the great carries of Genoa a citie in Italie,
were sent into England. In the same conflict were
killed of the Frenchmen no small number, as ap-
peared by the dead bodies, which were seen euerie daie
swimming about the English ships. After this, the
duke of Bedford sailed up to Harfleur, & refreshed the
towne both with vittels and monie; notwithstanding
certaine other french galleies did what they could
to hinder that enterprise. When the erle of Armi-
nacke heard that the puissant name of France was
vanquished, he raised his siege & returned to Paris.

After this discomfiture and losse, the puissance of
the Frenchmen began to decaye, for now the princes
and nobles of the realme fell into division and dis-
cord among themselves, studying how to revenge
their old priuat injuries, & refused to take paine for
succour of the publike weale and safegard of their
countrie: whereupon their power began to war-
render, their state brought into imminent panger of
perpetuall bondage; which thing no doubt had fallen
upon them if king Henrie had longer lived. For as
upon one inconuenience suffered, manie do follow,

so was it in France at that time; for the king was
not of sound memorie, the warre that was to be
both doubtfull and perillous: the princes distrustful
and at discord with a hundred things more (which
might bring a realme to ruine) out of frame and or-
der in France in those daies. After that, the duke of
Bedford was returned backe againe into England
with great triumph and glorie, he was not so much
thankes of the king his brother, as praised of the em-
perour Sigismund, being to him a stranger, which
said openlie, that hapie are those subjects which haue
such a king, but more hapie is the king that hath such
subjects.

When the emperor perceived that it was in vaine
to moue further for peace, he left off that treatie, and
entered himselfe into a league with king Henrie,
the contents of which league consisted chiefly in these
articles, that both the said emperor and king, their
heires, and successors, should be friends each to other,
as allies and confederats against all manner of per-
sons, of what estate or degree so euer they were (the
church of Rome, and the pope for that time being ex-
cepted) and that neither they, nor their heires,
nor successors should be present in counsell or other
place, where either of them, or his heires or successors
might susteine damage, in lands, goods, honours,
states, or persons; and that if any of them should un-
derstand of losse or hinderance to be like to fall, or
happen to the others, they should impeach the same, or
if that late not in their powers, they should advertise
the others thereof with all conuenient speed; and that
either of them, and their heires and successors should
aduance the others hono: and commoditie without
fraud or deceit. Moreover, that neither of them, nor
their heires and successors should permit their sub-
jects to leaue warres against the others; and that if
should be lawfull and free for any of their subjects, to
passe into the others countrie, and there to remaine
and make merchandise, either by sea or land, paying
the customes, gabels, and duties due and accustomed,
according to the lawes and ordinances of the places
and countries where they chanced to traffike.

Furthermore, that neither of the said princes, nor
their heires nor successors should receiue any rebell,
banished man, or traitor of the others wittinglie,
but should cause euerie such person to auoid out of
their countries, realmes, dominions, and iurisdicti-
ons. Again, that neither of the said princes, their
heires, nor successors should begin any wars against
any other person, other than such as they had warres
with at that present, without consent of the other his
confederate, except in defense of themselves, their
countries and subjects, in case of inuasion made by
on them. Also, that it should be lawfull for the king
of England, to prosecute his warres against the
Frenchmen for recouerie of his right, as should
seeme to him expedient; and likewise to the emperor,
for recouerie of any part of his right in France, so
that neither of them did preiudice the others right in
that behalfe. Lastly, that either of them should assist
other, in recouerie & conquest of their rights, lands,
and dominions, occupied, with holden, and kept from
them, by him that called himselfe king of France,
and other the princes and barons of France. This a-
liance, with other conditions, agreements, and arti-
cles, was concluded & established on the nineteenth
daie of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1416. This
done, the emperor returned homewards, to passe in
to Germanie; and the king partied to them him ho-
nor, and partied because of his owne affaires, associa-
ted him to his towne of Calis.

During the time of their abode there, the duke of
Burgonie offered to come to Calis, to speake with
the emperor and the king, because he had knowledge
of

Charles the
French king
not of sound
memorie.

Titus Lilius.
The emperor
entereth into
league with
king Henrie.

The contents
of the league.

Titus Lilius.

An. Reg. 5.

wind and weather to his desire, the first daie of August he landed in Normandie, nere to a castell called Touque, where he consulted with his capitaine, what waie was best for him to take concerning his high enterprise.

The number of the armie of Henrie the fift.

Tit. Lilius.

His armie contained the number of sixteen thousand and foure hundred soldiers and men of warre of his owne purueiance, beside others. The duke of Clarence had in his retinue a hundred lances, and three hundred archers: and beside him, there were three earles, which had two hundred and forty lances, and seauentene hundred and twenty archers. The duke of Gloucester foure hundred and seauentie lances, and foureteene hundred and ten archers. The earles of March, Marthall, Warwicke, and Salisburie, each of them one hundred lances, and three hundred archers a peece. The earle of Huntingdon forty lances, and six score archers. The earle of Suffolke thirty lances, and foure score and ten archers. Beside these, there were thirtene lords, as Aburgauennie, Gatreuere, Fitz Hugh, Clifford, Graie, Willoughbie, Calbot, Courtenie, Burghier, Ros, Louell, Ferrers of Chartleie, and Harington, the which had in their retinue the number of five hundred and six lances, and fiftene hundred and fourescore archers. Also, there were in this armie threescore and seauentene knights, which had vnder them nine hundred and forty five lances, and two thousand eight hundred and fiftie two archers; so that in all, there were five and twenty thousand, five hundred, and eight and twenty fighting men: of which number euerie fourth man was a lance. Beside the soldiers and men of warre, there were a thousand masons, carpenters, and other labourers.

The Normans hearing of the kings arrivall, were suddenlye stricken with such feare, that they fled out of their houses, leaving the towne and villages, and with their wives and children, bag and baggage, got them into the walled towne, preparing there to defend themselves, & with all speed sent to the French king, requiring him to prouide for the defense and preservation of his louing subiects. Whereupon, the men of war were appointed to resort into the strong towne, to lie within the same in garrisons, to resist the power of the Englishmen, so that all the walled towne and castles in Normandie were furnished with meyn, munition, and vittels.

The king of England, when he had consulted with his counsell for his proceeding in his enterprises, laid siege vnto the castell of Touque. The duke of Gloucester that led the fore ward, had the charge of that siege, the which by force of assaults, and other warlike meanes, brought to that point, that they within yielded the place into his hands, the ninth daie of August. The earle of Salisbury, who led the battell, took the castell of Ambernilliers, the which was giuen to him by the king, and so this earle was the first that had anie territorie giuen him of the king in this new conquest. The king made at the winning of Touque eight and twenty knights, and left sir Robert Kirkellie capitaine there.

Undermills castell taken.

After this, on deliberate aduise taken how to proceed; he let forward toward the towne of Caen in most warlike order, waiking the countrie on euerie side as he passed. Which towne standeth in a plaine fertile countrie, no stronger walled, than deepe ditched, and as then well vittelled and replenished with people: for the citizens fearing the kings coming, had there prouided all things necessarie and defensible. But his maiestie doubting least the Frenchmen, vpon their vnderstanding of his approach to the towne, would haue burned the suburbs and buildings without the walles, sent the duke of Clarence with a thousand men before him, to prevent that mischance. The duke coming thither, found the suburbs already set on fire, but used such diligence to quench the same, that the most part was saved. He also won the abbey church of saint Stephan, which the Frenchmen were in hand to haue overthrown, by vndermining the pillars; but the duke obtaining the place, filled by the mines, and so preferred the church. He also won a cell of nunnies, verie stronglie fenced, after the manner of warre.

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Then came the king before the towne, who caused forthwith to be cast a deepe trench, with an high mount, to keepe them within from issuing forth, and that done, began fiercelie to assault the towne: but they within stood manfullie to their defense, so that there was sore and cruell fight betwixt them, and their enimies. But when king Henrie perceived that he lost more than he won by his daile assaults, he left off anie more to assault it, and determined to ouerthrow the wals, with vndermining. Wherefore with all diligence, the pioners cast trenches, made mines, & brought timber, so that within a few daies, the wals stood onelie vpon posts, ready to fall, when fire should be put to them. The king meaning now to giue a generall assault, caused all the capitaine to assemble before him in counsell, vnto whom he declared his purpose, commanding them not before the next daie to utter it; till by sound of trumpet they should haue warning to set forward towards the wals, least his determination being disclosed to the enimies, might cause them to prouide the better for their owne defense. He also prescribed vnto them, what order he would haue them to keepe, in giuing the assault, and that was this, that euerie capitaine diuiding his band into three severall portions, they might be ready one to succede in an others place, as those which fought should happlie be driuen backe and repelled.

Caen besieged

Tit. Lilius.

The order of the assault.

In the morning next following, being the fourth of September, somewhat before the break of the daie, he caused his people to approach the wals, and to shew countenance, as though they would giue a generall assault; and whilst they were busied in assailing and defending on both sides, the Englishmen pearled and brake thorough the wals by diuerse holes and ouertures made by the pioners, vnder the foundation: yet the king vpon diuerse respects, offered them within pardon of life, if they would yield themselves and the towne to his mercie; but they refusing that to do, the assault was newlie begun, and after sore fight continued for the space of an houre, the Englishmen prevailed, and due so mane as they found with weapon in hand, ready to resist them.

Titus Lilius.

The duke of Clarence was the first that entred with his people, and hauing got the one part of the towne, assailed them that kept the bridge, & by force beating them backe, passed the same, and so came to the wals on the other side of the towne, where the fight was sharpe and fierce betwixt the assailants and defendants; but the duke with his people setting on the Frenchmen behind, as they stood at defense on the wals, easilie vanquished them, so that the Englishmen entred at their pleasure. Thus when the king was possessed of the towne, he incontinentlie commanded all armour & weapons of the vanquished, to be brought into one place, which was immediately done.

Caen taken by the Englishmen.

Then the miserable people came before the kings presence, and kneeling on their knees, held vp their hands, and cried; Mercie, mercie: to whom the king gaue certaine comfortable words, & had them stand vp. All the night following, he caused his armie to keepe themselves in order of battell within the towne, and on the next morning called all the magistrats & gouernors of the towne to the senat house,

h h g.

where

Division of
spoile.

The capteine
of the castell
held out.

Titus Lilius.
Caen castell
yielded.

Titus Lilius.
The Scots
inade the
English boy-
bers.

Titus Lilius.
A great armie
to resist the
Scots.

Thom. Walfin.

The Scots
recoile home.

Plaurus.
Sir John
Dibcastell.
The seruants
of the abbat
of S. Albons
go about to
catch the lord
Cobham.

where some for their willfull stubbornesse were ad-
judged to die, other were soze fined and ransomed.
Then he calling together his souldiers and men of
warre, not onelie gaue them great praises and high
commendations for their manlie doings, but also di-
stributed to euerie man, according to his desert, the
spoile and gaine gotten in the towne, chiefe because
at the assault they had shewed good proofe of their
manhood and ballant courages.

After that the towne was thus towne, the lord
Montaigne, capteine of the castell, would not yeld,
but made semblance, as though he meant to defend
the place, to the vtterance: but after that he was
sharpe called vpon by king Henrie, either to yeld
it, or else that he should be assured to haue all mercie
and fauour requested from him, he toke better ad-
uise, and thereupon being in despair of rescue, made
this composition, that if he were not rescued of the
French power by a certeine date, he should render
the fortesse into the kings hands, with condition,
that he and his souldiers should be suffered to depart
with all their goods, the habiliments of warre onelie
excepted. Hereupon twelue hostages were deliuered
to the king, and when the date came, being the twen-
tith of September, they within rendred the castell in-
to the kings hands; and thus, both the towne and ca-
stell of Caen became English.

Whilste the king was thus occupied about his
warres in Normandie, the Scots in great number,
entering England, wasted the countrie with fire and
sword whersoeuer they came. The English lords that
were left in trust with the keeping of those parties of
the realme, raised the whole power of the countries,
so that there came together the number of an hun-
dred thousand men vpon Watmore, where the gene-
rall assemble was made, and as it chanced, the duke
of Brecester, vncle to the king, who had latelie before
mustered a certeine number of men to conuene them
ouer to the king as a new supplie to his armie there,
was the same time in the north parts on pilgrimage
at Widdington; and hearing of this invasion made
by the Scots, toke vpon him to be general of the
armie prepared against them, and to giue them bat-
tell. Also, the archbishop of Yorke, although he was
not able to sit on horsebacke by reason of his great
age, caused himselfe to be carried forth in a chariot in
that tourne, the better to incourage other. But the
Scots hearing that the Englishmen approached to-
ward them with such a puissance, withdrew backe in-
to their countrie, and durst not abide the bickering;
either because they mistrusted an insolent enent
on their side, by reason of the English prowesse; or
else for that they had learned by others ouerthrowes
to auoid the like, wherein standeth a profitable point
of wisdome, as the poet verie sententiouslie saith,

Felicitat sapit qui in alieno periculo sapit.

The same time, the lord Cobham, sir John Dibca-
stell, whilste he shifted from place to place to escape
the hands of them, who he knew would be glad to
late hold on him, had conuened himselfe in secret
wise into an husbandmans house, not farre from S.
Albans, within the precinct of a lordship belonging
to the abbat of that towne. The abbats seruants get-
ting knowledge hereof, came thither by night, but
they missed their purpose, for he was gone; but they
caught diuerse of his men, whome they carried streit
to prison. The lord Cobham herewith was soze dis-
maied, for that some of them that were taken were
such as he trusted most, being of counsell in all his
deuises. In the same place, were found books written
in English, and some of those books in times past had
beene trimlie gilt, lined, and beautified with ima-
ges, the heads whereof had beene scraped off, and in
the Letanie they had blotted forth the name of our

ladie, and of other saints, till they came to the verie
Parce nobis Domine. Diuerse writings were found
there also, in derogation of each honour as then was
thought due to our ladie. The abbat of saint Albons
sent the booke so disfigured with scrapings & blottings
out, with other such writings as there were found,
vnto the king; who sent the booke againe to the arch-
bishop, to shew the same in his sermons at Pauls
crosse in London, to the end that the citizens and o-
ther people of the realme might vnderstand the pur-
poses of those that then were called Lollards, to
bring them further in discredit with the people.

In this meane time that the king of England was
occupied about Caen, the Frenchmen had neither a-
nie sufficient power to resist him, nor were able to as-
semble an host together in their necessitie, by reason
of the dissention among themselves: for their king
was so simple, that he was spoiled both of treasure
and kingdome, so that euerie man spent and wasted
he cared not what. Charles the Dolphin being of the
age of sixtene or seauentene yeares, beheld the
ruine and decaye of his countrie, he onlie studied the
reliefe of the common-wealth, and deuised how to
resist his enemies; but hauing neither men nor mo-
nie, was greatly troubled and disquieted in mind.
In conclusion, by the aduise and counsell of the earle
of Arminacke the constable of France, he found a
meane to get all the treasure & riches which his mo-
ther quene Isabell had gotten and hoarded in diuerse
secret places; and for the common defense and profit
of his countrie he wisely bestowed it in buying
souldiers, and preparing of things necessarie for the
warre.

The quene forgetting the great perill that the
realme then stood in, reuincing onelie the displea-
sure to hir by this act done, vpon a womanish malice,
set hir husband John duke of Burgogne in the high-
est authoritie about the king, giuing him the reg-
ment and direction of the king and his realme; with
all prebeminence & soueraintie. The duke of Bur-
gogne hauing the sword in his hand, in reuenge of
old injuries, began to make warre on the Dolphin,
determining, that when he had tamed this yong un-
bridled gentleman, then would he go about to with-
stand, and beat backe the common enemies of the
realme. The like reason moued the Dolphin, for he
minded first to repress the authors of ciuill discord,
before he would set vpon foreine enemies, and there-
fore prepared to subdue and bestroie the duke of Bur-
gogne, as the cheefe head of that mischefe, whereby
the realme was vniquieted, decayed, and in manner
brought to vtter ruine. Thus was France afflicted,
and in euerie part troubled with warre and dissension,
and no man to prouide remedie, nor once put forth
his finger for helpe or succour.

King Henrie in the meane time following victo-
rie and his good successe, sent the duke of Clarence to
the sea coast, where (with great difficultie) he got the
towne of Bateur, whereof the lord Patreurs was
appointed capteine. The duke of Gloucester also find-
ing small resistance, toke the citie of Alesour, of
which citie sir John Durbelle was ordeined capteine.
King Henrie himselfe tarried still at Caen; forti-
fying the towne and castell, and put out sixtene hun-
dred women and impotent persons, replenishing
the towne with English people. Where while the
king sojourned, he kept a solemne feast, and made
manie knights; beside that, he shewed there an ex-
ample of great pittie and clemencie: for in fear-
ching the castell, he found innumerable substance of
plate and monie belonging to the citizens; whereof
he would not suffer one pence to be touched; but re-
stored the same to the owners; bestowing to euerie
man that which was his owne.

The Por-
mans will
inghe low
English.

The castel
Courtier
died.

Argenton
battered.

The bolu-
re subiect
of the fire
Des per

London
sized and
peised by

Titus Liu

It trues t
betweene
Henrie and
the duke
Bryenne.

Commenda-
tion of the
Dolphin of
France.

The yong
Dolphin
had
his
mother
of
treasure
John
mischief
vnto
him.

The duked
Burgogne
chaire borne
France.

Bateur
taken.

Alesour
taken.

Caen people
with English
inhabitants
2 thousand
rare example
of equitie to
king Henrie.

When

1417.

An. Reg. 5.

When the same of his mercifull dealing herein, of his bountie to captiues, and of his fauourable vifiting of thole that fubmitted themfelues to his grace, was fped abroad, all the capteins of the townes adioining, came willinglie to his prefence, offering to him themfelues, their townes, and their goods, whereupon he made proclamation, that all men, which had, or would become his fubiects, and fweare to him allegiance, fhould inioy their goods, and liberties, in as large or more ample maner, than they did befor: which gentle interteining of the fubborne fozmans, was the verie caufe, why they were not onlie content, but alfo glad to remoue and turne from the french part, and become fubiects to the crowne of England.

When the king had fet Caen in good order, he left there for capteins, the one of the towne, the other of the caftell, fir Gilbert Umfreuill earle of Raine or Angus, & fir Gilbert Talbot, and made bailiffe there fir John Popham, and fo departed from Caen the firft of October, and comming to the caftell of Courfay, within three daies had it rendred to him. From whence, the fourth of October, he came vnto Argenton; they within that towne and caftell offered, that if no refcue came by a daie limited, they would deliuer both the towne and caftell into the kings hands, fo that fuch as would abide and become the kings faithfull fubiects fhould be receiued, the other to depart with their goods and liues faued whether they would: the king accepted their offer. When the daie limited came, and no fuccours appeared, they yelued according to the covenants, and the king performed all that on his behalfe was promifed. The lord Grate of Codroz was appointed capteine there. After this, reforted daile to the king, of the fozmans, people of all forts and degrees, to fweare to him fealtie and homage. The citie of Sees which was well inhabited, and wherein were two abbeyes of great ftrength, one of them yelued to the king, and fo likewife did diuerfe other townes in thole parties, without ftrike taken.

The towne of Alanson abode a ftege for the fpace of eight daies, they within defending it right balliantlie at the firft; but in the end, confidering with themfelues, what fmall hope there was for anie fuccours to come to remoue the ftege, they grew to a compofition, that if within a certeine daie they were not releued, they fhould yeld both the towne and caftell into the kings hands, which was done: for no fuccours could be heard of. The king appointed capteine of this towne, the duke of Glocefter, and his lieutenant fir Rafle Lentall. The duke of Biffaine vnder fafe conduct came to the king, as he was thus buile in the conquest of Normandie, and after fundry points treated of betwixt them, a truce was taken, to indure from the feuenth daie of Nouember, vnto the laft of September, in the yeare next following, betwixt them, their fouldiers, men of warre, and fubiects. The like truce was granted vnto the queene of Ierufalem and Sicill, & to hir fonne Lewis, for the duchie of Aniou, and the countie of Epaine, the duke of Biffaine being their deputie for concluding of the fame truce.

About the fame time alfo, at the fute of Charles the Dolphin, a treatie was in hand at Torque, for a fmall peace, but it came to none effect. From Alanson the king fet fozward towards the towne and caftell of Faleis, meaning to befiege the fame, where the frenchmen appointed to the keeping of it, had fortified the towne by all meanes poffible, and prepared themfelues to defende it to the uttermoft. The earle of Saintburie was firft fent thither before with certeine bands of fouldiers to inclofe the enemies within the towne, & to view the ftrength thereof. After

him came the king with his whole armie, about the firft of December, and then was the towne befieged on eche fide. The king lodged before the gate that leadeth to Caen, the duke of Clarence before the caftell that ftandeth on a rocke, and the duke of Glocefter laie on the kings right hand, and other lords & noble men were assigned to their places as was thought expedient. And to be fure from taking damage by anie fudden inuafion of the enemies, there were great trenches and rampiers caft and made about their feuerall campes, for defence of the fame.

The frenchmen notwithstanding this ftege, balliantlie defended their wals, and fometimes made iffues forth, but fmall to their gaine: and kill the Englifhmen with their guns and great ordinance made batterie to the wals and bulwarks. The winter feafon was verie cold, with fharp frofts, & hard weather; but the Englifhmen made fuch shift for prouifion of all things neceffarie to ferue their turns, that they were fufficientlie prouided, both againft hunger and cold: fo that in the end, the frenchmen perceiuing they could not long indure againft them, offered to talke, and agreed to giue over the towne, if no refcue came by a certeine daie appointed. About the fame feafon was fir John Mdocaftell, lord Cobham taken, in the countie of Poles land, in the borders of Wales, within a lordship belonging to the lord Poles, not without danger and hurts of fome that were at the taking of him: for they could not take him, till he was wounded himfelfe.

At the fame time, the ftates of the realme were afsembled at London, for the leuieng of monie, to furnifh the kings great charges, which he was at about the maintenance of his wars in France: it was therefore determined, that the laid fir John Mdocaftell fhould be brought, and put to his trial, yer the afsemble brake vp. The lord Poles therfore was fent to fetch him, who brought him to London in a litter, wounded as he was: herewith being firft laid falk in the Tower, fhortlie after he was brought before the duke of Bedford, regent of the realme, and the other eftates, where in the end he was condemned; and finally was drawn from the Tower vnto faine Giles field, and there hanged in a chaine by the middle, and after consumed with fire, the gallowes and all.

When the daie was come, on the which it was covenanted that the towne of Faleis fhould be deliuered, to wit, the fecond of Ianuarie, becaufe no fuccours appeared, the towne was yelued to the king: but the caftell held out ftill, into the which the capteine and gouernour both of the towne and caftell had withdrawne themfelues, with all the fouldiers; and being ftreftlie befieged, the capteine defended himfelfe and the place right fountlie, although he was foze laid to, vntill at length, perceiuing his people wearied with continuall affaults, and fuch approaches as were made to and within the verie wals, he was dzuen to compound with the king, that if he were not fuccoured by the firft of Februarie, then fhould he yeld himfelfe prifoner, and deliuer the caftell; fo that the fouldiers fhould haue licence to depart, with their liues onellie faued. When the daie came, the covenants were performed, and the caftell rendered to the kings hands, for no aid came to the refcue of them within. The capteine named Oliuer de Spannie was kept as prifoner, till the caftell was repaired at his cofts and charges, becaufe the fame, though his obftinat wilfulneffe, was foze beater and defaced, with underminings and batterie. Capteine there, by the king, was appointed fir Henrie Fitt; Hugh.

After this, king Henrie returned to Caen, and by reafon of a proclamation which he had caufed to be made for the people of Normandie, that had with-

Faleis belies ged.

Thom. Wall. Sir John Mdocaftell taken.

Sir John Mdocaftell executed.

1418 Faleis rendered by to king Henrie.

Hiftoir des ducs de Normandie.

Commendation of the Dolphin of France,

The young Dolphin fign ed his owne nether of the realure, what mifchiefe role upon it. The duke of Burgogne here doer in France,

Salency take

Lifcans aben.

Caen people with English inhabitants. A fmall part of Aquitaine in king Henrie.

the tapes.

violent
part of
ID.

Cherburgh
added to the
Englishmen.

10 Reg. 61

tunc in
 mandie
 ded to h.
 rie.

The castle of
Dampfront
valued.

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terburgh
aged by
English,

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Sir John
Bromley
made captain
of Dampfrēt.

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Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglia & Francie & dominus Hibernie, omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenierint salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali & pro bono seruitio quod dilectus serui noster Iohannes Bromley nobis impendit & impendet in futurum: dedimus & concessimus hereditarium de Molay Bacon, infra comitatum nostrum de Baieux, ac omnes terras, tenementa, redditus, hereditates, & possessiones infra ducatum nostrum Normandia, qua fuerunt Alani de Beaumont nobis rebellis, ut dicitur. Habendum & tenendam prefato Iohanni & heredibus suis masculinis de corpore suo procreatis, hospitium, terras, & tenementa, redditus, hereditates, & possessiones supradictas, una cum omnimodis franchiseis, priuilegijs, iurisdictionibus, wardis, maris aguis, releuis, scabets, forisfacturis, feodis militum, aduocationibus ecclesiarum, & aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum quorumcumque terris, pratis, pasturis, boscis, maribus, schafis, aquis, viuis, stagnis, molendinis.

aliqua contradictione mei predicti Iohannis, aut heredum meorum aliquali. Reddendo inde mihi ipsi Gualtero annuatim in festo sancti Georgii martyris, si tunc fuerim infra regnum Anglia, vnum par calcarum deauratorum, pro omnibus. Et etiam volo & concedo quod predictus Gualterus liber sit, durante tota vita sua, ad volandum, venandum, piscandum, & alias commoditates percipiendum, tam infra manerium meum de Bromley quam in omnibus alijs manerij, terris, & teneamentis meis infra regnum Anglia, sine aliqua contradictione vel impedimento mei prefati Iohannis de Bromley militis, heredum, aut assignatorum meorum aliquali. Et ut fidele testimonium presentibus habeatur, sigillum meum apposui: hijs testibus, Roberto de Bruyn milite, Iohanne de Holland, Gulielmo de Brereton, Richardo le Grenill, Iohanne de Egerton, Richardo le Beston, Thoma le Creu, & alijs. Datum apud Dampfront predicto, 12 die mensis Augusti, anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum sexto.

The old armes of the house of Bromley being quarterlie goles and oze per fesse indented, had in the feale to this daie, an inscutchen charged with a griffin surgiant; his creast, out of a crowne, a demilion supporting a standard charged with a lion passant gardant: about the shield was ingrauen, *sigillum Iohannis de Bromley militis*. That inscutchen and creast (as like is) given him in laudable remembrance for his valiant recouerie of the standard at the Harpe and bloodie skirmish by Cozbie. The earle of Warwick, and the lord Talbot, after the winning of this fortreffe, made speed to come vnto the siege of Rone, where they were imploied, as after shall appeare. And in like manner, the duke of Gloucester, having once got the possession of Chierburgh, halsted towards the same siege: for the better furnishing of which enterpryse, he had first caused an armie of fiftene thousand men to be brought ouer to him, vnder the leading of his vncle the duke of Excester, who imbarcking with the same, about the feast of the holye Trinitie, was appointed by the king to besiege the citie of Curen, as the earle of Angus, otherwise called earle of Rame, was sent to win the castell of Millie Leuesche. These towne being deliuered to the kings vse, the duke ordeined captaine of Curen sir Gilbert Hallsall knight.

The king now determining with all speed to besiege Rone, prepared all things necessarie for his purpose. Into this citie the Normans had conueied out of euerie part their monie, iewels, and household stuffe, as into the most sure and strongest place of the whole duchie. For since his arrivall, they had not onlie walled that citie, and fortified it with rampiers and strong bulwarks, but also furnished it with valiant captains, and hardie soldiers, to the number of foure thousand, beside such of the citizens as were appointed for the warre, according to their estates, of the which there were at the least fiftene thousand readie to serue in defense of the citie, as soldiers, and men of warre in all places where they should be assigned. King Henrie, to haue the countrie free, before he would besiege this citie, thought good first to win such towne as lay in his waie, and therefore departing from Caen (where he had kept the feast of saint George) the ninth daie of June, he marched straight vnto the towne of Louiers, and laid his siege about the same.

They within the towne, being well furnished of all things necessarie for the defending of a siege, manfully resisted the Englishmens inforcements,

which spared not to deuise all waies and means how to appoach the walles, and to batter the same with their great artillerie, till at length they brought the Frenchmen to that extremitie, that they were contented to yeeld the towne on these conditions; that if by the thre and twentieth of June there came no succour from the French king to raise the siege, the towne should be deliuered into the kings hands, the soldiers of the garrison should serue vnder the king for a time, and the townemen should remaine in their dwellings as they did before, as subiects to the king: but the gunners that had discharged anie peece against the Englishmen should suffer death. When the date came, and no aid appeared, the counnants were performed accordinglie. From thence went the king with all speed vnto Pont de Arch, standing vpon the riuer of Seine, eight miles about Rone towards Paris: he came thither about the seauen and twentieth of June.

When the Frenchmen which kept the passage there heard of the kings approach, they gathered together a great number of men of warre, minding to defend the passage against him, appointing an other band of men (if they failed) to keepe the further side of the bidge; and to watch, that neither by boate nor vessel he should come ouer the riuer by anie manner of meanes. At his comming nere to the towne, he perceived that it was not possible to passe by the bidge without great losse of his people, and therefore he retired almost a mile backward, where, in a pleasant and commodious place by the riuer side he pitched his campe, and in the night season, that with boates and barges, and that with hogheads and pipes, he conueied ouer the broad riuer of Seine a great companie of his soldiers, without anie resistance made by his enemies. For they which were on the hither side of Seine, thinking that the Englishmen had gone to winne some other place, followed them not, but studied how to defend their towne, which was enough for them to do.

And to put the French men in doubt, least the Englishmen should seeke passage somewhere else, the king appointed certeine of the soldiers which had skill in swimming, to go to a place thre miles from the siege by the riuer side, and there to enter into the water, making great clamor and noise, as though they had meant to haue passed; but they had in commandement not to trauesse past halfe the riuer, so to procure the Frenchmen to make thitherwards, whilst the king in one place, and his brother the duke of Clarence in another, got ouer their men, and that in such number, before the Frenchmen had anie vnderstanding thereof, that when they made towards them, and perceived that they were not able to encounter them, they fled backe, and durst not abide the English footmen, which would faine haue bene doing with them.

When the king saw that his men were on the other side of the water, he (the next daie earlie) returned to the towne, & assaulted it on both sides. When the inhabitants therefore saw themselves compassed on both sides, contrarie to their expectation, with humble heart and small ioy they rendered up the towne vnto the kings hands. After this, the king having no let nor impediment, determined forthwith to besiege the citie of Rone, and first sent before him his vncle the duke of Excester, with a great companie of horsemen & archers to besiege the place, & set vpon both banner displayed came before the citie, and sent Andrew an herald at armes to the captains within, willing them to deliuer the citie vnto the king his master, or else he would pursue them with fire and sword. To whom they proudly answered, that none they received of him; nor anie they would

would deliuer him, except by fine force they were thereunto compelled: and herewith they issued out of the towne a great band of men of armes, and encountered fiercelie with the Englishmen, the which receiuing them with like manhood, and great force, drave the Frenchmen into the towne againe to their losse, for they left thirtie of their fellows behind prisoners and dead in the field.

The duke returned with this good speed and proud answer of the Frenchmen vnto the king, who remained yet at Pont de Larch, and had giuen the towne of Louiers to his brother the duke of Clarence, which made there his deputie sir John Godard knight. After that the duke of Gloucester was returned to Pont Larch, the French captaine within Rone set fire on the suburbs, beat downe churches, cut downe trees, shed the bulhes, destroyed the vines round about the citie, to the intent that the Englishmen should haue no relafe nor comfort either of lodging or felwell. When the king heard of these despitefull doings, he with his whole armie removed from Pont Larch, and the last daie of Iulie came before the citie of Rone, and compassed it round about with a strong siege. This citie was verie rich in gold, silver, and other precious things, in so much that when the same was taken and seized vpon by the English, the spoile was verie great and exceeding aduantageable: which the compiler of *Anglorum prelia* hath verie well noted, in a few lines, but pitthie, saieing:

*Prima Rothomagus restat, qua mercibus, auro,
Argento, vasis pretiosis diues abundat:
Rothomagus capitur, iamq. Anglus adeptus opimas
Prædas, in patriam perpulchra trophæa remittit.*

The king laie with a great puissance at the Charterhouse, on the east side of the citie, and the duke of Clarence lodged at S. Geruasis before the port of Caen on the west part. The duke of Gloucester toke his place on the north side: at port S. Denis, betwene the dukes of Gloucester and Clarence, was appointed the earle marshall, euen before the gate of the castle, to whome were ioined the earle of Desmond, and the lords Harington and Talbot, vpon his coming from Dampfront: and from the duke of Gloucester toward the king, were incamped the lords Kils, Willoughbie, Fitz Hugh, and sir William Porter, with a great band of northerne men, euen before the port of saint Hilarie. The earles of Poitouaigne and Salisbury were assigned to lodge about the abbie of saint Batharine. Sir John Greie was lodged direclie against the chappell called mount S. Michael: sir Philip Lech treasurer of the warres kept the hill next the abbete, and the baron of Carew kept the passage on the riller of Seine, and to him was ioined that ballant esquier Ienico Dartois.

On the further side of the riuer were lodged the earles of Warren and Huntington, the lords Penk and Ferrers, sir Gilbert Umfreuile with a well furnished companie of warlike soliters: direclie before the gate called Pont de Pont. And to the intent that no aduantage might be had by the riuer toward the citie, there was a great chaine of iron deuised at Pont Larch, set on piles from the one side of the water to the other: and beside that chaine, there was set by a new forced bridge, sufficient both for cariage and passage, to passe the riuer from one campe to another. The earle of Warwick that had latelye wone Dampfront was sent to besiege Catwodebecke, a towne standing on the riuer side, betwene the sea and the citie of Rone. A memorable feat in seruice here to that place was done at that time by a well minded man then noted some after in writing: which matter unable to be better reported than by him that had so well marked it, noz like to be moze trulie expressed

than by the ancient simplicitie (and yet effectuell) of the selfe same words wherein they were written, therefore thought meetest to haue them rehearsed as they were in order, thus.

The truth of the said memorable feat
as it was reported in writing.

Memorandum, that my lord the earle of Warwike did send out my colin sir John Bromley and my colin George Umfreuile with an hundred archers, and about two hundred soldiers a frett, to keepe at a little castell called the Stron nere to Catwodebecke where they wearen met with about eight hundred frenchmen & the fraie betwene them long pfought, and the Englishmen in great dread and perill: till at length by the might of God and saint George, the feild did fall to our Englishmen, & the frenchmen wearen put to flit, and thear wearen yslaine about two hundred frenchmen, and as manie ytaken prisoners, and their capteine who was ycalled the lord of Estriles was thear also yslaine, and thear wearen yslaine of our Englishmen my said colin George Umfreuile and about twentie mo: on whose folles Iesus haue mercie, and thear wearen hurt in the face my said colin sir John Bromley & my colin Walter Audeley soze wounded and maimed in the right arme of his bodie, he then being but of the age of eightene yeares. But thanks be giuen to the blessed Trinitie, thear wearen manie noble victories ywon by the said noble erle of Warwike and his folke, as in his officiall booke (written by Maister John le Tucke then present with the said noble earle) is ampie recorded. My said colin Walter Audeley died at Warwike the seauententh daie of Iulie anno Domini one thoulaud foure hundred and twentie, and was buried at Acton in Cheshire, nere the bodie of my said colin sir John Bromley: on whose folles Iesus haue mercie. By me sir Richard Baie, chapleine to my ladie the old countesse of Warwike, Iesus Maria, Amen, Pater noster, Ave Maria.

After this conflict, this towne was so hardlie handled with fierce and continuall assaults, that the captaine within offered to suffer the English name to passe by their towne without impeachment, vpon the citie of Rone. And also if Rone yeelded, they promised to render the towne without delaie. Herevpon the English name, to the number of an hundred sailles, passed by Catwodebecke, and came to Rone, and so besieged it on the water side. There came also to this siege the duke of Gloucester, with the earle of Suffolke, and the lord Aburgauennie, which had taken (as before we haue heard) the towne of Gierburgh, & lodged before the port of S. Hilarie, nearer to their enemies by soztye rodes than any other person of the armie.

During this siege also, there arrived at Harflue the lord of Bilmaine in Ireland, with a band of fiftene hundred Irishmen, in maile, with darts and skains after the maner of their countrie, all of them being tall, quicke, and nimble persons, which came

A conflict nere to Catwodebecke.

The L. of Estriles name.

George Umfreuile name.

walter Audeley soze wounded.

* And this sir John Bromley departed from this life the fourth day of Sept. 1419. which was in anno reg. 7. as by the office take after his death remaining of record in the castle of Cheshire doth manifestlie appeare.

The lord of Bilmaine captaine of the Irishmen.

Louiers taken by the English.

The English armie passeth the riuer of Seine.

A good position.

Pont de Larch renowned by the English.

The lord of Caen.

and presented themselves before the king lieng still at the siege, of whom the y were not onelie gentlie received & welcomed; but also because it was thought that the French king and the duke of Burgonie would shortly come, and either attempt to raise the siege, or bittell and man the towne by the north gate, they were appointed to keepe the north side of the armie, and speciallie the waite that cometh from the forest of Mions. Which charge the lord of Bailmaine and his companie sofullie accepted, and did so their deuoir therein, that no men were more praised, nor did more damage to their enemies than they did: for suerlie their quickenelle & swiftnesse of foot did more preiudice to their enemies, than their barded horses did hurt or damage to the nimble Irishmen. Also the kings cosine germane and alie (the king of Portugal) sent a great nauie of well appointed ships vnto the mouth of the riuer of Seine, to stop that no French vessels should enter the riuer, and passe by the same, to the aid of them within Rone.

The good service of the Irishmen at this siege.

Titus Livius. The king of Portugal sendeth aid to king Henrie.

Thus was the faire citie of Rone compassed about with enemies, both by water and land, hauing neither comfort nor aid of king, Dolphin, or Duke. And yet although the armie was strong without, there lacked not within both hardie capteins and manfull souldiers. And as for people, they had more than enough: for as it is written by some that had good cause to know the truth, and no occasion to erre from the same, there were in the citie at the time of the siege, two hundred and ten thousand persons. Dailie were issues made out of the citie at diuerse gates, sometime to the losse of the one partie, and sometime of the other, as chances of warre in such adventures happen. The Frenchmen in deed preferring fame before worldly riches, and despising pleasure (the enemy to warlike prowesse) swore ech to other neuer to render or deliuer the citie, while they might either hold sword in hand or speare in rest.

The number within Rone.

The king of England aduertised of their haughty courages, determined to conquer them by famine, which would not be tamed with weapon. Therefore he stopped all the passages, both by water and land, that no vittels could be conueied to the citie: he cast trenches round about the walls, and set them full of stakes, and defended them with archers, so that there was left neither waie for them within to issue out, nor for any that were abroad to enter in without his licence. To rehearse the great paines, trauell and diligence, which the king took vpon him in his owne person at this siege, a man might wonder. And because diuerse of the souldiers had lodged themselves for their more ease, in places so farre distant one from an other, that they might easilie haue bene surprised by their enemies, per ante of their fellowes could haue come to their succors; he caused proclamation to be made, that no man vpon paine of death should lodge without the precinct appointed them, nor go further abroad from the campe than such bounds as were assigned.

Titus Livius.

Now as it chanced, the king in going about the campe, to surueile and biew the warders, he espied two souldiers that were walking abroad without the limits assigned, whom he caused straightwaies to be apprehended and hanged vpon a tree of great height, for a terror to others, that none should be so hardie to breake such orders as he commanded them to obserue. Whilest the king late thus with his power about the mightie citie of Rone, the Frenchmen sought to indamage as well those that were at that siege, as other of the Englishmen that laie in garisons within the townes that were already in the king of Englands possession, inasmuch that (as some haue written) within the octaues of the Assumption, three notable victories chanced to the Englishmen in

King Henrie his iustice.

Thom. Walf.

three seuerall places. First an hundred Englishmen at Millbuert took three great loads of the Frenchmen, besides fourescore other persons, and put three hundred to flight.

Also vpon the thursdaie within the same octaues, foure hundred Frenchmen that were entered within the suburbs of Cutenr were repelled by eleven Englishmen, that took foure of those Frenchmen prisoners, sure twelue of them, and took forty horses. On the saturday following, the Frenchmen took in hand to scale vpon them that laie in garison within Louiers, in hope to surprize the towne earlie in the morning: but the capteine perceiuing their purpose, sallied forth with a hundred of his men, and putting the Frenchmen to flight, being a thousand, took an hundred and fourescore of them being all gentlemen. But to returne to them before Rone. The siege thus continuing from Lammias, almost to Christmas, diuerse enterprises were attempted, and diuerse policies practised, how euery part might indamage his aduersaries: no parte greatly reioiced of their gaine. But in the meane time vittels began soze to faile them within, that onelie vineger and water serued for drinke.

If I should rehearse (according to the report of diuerse writers) how deuelie dogs, rats, mice, and cats were sold within the towne, and how greedilie they were by the poore people eaten and deuoured, and how the people dailie died for fault of food, and young infants laie sucking in the streets on their mothers breasts, lieng dead, starued for hunger; the reader might lament their extreme miseries. A great number of poore sillie creatures were put out at the gates, which were by the Englishmen that kept the trenches beaten and driuen backe againe to the same gates, which they found closed and shut against them. And so they laie betwene the walls of the citie and the trenches of the enemies, still crieng for helpe and reliefe, for lacke whereof great numbers of them dailie died.

Howbeit, king Henrie moued with pittie, vpon Christmasse daie, in the honoz of Christes Natiuitie, refreshed all the poore people with vittels, to their great comfort and his high praise: yet if the duke of Burgonies letters had not bene conueied into the citie, it was thought they within would neuer haue made resistance so long time as they did; for by those letters they were assured of rescue to come. Diuerse lords of France hauing written to them to the like effect, they were put in such comfort herewith, that immediatlie, to expresse their great reioicing, all the bells in the citie were rung forth cherefullie, which during all the time of the siege till that present had kept silence. And by reason of a saint kind of agreement procured betwixt the Dolphin and the duke of Burgonie, it was thought herelie that a power should haue bene raised for preservation of that noble citie, the losing or sauing thereof being a matter of such importance.

The king of England, to prevent the enemies purpose, caused a large trench to be cast without his campe, which was pight full of sharpe stakes, with a great rampire fenced with bulwarks, and turnepikes, in as defensible wise as might be deuised. Sir Robert Bapthorpe, knight, was appointed comptroller, to see this worke performed, which he did with all diligence accomplish; in like case as he had done, when the other trench and rampire stronglie staked and hedged was made at the first betwixt the campe and the citie, to refreshme such as in the beginning of the siege rested not to picke forth of the gates on horse backe. And so by this meanes was the armie defended both behind and before.

Finallic, the whole number of the Frenchmen within

the great battell of the English

Extremities of the siege

of virtues and charity

Chron. Sals

1499

king: and further, that they should paie to the said king three hundred thousand scutes of gold, whereof alwaies two should be worth an English noble, or in stead of euerie scute thirtie great blankes white, or siffene grotes.

Howeuer it was accorded, that euerie soldier and stranger, being in the said citie and castell, should sweare on the euangelists before their departure, not to beare armour against the king of England, before the first daie of Januarie next to come. Also they within the towne should suffer all the poore people lying in ditches, or about the ditches of the citie, which for penurie were chased out, to enter the citie againe; and to find them sufficient food till the said nineteenth daie of Januarie. There were diuerse other articles, in all to the number of two and twentie agreed as well on the behalfe of the citizens, as of king Henrie, who granted, that all the souldiers, strangers, and other within the said citie and castell at that time, being not willing to become his lieges, should depart, after that the citie and castell was once yielded, free lie without let, leaving to the said king all their armors, horses, harnesse, & goods, except the poymans, which if they should refuse to become lieges to him, were appointed to remaine as his prisoners, together with one Luca Italico, and certeine others.

When the date of appointment came, which was the daie of saint Wolstane, sir Guie de Buttler, and the burgeses, deliuered the keies of the citie and castell vnto the king of England, beseeching him of fauour and compassion. The king incontinentlie appointed the duke of Excester, with a great companie to take possession of the citie, who like a valiant capteine mounted on a goodlie courser first entered into the citie, and after into the castell. The next daie being first daie, the king in great triumph like a conquerour, accompanied with foure dukes, ten earles, eight bishops, sixtene barons, and a great multitude of knights, esquieres, and men of warre entered into Rome, where he was receiued by the cleargie, with two and fourtie crosses; and then met him the senat, and the burgeses of the towne, offering to him diuerse faire and costlie presents.

In this manner he passed through the citie to our ladie church, and there hauing said his orisons, he caused his chapleins to sing this anthem: *Qui est tam magnus dominus*: Who is so great a lord as our God. This done, he came to the castell, where he continued a good space after, receiuing homages and fealties of the burgeses and townesmen, and setting orders amongst them. He also redified diuerse fortresses, and townes, during which time he made proclamation, that all men which would become his subjects, should inioy their goods, lands & offices, which proclamation made manie townes to yield, and manie men to become English the same season.

The duke of Britaine, vnderstanding that if the king of England should continue in possession of poymandie, his countrie could not but be in great danger, if he provided not to haue him his friend, upon safe conduct obtained for him & his retinue, came to Rome with five hundred horses, and being honourable receiued of the king, after conference had betwixt them of diuerse things, at length they agreed upon a league on this wise, that neither of them should make warre vnto the other, nor to any of the others people or subjects, except he that meant to make war denounced the same six moneths before. Thus this league being concluded, the duke toke leaue of the king, and so returned into Britaine.

About the same time, at the sute of certeine bishops and abbats of poymandie, the king confirmed vnto them their ancient priuileges, granted by the former dukes of poymandie and kings of France, except

such as were granted by those whome he repented for, usurpers, and no lawfull kings or dukes. He also established at Caen the chamber of accounts of the reuenues of his dukedome of poymandie. In Rome he began the foundation of a strong tower behind the castell, that from the castell to the tower, and from the tower to his palace, the way of warre appointed there in garison might passe in secretie without danger of the citie; if perhaps the citizens should attempt any rebellion.

In this first yeare, which the things were aduancing in poymandie, quene Katherine late wife of king Henrie the fourth, and mother in law to this king, was arrested by the duke of Bedford the kings lieutenant in his absence, and by him committed to safe keeping in the castell of Leeds in Kent, there to abide the kings pleasure. About the same time, one frier Randall of the order of Franciscanes that professed continencie, and had bene confessor to the same quene, was taken in the Isle of Cernesey, and being first brought ouer into poymandie, was by the kings commandement sent hither into England, and committed to the Tower, where he remained till the parson of the Tower quarelling with him, by chance slew him there within the Tower ward. It was reported that he had conspired with the quene by sorcerie and necromancie to destroye the king.

Whilist the king remained in Rome, to set things in order for the establishment of good policie in that citie, he sent abroad diuerse of his capteins, with conuenient forces to subdue certeine townes & castles in those parties, as his brother the duke of Clarence, who wan the strong towne of Wernon and Spante. In Wernon was sir William Porter made capteine, and in Spant the earle of March. The earle of Salisburie wan Hundloe, after he had besieged it from the fourth of february vntill the twelfth of March. This towne was giuen afterwards vnto the duke of Clarence. Also the said earle of Salisburie wan the townes of Spontey de Williers, &c. &c. &c. castell, and finally all the places in that quarter, which till that present were not vnder the English obediensance. At Petocastell sir Philip Aech was made capteine.

After Candlemasse, the king departed from Rome to go to Curreur, whither he promised to come in like case, as the Dolphin promised to be at Wyer, to the end that they might aduise vpon a conuenient place where to meet, to treat of peace to be concluded betwixt the two realmes. But the Dolphin by sinister perswasion of some enemies to concord, brake promise, and came not. When the king saw that the rough default of his aduersarie, no treatie would be had, he remoued to Wernon, and there a while remained. Soth from Curreur the king had dispatched the earle of Warwick vnto the siege of la Roch Union, which fortresse he so constrained, that it was yielded into his hands, the first of Aprill, in the beginning of this seventh yeare of king Henries reigne, and giuen to sir Guie Buttler late capteine of Rome, of the kings free and liberall grant.

About the same time, the duke of Excester laid siege vnto Chateau Caliard, which siege continued from the last of March, vnto the latter end of September, or as some write vnto the twentieth of December, as after shall appeare. The duke of Glocester being sent to win the towne and castell of Part, toke the towne by assault, and the castell was deliuered by composition after fortie daies siege. After this the Englishmen ouerran the countrie about Chartres, and did much hurt to their enemies in all places where they came. The hearts of the Frenchmen were sore discouraged with the losse of Rome, and the other townes which yielded one after another thus to the English.

Luca Italico.
The vicar
generall of
the archie-
shoppe of
Rome for de-
nouncing the
king excommunic-
ed him and de-
termined in pri-
son till he died.
Titus Lilius.
One Blane
Blanchart
was likewise
deliuered to
him, & by his
commandement
put to death.
Crassator of
Titus Lilius.
King Henries
entrie into
Rome.

Titus Lilius.

A league con-
cluded be-
tweene king
Henrie and
the duke of
Britaine.

Emballadoes
sent on either
side.

Titus Lilius.

Wernon and
Spante taken
by the Eng-
lish.

Titus Lilius.
Hundloe tak-

Anno Reg.
la Roch Union
surrendered by

Creation of
barons.

Chateau Cal-
iard besieged

Part taken
by assault.

Each part
was appoint-
ed to bring
with them not
more than two
thousand and
hundred men
of warre as
Titus Lilius saith

1419.

An. Reg. 7.

Englishmen, so that such as loved the wealth of their countrey sore lamented the imminent mischances, which they saw by the division of the nobilitie, like thortlie to fall on their heads, namely because they saw no remedie prepared.

But who ever else was disquieted with this matter, John duke of Burgognie raged and swelled, yea and so much created therewith, that he wist not what to saie, and lesse to do: for he knew well that he was neither free from disdaine, nor yet deliuered from the scope of malice, because that he onelie ruled the king, and had the whole doings in all matters about him. And therefore he considered, that all such mishaps as chanced to the state of the common-wealth would be imputed to his negligence and disordered government. To find some remedie against such dangers at hand, he thought first to assaie, if he might by any reasonable means conclude a peace betwixt the two mightie kings of England and France, which if he might bring to passe, he doubted not to renenge his quarell caslie inough against the Dolphin Charles, and to repress all causes of grudge and disdaine.

Wherewith intending to build upon this fraile foundation, he sent letters and ambassadoys to the king of England, aduertising him, that if he would personallie come to a communication to be had betwene him and Charles the French king, he doubted not but by his onlie meanes, peace should be brought in place, and bloudie battell clerelie eriled. King Henrie giuing courteous eare to these ambassadoys, sent with them the earle of Marlowe as his ambassado, accompanied with two hundred gentlemen to talke with the duke, as then remaining in the French court at the towne of Bourgne. The earle was assailed by the waite as he iourned, by a great number of rebellious persons, gotten into armour of purpose to haue spoiled him of such monie and things as he and his companie had about them. But by the high ballancie of the English people, with the aid of their bowes, the Frenchmen were discomfited and chased.

The earle at his comming to Bourgne was honorablie receiued, and hauing done the effect of his message, returned; and with him the earle of saint Paule, and the sonne and heire of the duke of Bourbon were also sent as ambassadoys from the French king, to conclude upon the time and place of the meeting, with all the circumstances. Whereupon the king of England agreed to come to the towne of Pante, with condition that the duke of Burgognie, and other for the French king should come to Pontoise, that either part might meet other in a conuenient place betwixt those two townes nere to Melun. According to this appointment, K. Henrie came to Pante, where in the feast of Pentecost he kept a liberal house to all commers, and late himselfe in great estate. Upon the which daie, either for good seruice already by them done, or for the good expectation of things to come, he created Gascoigne de Fots, or therwise called the captain or captall de Buef a ballant Gascoigne, earle of Longueuille; and sir John Greie earle of Tankerville, and the lord Bourchier earle of Ebu.

After this solemne feast ended, the place of entertainment and meeting was appointed to be beside Melun on the riuer of Seine, where in a faire place euerie part was by commissioners appointed to their ground. When the daie of appointment approached, which was the last daie of Maie, the king of England accompanied with the dukes of Clarence, and Gloucester, his brethren, the duke of Exeter his vncle, and Henrie Beauford clerke his other vncle, which after was bishop of Winchester and cardinal, with the earles of March, Salisburie, and others, to the

number of a thousand men of warre, entered into his ground, which was barred about and ported, where in his tents were pight in a princelie maner.

Likewise for the French part came Isabell the French quene, because hir husband was fallen into his old frantike disease, hauing in hir companie the duke of Burgognie, and the earle of saint Paule, and she had attending upon hir the faire ladie Katharine hir daughter, with sir and twentie ladies and damoels; and had also for hir furniture a thousand men of warre. The said ladie Katharine was brought by hir mother, onelie to the intent that the king of England beholding hir excellent beautie, should be so inflamed and rapt in hir loue, that he to obtaine hir to his wife, should the sooner agree to a gentle peace and louing concord. But though manie words were spent in this treatie, and that they met at eight several times, yet no effect ensued, nor any conclusion was taken by this frendlie consultation, so that both parties after a princelie fashion toke leaue each of other, and departed; the Englishmen to Pante, and the Frenchmen to Pontoise.

Some authors write that the Dolphin to state that no agreement should passe, sent sir Taneguide de Chastell to the duke of Burgognie, declaring that if he would breake off the treatie with the Englishmen, he would then common with him; and take such order, that not onelie they but the whole realme of France should thereof be glad and reioise. Whosoever it came to passe, truth it is, that where it was agreed, that they should estones haue met in the same place on the third of Iulie; the king according to that appointment came: but there was none for the French part, neither quene nor duke that once appeared; so that it was manifest inough how the fault rested not in the Englishmen, but in the Frenchmen. By reason whereof no conclusion sorted to effect of all this communication, saue onelie that a certeine sparke of burning loue was kindled in the kings heart by the sight of the ladie Katharine.

The king without doubt was highlie displeased in his mind, that this communication came to no better passe. Wherefore he mistrusting that the duke of Burgognie was the verie let and stop of his desires, said vnto him before his departure: *Comme, we will haue your kings daughter, and all things that we demand with hir, or we will dye your king and you out of his realme. Well (said the duke of Burgognie) before you dye the king and me out of his realme, you shall be well wearied, and therof we doubt little.* Shortlie after, the duke of Burgognie and the Dolphin met in the plaine fields besides Melun, and there comming together, concluded apparantlie an open peace and amitie, which was proclaimed in Paris, Amiens, and Pontoise.

This agreement was made the first of Iulie in the yeare 1419. It was ingrossed by notaries, signed with their hands, and sealed with their great seales of armes; but as the sequele shewed, hart thought not what long spake, nor mind meant not that hard wrote. Whiles these things were a doing, diuerse of the Frenchmen in Rone went about a conspiracie against the Englishmen, whereof the king being well aduertised, sent thither certeine of his nobles, which tried out these conspiratoys, caused them to be apprehended, had them in examination, and such as they found gulltie were put to death; and so setting the citie in quietnes, returned to the king, who counted it great honor to keepe the countreies which he wonne by conquest in obedience and awe; with such victories are not obtained without sore labour and toyle, both of prince and people, as the poet rightlis saith:

*Quarere regna, labor; virtus est parca tueri
Maxima.*

A treatie of peace.

Seuen times the last being on the last day of June, Titus Linius.

Chro. of Flanders.

Titus Linius.

An agreement betweene the duke of Burgognie & the Dolphin.

Titus Linius.

A conspiracie in Rone.

In Angl. tropl. sub Henr. 5.

III. f.

The

he soon entered to the keeping of them, who pointed him servants attend him moved him the cadet of Pompey. ho. Wallin. rier 18. 10.

ambassadors sent on either side.

Titus Linius.

Bernon and Pante taken by the Eng. sh.

Titus Linius. p. undue take.

Anno Reg. 7.

Wich. Giron rendered by.

Creation of titles.

Chateau de liard besieged.

yurt taken by assault.

Other part was appointed to being with them not paid two thousand and five hundred men of warre as Titus Linius.

Hall.
These hands
belonged to
the earle of
Longueuile
& to the lord de
Alcpar Gas-
cognes.
Hist. dez ducz
de Normand.
The king
placeth the
porters part.

This captain
was brother
to the earle
of Aris.

Hall:

Donatise surpris-
pried by the
Englishmen.

Hall.

Hall.

The king of England, perceiuing by this new alliance, that nothing was lesse to be looked for, than peace at the hands of the Frenchmen, deuised still how to win towncs and fortresses, which were kept against him: and now that the truce was expired, on the thirtieth daie of Iulie, he being as then within the towne of Hante, appointed certaine bands of souldiers in the after none to passe out of the gates, giuing onelic knowledge to the capteins what he would haue them to doe. And to the intent that no inking of the enterprise should come to the enimies eare, he kept the gates himselfe as porter. These that were thus sent forth being guided by the earle of Longueuile, otherwile called the captaun de Buef, were commanded in a secret maner as they could to draw toward the towne of Pontosse, and to keepe themselves in couert till the darke of the night, and then approach the walles of that towne, and upon espieng their aduantage to enter it by scaling, hauing ladders and all things necessarie with them for the purpose.

poole.
 Whereouer, about the closing of the daie and night
 in the evening, he sent forth the erle of Huntington
 with other bands of soldiers, to succor and assist the
 other, if they chanced to enter the towne according
 to the order taken. Those that were first sent forth
 (according to their instructions) conueiled themselves
 so closelie to their appointed places, that the enimies
 heard nothing of their doings. Wherevpon when the
 night was come, they came in secret wise vnder the
 walles, and there watched their time till the morning
 began to draw on. In the meane time, whilst the
 watch was departed, and before other were come in
 to their places to relieue it, the Englishmen setting
 vp their ladders, entered and brake open one of the
 gates to receiue the other that followed.

The Frenchmen perceiuing that the walles were taken, and their enemies entered into the towne, at the first were loze amazed: but after perceiuing the small number of the Englishmen, they assembled together and fiercely assailed them, so that they were constrained to retire to the walles and turrets which they had taken, and with much adoe defended the same; some leaping downe into the ditches, and hiding them in the vines, till at length the earle of Huntington, with his companies came to their succours, and entering by the gate which was open, easilie did beat backe the enemies, & got the market place. Which when the lord Lisle Adam capitaine of the towne perceiued, he opened the gate towards Paris, by the which he with all his retinue, and diuerse of the townefmen to the number of ten thousand in all, (as Enguerant de Monfr. recounteth) fled towards Paris, taking awaie with them their coine, Jewels, and plate. Some of them fleeing towards Beauuois were met with, and stripp'd of that they had, by Jehan de Gulgni, and Jehan de Clau, two capitaines that serued the Politiaall faction.

There were within the towne of Pontoise at that time when it was thus taken by the Englishmen, a thousand lances, and two thousand arcuballisters, as Thomas Walsingham affirmeth, and of Englishmen and Gascoignes that went first forth of Pante with the captayn de Bueil, not past fiftene hundred, as Hall reporteth; although Enguerand de Monstrelet saith, they were about three thousand. But how manye soeuer they were, they durst not at the first, by reason of their small number (as may be thought) once to vnder themselves, or deale with booties, fill about the houre of pygne, that the duke of Clarence came to their aid with five thousand men, who much praising the valiantnesse of the earle and his retinue that had thus wonne the towne, gave to them the same spoile of the which there was great plentie.

Then went the duke forth towards Paris, and comming thither, lodged before it two daies and two nights, without perceiuing anye proffer of issue to be made forth against him by his enemies, and there, for seeing they durst not once lake upon him, he returned to Montoisie, for the taking of which towne the whole countrie of France, and speciallie the Parisians were sore dismaied: sith now there was no fortresse able to withstand the English puissance; for that the Frenchmen ouerran all the Ile of France, did to the Frenchmen damages innumerable (as their writers affirme) brought daillie prizes to the English armie, burnt by houses, laid beds on the backs of the kine, rid upon them, carried yong children before them, and sold them to the Englishmen for slaues. These strange doings so feared the Frenchmen within the territorie of Paris, and the countrie about, that the sorie people fled out of the villages with all their stuffe into the citie.

The French king, and the duke of Burgognie being at faint Denys, in this season, departed from thence with the queene and his daughter, and went to Trois in Champagne, there to consult of their businesse, hauing left at Paris the earle of S. Paule, and the lord Lisle Adam, with a great puissance to defend the citie. The king of England immediatlie after that Montoile was wonne (as befoze ye haue heard) came thither in person, as well to giue order for the placing of a sufficient garrison there for defence thereof; as to proceed further into the countrie for the getting of other towncs and places: and so after he had well prouided for the good gouernment, & safe keeping thereof, the eighteenth daie of August, he departed out of the same with his maine armie.

And because they of the garrison that laie in the
castell of Blancon Willers had done, & dōile did di-
uerse and sundrie displeasures to the Englishmen,
he pight downe his field nere to the same, the better
to restrain them from their hostile attempts, and
withall sent part of his armie to besiege the castell,
which put them in such feare, that they despairing of
all reliefe or succour, and perceiving they should not
be able long to defend the place against the kings
puissance, yielded the place, with all their coine and
other goods into the kings hands. The soldiers of
that garrison, and the inhabitants, at the contempla-
tion of a certaine labie there amongst them, were li-
cenced by the king to depart without armor or wea-
pon, onelie with their liues saued. John of Burgh
that was after bailiffe of Glouours, was appointed
captaine of this castell.

After this, all the towines and castels within a great circuit offered to yeld themselves unto the English obedience; the strong towine and castell of Cisors onlie excepted, which still held out, & would shew no token of will to yeld. Whereupon the king the last of August began to approach the same, but at the first he could not come nere, by reason of the marishes and fennes; but yet such was the diligence of the Englishmen, advanced by the presence of the king, ready in all places to commend them that were forward in their businesse, and to chastise such as slacked their duettie, that daileie they came nearer and nearer although the Frenchmen issued forth battlie to encounter them, giving them manie sharpe skirmishes. For the towine being double walled and fenced with those broad marishes, so encouraged them within, that they thought no force had bene able to have subdued them.

But at length calling to remembrance, that the king of England came before no towne nor fortreffe, from which he would depart before he had brought it under his subiection, they offered to come to a parley, and in the end compounded to render the towne

Clarence
with before
Daria
his arm

2 The Ir
spoile the
of France

The Tirus Line

The call
Manco
lers bet
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of Titus Livius

the sieged
ded to
Engli

**The birds of
Burgundy
mustered.**

n. 1419.
The Duke of
Burgundie was
with before
Paris with
his armie.

The first time
poile the King
of France.

An. Reg. 7. 8.

Thom. Wall.

Duke of Cle-
monte (with
Rich. Graison.

Titus Livius.

to come into the kings hands the eight daie of Sep-
tember next ensuing, and the castell (because it was
the stronger peece) they covenanted to deliuer the
fource and twentieth of the same, if in the meane time
no rescue came to raise the siege. Hereupon when no
such rescue could be heard of, at the daies limited, the
soldiers of the garrison, & the more part of the towne
men also submitted themselves, and received an oth
to be true subiects to the king, and so remained still in
their romes. The earle of Worcester was made cap-
teine there.

About the same time, to wit, the thre and twentieth
of September (as some write) was castell Galiard
surrendered to the hands of the duke of Excester, which
had bene besieged euer since the last daie of March
(as before ye haue heard.) But others write that it
held out seauen moneths, and was not deliuered vp
till the twentieth of December. This castell was not
onlie strong by situation, standing vpon the top of a
steep hill, but also closed with mightie thicke walles,
and furnished with men, and all maner of munition
and things necessarie. The king appointed the lord
Ros capteine of it. After that Gisors and castell
Galiard were thus yelded to the English obedience,
all the other townes and castels thereabout, and in
the countrie of Menquessin, shortly after yelded to
the king, as Courneie, Chaumount, Beaulde, Dan-
gu, and other small fortresses. Of Courneie, was sir
Gilbert Amfresville made capteine; at Beaulde, the
earle of Worcester; and at Dangu, Richard Wood-
ville. Shortly after was the castell Daumall yelded
to the earle of Warwike, to whome it was giuen.
And thus was the whole duchie of Normandie (vnto
saint Michael onlie excepted) reduced to the posses-
sion of the right heire, which had bene wrongfullie de-
tained from the kings of England euer since the
daies of king John, who lost it about the yeare one
thousand two hundred and seauen.

To satisfie those that be desirous to know what
captains were appointed by the king in diuerse
townes that were yelded to him (of which we haue
made no mention heretofore but in generall) here
their names doe follow, and of the townes, as we
find them in the chronicles of maister Hall. At Creu-
le, sir Henrie Lanclos an Almaine; at Loxignie,
sir John Dopham, to whome it was giuen; at Cham-
bote, the lord Fitz Hugh; at Merneuil in Berch, sir
John Penill; at Elate, sir William Huddleston
bailiffe of Alanson; at Crutle sir Lots Robert; at
Conde Rozean sir John Fastolfe; at Catwodebecke,
sir Lots Robert; at Deepe, William lord Bourchi-
er earle of Eu; at Aubemarle, the earle of War-
wike, and his deputie thereof William Pontfort; at
Wellincombe, sir Thomas Ramston lord thereof by
gift; at Longueuille, the capitall de Beuf or But,
earle thereof by gift; at Danville, sir Christopher
Burden; at Couches, sir Robert Sparburie; at Chi-
erburg, sir John Gedding; at Bacqueuille, the lord
Ros; at Arques sir James Fines, bailiffe of Caur;
at Honceaur, sir Philip Lach; at Offrie Dagnie,
Richard Abraham; at Sentler Surget, William
Ballet; at Betueuil, sir Henrie Spoxtmer bailiffe
of Hundew.

But now to returne where we left. The wise and
grauie personages of the realme of France, soze la-
menting & bewailing the miserie of their countrie,
saw they had puissance inough to defend their eni-
mies, if they were of perfect concord amongst them-
selves. And therefore to remove all rancor and dis-
pleasure betwixt the Dolphin, and the duke of Bur-
gognie, they procured a new meeting, which was ap-
pointed to be at Pontrean ou fault Ponne, where
the two princes at the daie assigned met. But such
was the fortune of France, that the duke of Bur-

gognie was there murdered, as he kneeled before
the Dolphin: whereupon ensued greater debate than
before. For Philip earle of Charolois, the sonne and
heire of the said duke, took the matter verie gra-
uoulie, as he had no lesse cause, and determined to be
reuenged on the Dolphin, and other that were guiltie
of the murder: so that now there was great expecta-
tion of slaughter and bloodshed, but no hope for the
most part of tranquillitie & peace. France therefore,
what with overthowles giuen by the English, & diuis-
sion among themselves, was verie soze afflicted; in-
so much that one miserie riding on anothers necke,
the whole land was in danger of desolation by ciuill
dissention & mutuall mutinies; as the poet noteth:

—accesit ad ista

Tunc mala Celarum Burgundio fraude peremptus
Sparfag, ciuili tota dissensio terra.

Anglorum pre-
lia sub Henr. 5.

When he had well considered of the matter, and
taken aduise with his counsell, he first sent ambassa-
dours to the king of England, then lieng at Gisors
to treat and conclude a truce betwene them both for
a certaine space, that they might talke of some con-
clusion of agreement. King Henrie receiued the am-
bassadors verie courteously, and granted that com-
munication might be had of peace, but bitterlie deni-
ed any abstinence from warre, because he would not
lose time, if the treatie sorted not to good effect. Here-
upon hauing his armie assembled at Spaunt, he di-
uided the same into thre parts, appointing the duke
of Glocester with one part to go vnto the castell of
S. Germane in Laie, and to laie siege therevnto. The
duke according to his commission, comming before
that castell, within a while constrained them within
by continuall skirmishes and assaults to deliuer vp
the place into his hands. An other part of the armie
was sent vnto the castell of Pontioie, which likewise
by such fierce assaults and manfull approches, as the
Englishmen made thereto, was shortly giuen ouer
and yelded. The third part of the host went to Oeu-
lanc, a verie strong towne compassed about with the
riuer of Seine.

Ambassadors
sent to king
Henrie.
Titus Livius.

A wise and
princelie
caution.

The castell of
S. Germane
in Laie and
Pontioie yel-
ded to the
Englishmen.

But the king denied to fasten botes and barges
together, and to reere vp certaine frames of timber a-
loft on the same for defense of his soldiers, that should
by that meanes approach the walles, wherewith those
that had the towne in keeping were so put in feare,
that their capteine was glad to come to a communi-
cation, & agreed to deliuer the towne into the kings
hands, if no rescue came before the thirtieth daie of
October next ensuing. On which daie, for that no suc-
cours appeared, the towne (according to the coue-
nants) was giuen vp into the kings hands. Sir
Thomas Ramston was made capteine there, and
after him sir John Fastolfe. The king, whilst these
places were besieged, and thus brought vnder his
subiection, continued for the most part at Spaunt; but
yet oftentimes he went forth to visit his campes,
and to see that nothing should be wanting, that might
further the speedie dispatch of his enterprises.

A policie for
redie bridges.

The strong
town of Oeu-
lanc yelded to
the English.

About the same time, there came againe ambassa-
dours to him from Charles the French king, & from
the young duke of Burgognie to treat with him of
some good conclusion of peace to be had; who had no
such trust in their sute, but that he doubted their mea-
ning, and therefore ceased not to proceed in the win-
ning of townes and castels, as he was in hand. Now
when Christmasse approached, the king withdrew to
Rone, and there kept the solemnization of that feast,
appointing in the meane time his men of warre to be
occupied as occasion serued. The earle of Salisburie
was sent to besiege the towne of Fresneie, the which
after stout resistance made at the first, shortly after
was deliuered to him to the kings vse. The earles
Sparshall and Huntingdon, sir John Greene Cozney-
wall,

I 4 2 0

Anno Reg. 8.

Fitz.

Wall,

Titus Livius.

The castell of
Alanson was
besieged and
taken.

Titus Livius.

Gisors was
besieged & yel-
ded to the
Englishmen.

Chronicle of
Burgundie
warre.

A great victorie on the English side.

Wall, sir Philip Leech, and diuerse other, were sent into the countrie of Haine, where, not farre from the citie of Spens they were incountered by a power of Frenchmen, which the Dolphin had sent against them. There was at the first a sharpe bickering betwixt them, but in the end the victorie remained with the Englishmen; so that manie of the Frenchmen were slaine, and taken, and the residue chased out of the field. There were slaine (as Thomas Walsingham saith) at the point of fise thousand, and two hundred taken prisoners, among whome was the marshall de Rouss, and diuerse other of good account. The two English earles remained there as victors, in the countrie which was by the king to them assigned.

King Henrie condescendeth to a treatie of peace.

Whilist these victorious exploits were thus happily achieved by the Englishmen, and that the king late still at Rone, in giuing thanks to almighty God for the same, there came to him embassadours from the French king and the duke of Burgognie to moue him to peace. The king minding not to be reputed for a destroyer of the countrie, which he coveted to preserve, or for a causer of christian blood still to be spilt in his quarrell, began so to incline and giue care vnto their sute and humble request, that at length (after often sending to and fro) and that the bishop of Arras, and other men of honor had bene with him, and likewise the earle of Warwicke, and the bishop of Rochester had bene with the duke of Burgognie, they both finally agreed vpon certaine articles, so that the French king and his commons would thereto assent.

A truce tripartite.

Now was the French king and the quene with their daughter Katharine at Trois in Champaigne gouerned and ordered by them, which so much fauoured the duke of Burgognie, that they would not for any earthly good, once hinder or pull backe one lot of such articles as the same duke should seeke to preferre. And therefore what needeth manie words, a truce tripartite was accorded betwixt the two kings and the duke, and their countries, and order taken that the king of England should send in the companie of the duke of Burgognie his embassadours vnto Trois in Champaigne sufficientlie authorized to treat and conclude of so great matter. The king of England, being in good hope that all his affaires should take good successe as he could wish or desire, sent to the duke of Burgognie his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, the earle of Salisburie, the bishop of Elye, the lord Stanhope, the lord Fitz Hugh, sir John Robert, and sir Philip Hall, with diuerse doctors, to the number of fise hundred horse, which in the companie of the duke of Burgognie came to the citie of Trois the eleuenth of March. The king, the quene, and the ladie Katharine them receiued, and hartlie welcomed, shewing great signes and tokens of loue and amitie.

The articles of the peace concluded betwixt king Henrie and the French king.

After a few daies they fell to counsell, in which at length it was concluded, that king Henrie of England should come to Trois, and marie the ladie Katharine; and the king his father after his death should make him heire of his realme, crowne and dignitie. It was also agreed, that king Henrie, during his father in lawes life, should in his stead haue the whole gouernement of the realme of France, as regent thereof, with manie other covenants and articles, as after shall appere. As to the performance whereof, it was accorded, that all the nobles and estates of the realme of France, as well spirituall as temporall, and also the citie and commonalties, citizens and burgesses of towne, that were obasant at that time to the French king, should take a corporall oth. These articles were not at the first in all points brought to a perfect conclusion. But after the effect and meaning of them was agreed vpon by the commisso-

ners, the Englishmen departed towards the king their master, and left sir John Robert behind, to giue his attendance on the ladie Katharine.

King Henrie being informed by them of that which they had done, was well content with the agreement and with all diligence prepared to go vnto Trois, and thereupon having all things in a readinesse, he being accompanied with his brethren the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the earles of Warwicke, Salisburie, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Longueville, fiftene thousand men of warre, went from Rone to Pontoise, departing from thence the eight daie of Maie, came to saint Denis two leagues from Paris, and after to Pontcharanton, where he left a strong garrison of men, with sir William Colcoigne, to keepe the passage; and so then entering into Brize, he tooke by the waie a castell which was kept against him, causing them that so kept it, some to be hanged, and the residue to be led forth with him as prisoners. And after this keeping on his iournie by Bourges, and Joigny, at length he came to Trois.

The duke of Burgognie accompanied with manie noble men, receiued him two leagues without the towne, and conueied him to his lodging. All his armie was lodged in small villages thereabout. And after that he had reposed himselfe a little, he went to visit the French king, the quene, and the ladie Katharine, whome he found in saint Peters church, where was a verie iolous meeting betwixt them (and this was on the twentieth daie of Maie) and there the king of England, and the ladie Katharine were affianced. After this, the two kings and their counsell assembled together diuerse daies, wherein the first concluded agreement was in diuerse points altered and brought to a certeinettie, according to the effect aboue mentioned. When this great matter was finished, the kings swore for their parts to obserue all the covenants of this league and agreement. Likewise the duke of Burgognie and a great number of other princes and nobles which were present, receiued an oth, the tenor whereof (as the duke of Burgognie uttered it in solemne words) thus insueth, accordinglie as the same is exemplified by Titus Lilius De Foro Luuifis in Latine.

The oth of the duke of Burgognie.



Go Philippus Burgundia dux, per me meosque heredes, ad sacra Dei euangelia domino regi Henrico Anglia, Franciaque, pro Carolo rege regem iuro, quod humiliter ipsi Henrico fideliter erga cunctis in rebus, qua rempublicam spectant & Francia coronam, obediemus, & statim post mortem Caroli domini nostri, domino Henrico regi suisque successoribus in perpetuum legi fideles erimus; nec alium quempiam pro domino nostro supremo Francia rege, quam Henricum & suos heredes habebimus, neque patiemur. Non erimus prater ea in consilio vel consensu cuiusquam damni regis Henrici, suorumque successorum, ubi quicquam detrimenti patiantur capitis sue membri, vel vitam perdant, sed predicta (quantum in nobis fuerit) quam citissimis literis vel nuntiis, ut sibi melius prouidere valeant, eis significabimus.

The same in English.



Philip duke of Burgognie, for my selfe, and for mine heires, doe here sweare vpon the holie euangelists of God, to Henrie king of England

Thom. Wals.

Titus Livius.

King Henrie cometh to
Paris to the
French king.

King Henrie
affeth the
French king's
daughter.

Titus Livius.

England, and regent of France for king Charles, that we shall humble and faithfully obey the said Henrie in all things which concerne the common-wealth and crowne of France. And immediatlie after the deceasse of our soueraigne lord king Charles, we shall be faithful liegemen unto the said king Henrie, and to his successors for ever. Neither shall we take or suffer any other soueraigne lord and supreme king of France, but the same Henrie and his heires: neither shall we be of counsell or consent of any hurt towards the said king Henrie or his successors, whereby they may suffer losse & detriment of life or lim, but that the same so farre as in us may lie, we shall signifie to them with all speed, by letters or messengers, that they may the better provide for themselves in such cases.

The like off a great number of the princes and nobles both spirituall and temporall, which were present, received at the same time. This done, the morrow after Trinitie Sundaye, being the third of June, the marriage was solemnized and solite consummate betwixt the king of England, and the said ladie Katharine. Herewith was the king of England named and proclaimed heire and regent of France. And as the French king sent the copie of this treatie to everie towne in France: so the king of England sent the same in English unto everie cite and market towne within his realme, to be proclaimed and published. The true copie whereof, as we find it in the chronicles of maister Hall, we have thought good here to set downe, for the more full satisfieng of those that shall desire to peruse everie clause and article thereof, as followeth.

The articles & appointments of peace
betweene the realmes of England and France.

Henrie by the grace of God king of England, heire and regent of France, lord of Ireland, to perpetuall mind of christian people, and all those that be under our obediace, we notifie and declare, that though there hath bene here before diverse treaties betweene the most excellent prince Charles our father of France and his progenitors, for the peace to be had betwixt the two realmes of France and England, the which heretofore have borne no fruit: we considering the great harmes, the which have not onelie fallen betwixt those two realmes, for the great division of that hath bene betwixt them, but to all holy church; we have taken a treatie with our said father, in which treatie betwixt our said father and us, it is concluded & accorded in the forme after the manner that followeth.

1 First, it is accorded betwixt our father and us, that forsomuch as by the bond of matrimonie made for the good of the peace betwixt us and our most deere beloved Katharine, daughter of our said father, & of our most deere mother Isabell his wife; the same Charles and Isabell bene made our father and mother: therefore them as our father and mother we shall have and worship, as it sitteth and seemeth so worship a prince and princesse to be worshipped, principallie before all other temporall persons of the world.

2 Also we shall not disfraunce, diseason or let our father aforesaid, but that he hold and possede as long as he liueth, as he holdeth and possedeth at this time,

the crowne and dignitie of all of France, with rents and profits for the same, of the sustenance of his estate and charges of the realme. And our foresaid mother also hold as long as she liueth, the state and dignitie of quene, after the manner of the same realme, with convenient part of the said rents and profits.

3 Also that the foresaid ladie Katharine shall take and have dowter in our realme of England as quenes of England here tofore were wont for to take and have, that is to saie, to the summe of fortie thousand scutes, of the which twa algate shall be a noble English.

4 And that by the waies, manners, and meanes that we without transgression or offense of other made by us, for to speake the lawes, customes, franchises and rights of our said realme of England, shall done our labour and pursuit, that the said Katharine, all so soon as it may be done, be made sure to take, and for to have in our said realme of England, from the time of our death, the said dowter of fortie thousand scutes yereleie, of the which twa algate be worth a noble English.

5 Also if it happe the said Katharine to overlive us, we shall take and have the realme of France immediatlie, from the time of our death, dowter to the summe of twenty thousand franks yereleie, of and upon the lands, places and lordships that held and had Blanch sometime wife of Philip Deasail to our said father.

6 Also that after the death of our said father aforesaid, and from thence forward, the crowne and the realme of France, with all the rights and appurtenances, shall remaine and abide to us, and bene of us and of our heires for evermore.

7 And forsomuch as our said father is witholden with diverse sicknesse, in such manner as he maie not intend in his owne person for to dispose for the needs of the foresaid realme of France: therefore during the life of our foresaid father, the faculties and exercise of the gouernance and disposition of the publicke & common profit of the said realme of France, with counsell, and nobles, and wise men of the same realme of France, shall be and abide to us: so that from thenceforth we maie gouerne the same realme by us. And also to admit to our counsell and assistance of the said nobles, such as we shall thinke meet. The which faculties and exercise of gouernance thus being toward us, we shall labour and purpose us speedfullie, diligentlie, and truelie, to that that maie be and ought for to be unto the worship of God, and our said father and mother, and also to the common good of the said realme, and that realme with the counsell & helpe of the worshipie and great nobles of the same realme for to be defended, peaced and gouerned after right and equitie.

8 Also that we of our owne power shall do the court of parlement in France to be kept and observed in his authoritie and souerainetie, and in all that is done to it in all manner of places that now or in time comming is or shall be subject to our said father,

9 Also we to our power shall defend and helpe all and everie of the piers, nobles, cities, townes, communalities, and singular persons, now or in time comming, subjects to our father in their rights, customes, priuileges, freedoms, and franchises, longing or due to them in all manner of places now or in time comming subject to our father.

10 Also we diligentlie and truelie shall trauell to our power, and do that iustice be administered and done in the same realme of France after the lawes, customes, and rights of the same realme, without personall exception. And that we shall kepe and hold

And the

the subjects of the same realme in tranquillitie and peace, and to our power we shall defend them against all manner of violence and oppression.

11 Also we to our power shall provide, and do to our power, that able persons and profitable bene taken to the offices as well of iustices and other offices belonging to the governance of the demaines; and of other offices of the said realme of France, for the good right and peaceable iustice of the same, and for the administration that shall be committed unto them; and that they be such persons, that after the lawes and rights of the same realme, and for the benefit and profit of our said father, shall minister, and that the foresaid realme shall be taken and departed to the same offices.

12 Also that we of our power, so farre as it may commodiously be done, shall travel to put into the obedience of our said father, all manner of cities, townes, and castels, places, countries, and persons within the realme of France, disobedient, and rebels to our said father, holding with them which bene called the Dolphin or Arminache.

13 Also that we might the more commodiously, suerly and frailer done, exercise, & fulfill these things aforesaid, it is accorded that all worthie nobles and estates of the same realme of France, as well spirituals as temporals, and also cities notable and communalities, and citizens, burghesses of townes of the realme of France, that bene obedient at this time to our said father, shall make these othes that followen.

14 First to us having the facultie, exercise, disposition, and governance of the foresaid common profit to our heirs and commandements, these shall make the othe obediently obeie and intend in all manner of things concerning the exercise of governance of the same realme.

15 Also that the worthie, great, and noble estates of the said realme, as well spirituals as temporals, and also cities and notable communalities, and citizens and burghesses of the same realme, in all manner of things well and truly shall keepe and to their power shall do to be kept of so much as to them belongeth, or to any of them, all those things that bene appointed and accorded betwene our foresaid father and mother and us, with the counsell of them whome us lieth to call to us.

16 And that continually from the death, and after the death of our said father Charles, they shall be our true liegemen, and our heirs; and they shall receive and admit us for their liege and sovereigne and verie king of France, and for such to obeie us without opposition, contradiction, or difficultie, as they bene to our foresaid father during his life, never after this realme of France shall obey to man as king or regent of France, but to us and our heirs. Also they shall not be in counsell, helpe, or assent that we lese life or limme, or be take with evill taking, or that we suffer harme, or diminution in person, estate, worship, or goods; but if they knowe any such thing for to be cast or imagined against us, they shall let it to their power, & they shall done us to werten thereof, as hastily as they may by themselves, by message, or by letters.

17 Also that all manner of conquests that should be made by us in France upon the said inobedients, out of the duchie of Normandie, shall be done to the profit of our said father; and that to our power we shall do, that all manner of lands and lordships that bene in the places so for to be conquered, longeing to persons obedieng to our foresaid father, which shall sweare for to keepe this present accord, shall be restored to the same persons to whom they long to.

18 Also that all manner of persons of the holie

church, beneficed in the duchie of Normandie, or any other places in the realme of France, subiect to our father, and favouring the partie of the dukes of Burgonie, which shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shall enjoy peaceable their benefices of holie church in the duchie of Normandie, or in other places next aforesaid.

19 Also likewise, all manner of persons of holie church, obedient to us, and beneficed in the realme of France, and places subiect to our father, that shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shall enjoy peaceable their benefices of holie church in places next aforesaid.

20 Also that all manner of churches, universites, and studies generall, and all colleges of studies, and other colleges of holie church, being in places now or in time coming subiect to our father, or in the duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of France subiect to us, shall enjoy their rights and possessions, rents, prerogatives, liberties, & franchises, longeing or due to them in any manner of wise in the said realme of France, saving the right of the crowne of France, and everie other person.

21 Also by Gods helpe, when it happeneth us to come to the crowne of France, the duchie of Normandie, and all other places conquered by us in the realme of France, shall bow under the commandement, obeisance, and monarchie of the crowne of France.

22 Also that we shall force us, & do to our power, that recompense be made by our said father without diminution of the crowne of France to persons obedieng to him, and favouring to that partie that is said Burgonie, to whom longeth lands, lordships, rents, or possessions in the said duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of France, conquered by us hither towarde, given by us in places and lands gotten or to be gotten, and overcome, in the name of our said father upon rebels and inobedients to him. And if so be that such manner of recompense be not made to the said persons, by the life of our said father, we shall make that recompense in such manner and places, of goods, when it happeneth by Gods grace to the crowne of France. And if so be that the lands, lordships, rents, or possessions, the which longeth to such manner of persons in the said duchie and places be not given by us, the same persons shall be restored to them without any delate.

23 And during the life of our father, in all places now or in time coming subiect to him, letters of common iustice, and also grants of offices and gifts, pardons or remissions, and privileges shall be written and proceed under the name and seale of our said father. And for so much as some singular case may fall, that may not be foreseen by mans wit, in the which it might be necessarie and behouefull, that we do write our letters, in such manner case, if any hap for the good and suertie of our father, and for the governance that longeth to us, as is before said; and for to eschewen perils that otherwise might fall, to the presence of our said father, to write our letters, by the which we shall command, charge, and defend after the nature and qualitie of the need, in our fathers behalf and ours as regent of France.

24 Also, that during our fathers life, we shall not call nor write us king of France; but verelie we shall absteine us from that name, as long as our father liueth.

25 Also that our said father, during his life, shall name, call, and write us in French in this manner: *Nostre treschier filz Henry roy d'Engleterre heretere de France.* And in Latine in this manner: *Præclarissimus filius noster Henricus rex Anglie & heres Francia.*

26 Also that we shall put none impositions or exactions,

exactions, or do charge the subiects of our said father without cause reasonable and necessarie, ne otherwise than for common good of the realme of France, and after the saies and asking of the lawes and customes reasonable approued of the same realme.

27 Also that we shall traueil to our power to the effect and intent, that by the assent of the three estates of either of the realmes of France and England, that all maner of obstacles maie be done awaie, and that all maner of obstackes maie be done awaie, and that in this partie, that it be ordeined and prouided; that from the time that we or any of our heires come to the crowne of France, both the crownes, that is to the crowne of France and England perpetuallie be togither in one & in the same person, that is to saie, from our fathers life to vs, and from the tearme of our life thenceforward in the persons of our heires, that shall be one after an other, and that both realmes shall be gouerned from that we or any of our heires come to the same, not seuerallie vnder diuerse kings in one time, but vnder the same person which for the time shall be king of both realmes, and our soueraigne lord (as it is before said) keeping neuertheless in all maner of other things to either of the same realmes, their rights, liberties, customes, vlags, and lawes, not making subiect in any maner of wise one of the same realmes, to the rights, lawes, or vlags of that other.

28 Also that thenceforward, perpetuallie, shall be still rest, and that in all maner of wise, dissensions, hates, rancors, enuies and wars, betwene the same realmes of France and England, and the people of the same realmes, drawing to accord of the same peace, may cease and be broken.

29 Also that there shall be from henceforward for evermore, peace and tranquillitie, & good accord, and common affection, and stable friendship betwene the said realmes, and their subiects before said. And the same realmes shall keepe themselves with their counsell, helps, and common assistance against all maner of men that inforce them for to doen or to imagine wrongs, harmes, displeasures, or grieuances to them or either of them. And they shall be conuersant and merchandizen frelie and suerlie togither, paieing the custome due and accustomed. And they shall be conuersant also, that all the confederats and allies of our said father and the realme of France aforesaid, and also our confederats of the realme of England aforesaid, shall in eight moneths from the time of this accord of peace, as it is notified to them, declare by their letters, that they will draw to this accord, and will be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, sauing neuertheless either of the same crownes, and also all maner actions, rights and reuenues, that longen to our said father and his subiects, and to vs and our subiects, against all maner of such allies and confederats.

30 Also neither our father, neither our brother the duke of Burgognie shall begin, ne make with Charles, cleping himselfe the Dolphin of Wiennes, any treatie, or peace, or accord, but by counsell and assent of all and ech of vs three, or of other the three estates of either of the said realmes aboue named.

31 Also that we with assent of our said brother of Burgognie, and other of the nobles of the realme of France, the which there to owen to be called, shall ordeine for the gouernance of our said father schertlie, louinglie, & honestlie, after the asking of his roiall estate and dignitie, by the maner that shall be to the worship of God, and of our father, and of the realme of France.

32 Also all maner of persons, that shall be about our father to do him personall seruice, not onelie in office, but in all other seruices, aswell the nobles and gentles as other, shall be such as hath bene bozne

in the realme of France, or in places longing to France, good, wise, true, and able to that foresaid seruice. And our said father shall dwell in places notable of his obedience, and no where else. Wherefore we charge and command our said liege subiects, and other being vnder our obedience, that they keepe and do to be kept in all that longeth to them, this accord and peace, after the forme and maner as it is accorded; and that they attempt in no maner wise, any thing that may be preiudiciall or contrarie to the same accord and peace, vpon paine of life and lim, and all that they may forfeit against vs. Given at Troes, the thirtieth day of Maie, 1420, & proclaimed in London the twentieth day of June.

33 Also that we for the things aforesaid, and euerie one of them, shall giue our assent by our letters patents, sealed with our seale vnto our said father, with all approbation and confirmation of vs, and all other of our blood roiall, and all other of the cities and townes to vs obedient. Sealed with our seales accustomed. And further our said father, besides his letters patents sealed with our great seale, shall make or cause to be made letters approbatorie, and confirmations of the pæres of his realme, and of the lords, citizens, and burgesses of the same, vnder his obedience. All which articles we haue sworne to keepe vpon the holic euangelists.

On the fourteenth of June being fridaie, there was a solemn procession at London, and a sermon at Pauls crosse, in which the preacher openly declared the effect of the kings marriage, and the articles concluded vpon the same, by reason wherof (he said) there must be a new great seale deuised, and the old broken, and in the new the kings name with a new addition of his title as regent of France, and heire apparent of that kingdome was to be ingrauen. Beside the league thus concluded by king Henrie with the French king, and the whole bodie of the realme of France, there was a priuat league accorded betwixt him and the duke of Burgognie, the effect wherof was comprehended in articles as followeth.

First, that the duke of Burgognie should procure this peace latelie before concluded, to be obserued firme and stable in all covenants and points therof, so far as he by any meanes might further the same: in consideration wherof, one of the brethren of king Henrie should take to wife one of the said duke of Burgognies sisters. That king Henrie should euer haue in singular fauour the said duke of Burgognie, as his most deere brother, and support him in all his rights. That the said duke, after the deceasse of king Charles, should take an oth of fealtie to be true to B. Henrie & his heires, according to the forme & tenor therof before expressed, & should in all things be friend to king Henrie and his heires for ever. That king Henrie should do his uttermost indeuour, that due punishment might be had for the murder of duke John, father to the said duke of Burgognie, aswell vpon Charles that named himselfe Dolphin, as vpon others that were guiltie and priuie to that murder.

If the said Dolphin chanced to be taken, either in battell or to wone besieged, or if anie other chanced so to be taken, that should be proued guiltie or priuie to the murder of the said duke John, he should not be deliuered without iust punishment for his dedes, nor without the consent of the two kings Charles and Henrie, & of the three estates of both the realmes. In consideration of the great diligence, and painfull traueil sustained by the duke of Burgognie, it was also agreed, that he should haue by patent granted of king Charles and queene Isabell a fee of twentie thousand pounds Parisien, of pærelle reuenues, assigned forth nere to the confines of his countrie,

Tho. Wals.

A league betwene king Henrie & the duke of Burgognie.

to inioy the same to him and to his wife the duchess Michaele, and to the heires males betwixt them two, lawfullie begotten, to the obtaining thereof, king Henrie should shew all his furtherance; & if it might not be brought to passe till king Henrie had obtained the crowne of France, then should he see the same performed, upon the receiving of his homage.

The effect of king Henries oration to the French king.

The king of England, after all the articles of the said treaties and agreements were concluded, passed and swozne unto, made to the French king, the duke of Burgognie, and other the French lords, a sumptuous banquet; and before they departed from the same, he said with great grauitie made to them a right pithie and sententious oration, declaring to them both how profitable the ioining of the two kingdomes should be to the subjects of the same, and also the right that he had thereto, being by lineall descent of the womans side (which is the surest) rather a Frenchman than an Englishman. And though he was an Englishman borne, yet he assured them to tender the wealth of the realme of France, as much as he would the advancement of his owne native countrie of England.

Herewith, he inuited against Charles the Dolphin, being the head and onelie maintainer of all the ciuill discord, whose wicked nature, and cruell disposition, did well appeare in the murder of the late duke of Burgognie. He therefore willed them, according to their dutie, oath, and agreement, to stand with him, and helpe to reduce such a stubborn and disloyall sonne unto the obedience of his father king Charles, that he might shew himselfe conformable unto such orders and decrees, as they had taken, appointed, and agreed vpon; and for his part, he promised to worship, loue, and honor his father in law the said Charles, in place of his owne father, according to the true meaning of this concord and agreement, trusting the same to be a peace finall.

And to conclude, he promised, that if they shewed themselves true and loiall to him, according to the same agreement, the Ocean sea should sooner cease to flow, and the bright sunne lose his light, than he would desist from doing that which became a prince to do to his subject, or a father to his naturall child. When he had thus perswaded the nobilitie, and dispatched his businesse at Troies, he with all his armie, hauing with him the French king, and the duke of Burgognie, departed from thence the fourth of June; and vpon the seauenth daie of the same month, came before the towne of Sens in Burgognie, which held on the Dolphins part: but after foure daies siege, it was yielded vnto the king, and there he made captaine, the lord Genuille. From thence, he remoued to Pontreueu ou fault Ponne, which towne was taken on the thre and twentieth daie of June, by assault, so that manie of the Dolphins part were apprehended, before they could get to the castell.

Whilist the siege laie there, and before the towne was entred, the duke of Bedford came thither vnto the king, bringing with him a faire retinue of soldiers out of England. After the getting of the towne, the castell being well bittelled and manned, denied to render, and therefore was it assaulted with a strong siege. During the which, the duke of Burgognie was informed, in what place of the towne the duke his father was buried, who was slaine there (as before you haue heard) and now his corpes was taken by a gainie by his sonnes appointment, and seared, and so conueied vnto Digeon in high Burgognie, and there buried by his father Philip; to the end that the remembrance of him should remaine to posterities, by the reseruatiō of some monument abiding in

the place of his interment, after that his boote was consumed, and his naturall countenance forgotten, which is the last point of reuerend dutie (as we may well thinke) which pietie of children towards their parents both require; namely, that they be decentlie buried when they be departed; and that their graues or some stones may put vs that are alie in mind of going the same waie, and to let no more by this fitting life, than standeth with the vncerteintie and shortnesse of the same; as one right well saith:

Cum tumulum cernis, cur non mortalia spernis?

Est memor mortis, quo vixit tempore fortis.

Because they within the castell of Pontreueu, gaue opprobrious words vnto the kings herald that was sent to them, the king caused a gibet to be set up before the castle, on the which were hanged twelue of those spitefull offenders, all gentlemen & friends to the captaine named monsieur de Cuitrie, who at length, perceiuing that by no means he could be succoured; and fearing to be taken by force, began to treat with the king of England, who for the space of eight daies would hearken to none of his offers; but in conclusion, he and his rendered themselves simple, their liues onelie saued, six weekes after they had bene besieged. The earle of Marlowe was made captaine, both of the towne and castell, who fortified it with men, munition, and bittels.

About this time Robert the gouernour of Scotland, the sixteenth yeare after his brothers reigne, and in the thirtieth yeare of his owne regiment deceased, in whose stead and office his sonne Moris duke of Albanie was by and by chosen, who had sonnes thre, Walter, Alexander, and James, whereof the two eldest beginning betimes to be obstinate, grew some after verie graceles and wicked: that in one flagitious feat among the rest by this Walter verie impiouslie against his parents was uttered. The gouernour had a faire, a gentle, and well lieng falcon, whereby he set great store. The sonne verie desirous of the same, made manie meanes and motions to haue hir, not without note of malapert importunitie and lacke of reuerence toward his parents pleasure, which the father dissembling to see, would not yet in anie wise forgo his hawk. Whereat this child reiecting regard of dutie, and receiuing an vnaturall hate and heat by broth of iniquitie set a boiling in his brest, came in on a time, where standing a while at a sudden he laid, pluckt awaie the bird from his fathers fist, and straight before his face wounding of his necke. The gouernour hereat fore astonished, for verie griefe gaue a great grone; Well sonne (quod he) since ye cannot abide your hunte for dutie and reuerence toward me your parent and soueraigne, I will bring in one that shall abide vs both. Wherevpon some after, he with one Calen Campbell, a noble man & of much authoritie (vnto whom this Walter had done a great despight) and with other of the nobilitie fell straight in consultation about the calling home of their king. Which all with one assent they did right well allow, whereby some after (as is touched afore, and followeth more at large) he was by them in his kingdom right roiallie placed. But this came of it. These mischievous children Walter and Alexander, the verie cause of their fathers confusion and their owne, within few yeares after condemned by law, vpon a bill by Sterling castell, had their heads chopt off at once. Walters wife with hir two sonnes, Andrew and Alexander, ran for refuge awaie into Ireland; thus for their long iniquities their hires iustlie paid all in a daie.]

Now to proceed in our proceesse of France. After the thus winning of the towne and castell of Pontreueu; the king departing from thence, came to Melun vpon Seine, the thirteenth daie of Iulie, and

The king of Scots in his hies arms

Eightene sonnes haue the chronicles of Flanders. Titus Lilius.

Monsieur de Barbalon a valiant captain.

It hath not out so long as should appeare by the Lilius, who saith, it was recorded by Henry of Julis.

W.P. Buchan. lib.

Titus Lilius.

It was rendered by the tenth of June Titus Lilius. Sens & Pontreueu besieged and taken. The siege was laid the 16. of June.

The duke of Baviere cometh to king Henrie with a number of gentlemen.

The translation of Tit. Lilius.

Henrie and Monsieur de Barbalon fight and to hand.

The king of
Scots in his
armie

Eightene
hundred
the chancery
of London
T. L. L.

Spencer de
Barbafon a
valiant captain.

It held not
out so long
as should appeare
by T. L. L.,
who saith, &
it was re-
vised & fourth
of Julie.

W. P.
Buchan. lib. 7.

T. L. L.

The duke of
Somers com-
meth to king
Henrie with a
number of
hoylmen.

The traitor
of T. L. L.

It
Melun before
was
gled by king
Henrie.

Henrie and
Melun fight
hand to hand.

besieged it round about, hauing then in companie with him the French king, and the yong king of Scots, the dukes of Burgognie, Clarence, Bedford, Gloucester, and Bar, the prince of Dainge, and one and thertie earles, besides lords, barons, & knights, equall to lords in degree, to the number of seauen and fiftie, what of England and France; and beside also fiftiene maister soldiers. This siege continued the space almost of seuen moneths, or (as Thomas Walsingham saith) foureteene weekes, and foure daies, with skirmishing, scaling, assaulting, and defending, to the losse (no doubt) of both parts. Capteine of this towne was one monsieur de Barbafon, a Gasconne of such experience and approued valiance in wars, that his renowne and fame was spred through the world.

At the first laing of the siege, he called all the soldiers there in garrison, and likewise the townesmen afore him, and warned them all on paine of death, that none of them should be so hardie, as to treat, or once to motion anie word of surrendering the towne, or of coming to anie composition or agreement with the two kings; except they made him being their capteine pynne thereto, before they attempted anie such thing. ¶ In the meane season, the French queene, the queene of England, and the duchesse of Burgognie, lieng at Corbeill, came diuerse times to visit their husbands, and to see their frends; whome the king of England highlie feasted, and longlie intertained, that euery creature reported great honour of him. This towne of Melun seemed verie strong, both by reason of the river of Seine, which compassed part thereof, and also by strong walles, turrets, ditches, and bulwarks made about it.

The king therefore, to take awaie all the issues and entrees from them within, made a bridge ouer the river, able to beare hoxses and carriage; and againe, appointed diuerse hoxes furnished with men of warre, to kepe the streame; so that they within should haue no waie to come abroad, either by water or land; yet on a daie, the Frenchmen sailed forth, and assailed the English lodgings, where the earle of Warwick was incamped on the east side of the towne, not farre from the duke of Burgognie; but by the valiant prowesse and manlie courage of the Englishmen, the enemies were easilie beaten backe and constrained to retire into the towne againe, with their losse. There is to be remembred, that during this siege before Melun, there came to the king the duke of Bourgne, the kings brother in law (but the kings sister that had bene married to him, was not then liuing) and brought with him seauen hundred well appointed hoxsmen, which were retained to serue the king, and right worthilie they bare themselves, and therefore most liberallie recompensed at the kings hand, for the time they continued in his seruice.

The king enforced this siege by all waies and meanes possible, to bring the towne into subiection, as well by mines as otherwise, but they within the towne so valiantlie behaued themselves, as well by countermines (whereby at length they entered into the kings mines) as by other waies of resistance, that by force of assaults it was not thought anie easie matter to win the same. It fortuned on a daie, that whilst there rose a contention betwixt two lords of the kings host, who should haue the hono: to go first into the mine, to incounter with the Frenchmen, that now had brought their mine through into the English mines, and made barriers betwixt, that they might safelie come and fight with the Englishmen: the king (to auoid the strife) entered the mine himselfe first of all other, and by chance came to fight hand to hand with the lord Barbafon, who was

likewise entered the mine before all other of them within the towne.

After they had fought a good season together, at length they agreed to discover either to other their names; so as the lord Barbafon, first declaring what he was, the king likewise told him, that he was the king of England. Whereupon, Barbafon perceiving with whome he had fought, caused the barriers forthwith to be closed, and withdrew into the citie, and the king returned backe to his campe. At length, vittels within the towne began to faile, and the patience began to wax hot, so that the lord Barbafon began to treat; and in conclusion, about the middes of Nouember (as Fabian saith) the towne was yielded vpon certeine conditions, wherof one was, that all that were consenting to the death of the duke of Burgognie, should be deliuered to the king of England, of whome the lord Barbafon was suspected to be one. The king sent them vnder the conduct of his brother the duke of Clarence, to the citie of Paris, whereof the French king made him capteine, and so at his coming thither, he toke possession of the Bastill of S. Anthoine, the Loure, the house of Melun, and the place of Bois de Vincennes.

Monsieur de Barbafon was accused by the duke of Burgognie, and his sisters as guiltie to their fathers death; but he in open court defended himselfe as not guiltie of that crime, granting indeed and confessing, that he was one of the familiar seruants to the Dolphin, but that he was pynne or consenting to the death of the duke of Burgognie, he vtterlie denied. Whereupon he was not condemned, neither yet acquitted, by reason of such presumptions and conjectures as were alledged and brought against him, so that he remained in prison at Paris and else where, the space of nine yeares, till at length, being brought vnto castell Galliard, it chanced that the same castell was twome by those of the Dolphins part, and he being as then prisoner there, escaped out of danger, and so by that means was set at libertie, as after shall appeare.

Some write, that he had bene put to death, if he had not appealed from king Henries sentence, vnto the iudgement of the officers at armes; alledging, that by the lawe of armes, no man hauing his brother in armes within his danger, afterwards ought to put him to death for any cause or quarrell. And that he was the kings brother in armes he proued it, for that he had fought with him hand to hand within the mines (as before ye haue heard) which combat was thought of equall force by the heralds, as if he had fought with the king bodie to bodie, within solemn lists. The credit of this matter we leaue to the consideration of the readers. The earle of Huntingford was made capteine of Melun. In defense of this towne and castell, the French had gotten vnto them manie Scots. At the siege here the king kept with him yong James of Scotland, who sent to those Scots, that they should come out and yeld them to him, and not to stand in armes against their liege lord and king; but they gaue word backe againe, they could not take him for king, that was in the power of another, and so kept them in hold and in their armor still. King Henrie vpon winning of these forts, for their rebellion against their prince, which they would haue to be counted constancie, and for their contemptuous answer vnto him, thertie of the proudest, in example of the rest, caused he there to be hanged at once.

From thence the king departed with his armie vnto Corbeill, where the French king and the two queenes then sojourned; and after, both the kings, accompanied with the dukes of Bedford, Burgognie, Gloucester, and Excester, and the earls of Warwick

It was furnished about
Alhalontide,
as Thom.
Wal. noteth.

Melun yielded
vnto king
Henrie.

Titus Lilius

Note this appeal.

A note in law
of armes.

W. P.

King Henrie
is receiued in
at Paris.

and Salisburie, with a great number of noble men and knights, set forth towards Paris, whome the citizens in good order met without the gates, and the cleargie also with solemne procession. All the streets were hang'd with rich clothes, the two kings rode together (the king of England giuing the upper hand to his father in law) through the great citie of Paris, to our ladie church, where after they had said their deuotions, they departed vnto their lodgings; the French king to the house of S. Paule, and the king of England to the castell of Louer.

The duches
of Burgonie
his appeale.

The next daie, the two queenes made their entrie and were receiued with like solemnities, as their husbands were the day before. During all the season that these two kings late in Paris, there was a great assemble called, as well of the spiritualtie, as of the nobles of the tempozaltie, in the which the kings sat as iudges, before whom the duches of Burgonie by his proctor, appealed the Dolphin, and seauen other, for the murder of duke John his husband. To the which appeale, the counsell of the other part made diuerse offers of amends, as well of foundati- ons of chantries for priests, to praise for the soule; as recompense of monie to the widows and children: for the finall determination whereof, the kings, to take further aduise and counsell therein, appointed another daie.

The oth of
the three es-
tates of France.

At this same time, the three estates of the realme of France assembled at Paris, and there euerie person seuerallie sware vpon the holie euangelists, to keepe, support, mainteine and defend the treatie and finall accoyd, which was concluded betwene the two kings, and the reto euerie noble man, spiritual gouernour and tempozall ruler, set to their seals, which instruments were sent to the kings treasure of his eschequer at Westminster safelie to be kept, where they yet remaine. The French king at the same time being in good and perfect state of health, openlie there in parlement declared, that peace was concluded, accorded, and made by his free assent, and with the aduise of all the counsell of France, and that he would for his owne part, and that his successors ought for their parts, obserue and keepe the same, with all the articles therein contained. And likewise, that all his subiects were bound for ever, to obserue and keepe the same, without breaking or doing anie thing preiudiciall therevnto.

King Henrie
taketh vpon
him the office
of regent of
France.
The coine
salute.

During the time that the two kings thus sojour- ned in Paris, the French king kept a small port, be- rie fet, and those of the meaner sort resorting vnto his court: but the king of England kept such a so- lemne state, with so plentifull an house, and shewed himselfe so bountifull in gifts, and setting forth of warlike shewes and princelie pastimes, that all the noble men and other resorted to his palace, to see his estate, and to do him honoz. He took vpon him as re- gent of France, to redresse causes, remoue officers, reforme things that were amisse, and caused a new coine to be made, called a salute, wherein were the armes of France, and the armes of England and France quarterlie stamped. Also, to set all things in quiet, he constituted sir Gilbert Amfremile capteine of Melun, with a good number of valiant soldiers, to remaine there in garrison, and the earle of Hun- tington (whose germane to the king) was deputed capteine at Blois de Vincennes; and the duke of Ex- cester, with five hundred men of warre, was assigned to keepe Paris. Thus had king Henrie (when he was constituted gouernour of the land) the disposing of prouinces, towne, and castels at his pleasure; and the making of lawes and ordinances, standing with the drift of his policie to keepe both people in due obe- dience; as *Anglorum praelia presicilie notet; saieni:*

Relectorem patriam postquam rex Gallus & omnes

*Unanimes proceres Henricum constituerunt;
Plantageneta dabat princeps iam uera duabus
Gentibus, effrantes ductu cobilibat habens.*

The duke of Bantier about the same time, with the kings licence, departed into his countrie, both he and his retinue, receiuing large gifts of the kings great liberalitie, and amongst other things, the king gaue him a cup of gold, garnished and set with precious stones of great price and value. Moreover, he had a pension giuen him of a thousand markes by yeare, under the kings letters patents, to be had and recei- ued of the kings free and liberall grant, during the life of the said duke. A right roiall reward & worthie the maiestie of a king, bestowed vpon the said duke; and his retinue, partlie in respect of the alliance be- twixt the king and him (for he had married the kings sister) but speciallie for the notable seruice which they did him at the siege before Melun. So that hereby is commended vnto vs an example of gratitude and beneficence; teaching vs, that to such as haue bene god and gracious vnto vs, we should be alwaies for- ward with a right hand and readie mind to make a- mends in some proportion and measure.

When the king had thus ordered his businesse, he with the queene his wife, the princes, & nobles of the realme departed from Paris, the first of Januarie, and came to Rone, but first before his departing, he caused processe to be made and awarded forth a- gainst Charles the Dolphin, commanding him to ap- peare at the marble table at Paris; where for lacke of appearance, he was with all solemnitie in such case requisite, denounced guiltie of the murder and homicide of John duke of Burgonie, and by the sentence of parlement banished the realme: but the Dolphin withdrew into Languedoc, and after to Poitiers, getting to him such friends as he could; and namelie, he found the earle of Arminacke verie faithfull to him, not onelie aiding him with men, but also with his owne person he continuallie serued him against all his aduersaries.

The king of England comming to Rone, sojour- ned there a certeine time, and receiued the homage of all the nobles of Normandie, amongst whom, the earle of Stafford did homage for the countie of Berch, and Arthur of Britaine likewise for the coun- tie of Purie. He also ordeined his lieutenant gene- rall, both of France and Normandie, his brother Thomas duke of Clarence; and his depute in Nor- mandie was the earle of Salisburie. When the feast of Christmasse was passed, he departed from Rone, with the queene his wife, and by Amiens came to Calis, where he took ship the morow after Candle- masse daie, and landed at Douer, and came to Can- turburie, and from thence to Citham, and so through London to Westminster. I passe ouer to write what joy and triumph was shewed by the citizens of Lon- don, and of all other his subiects in euerie place where he came.

The king himselfe, to render vnto God his most humble & hartie thanks, caused solemne processions to be obserued and kept five daies together in euerie citie and towne. After that done, he made great purueiance for the coronation of his queene & spouse, the late ladie Katharine: which was done the daie of S. Mattheu, being the twentieth fourth of Febru- arie, with all such ceremonies and princelie solemn- tie as appertained. Which because it was full of total- tie and honour (the qualitie of the principall perso- nages requiring no lesse) and recorded by writers of former ages, it seemeth necessarie and convenient in this place to report it, in such sort as it is found at large in some, though others glancinglie passe by it, as a matter of no great obseruation. But it is worth the noting, to consider and take a view of the goodlie order

The duke of
Bantier the
troop from
the kings
not beyond

1422

Sentence
against the
Dolphin.

These com-
munes shew-
ing the
kings gift.

The land of
Douer upon
Candlemasse
daye (the first
of Wallingham).

The first
course.

The second
course.

The duke of
Baker & his
troope with
the kings
not departed.

Ab. Fl. out of
France, pag.
142.

Small hand
lit.

1421

Sentence
gaint the
Dolphin.

These com-
ties they in-
stated of the
kings gift.

We landed at
Doner upon
Candlemasse
evene faith Tho.
Walsingham.

King Henrie
returneth into
England
with his new
wife.
Thomas wal-
ingham faith,
the king crow-
ned the first
in Lent.
which that
were fell upon
the ninth of
February.
The coronation
of quene
Katharine.

The first
corse.

The second
corse.

order and reuerend dutifulnesse exhibited on all sides
to the new quene; of whome *Anglorum praelia saith,*
More coronatur maiorum regia coniux,
Ingemians rex o'vinat, reginaque vulgus,
Altiſon ſuprema ferit clamoribus astra.

After the great ſolemnization at the foresaid
coronation in the church of ſaint Peters at Weſt-
minſter was ended, the quene was conueied into
the great hall of Weſtminſter, and there ſet to din-
ner. Upon whoſe right hand ſat at the end of the
table the archbiſhop of Canturburie, & Henrie ſur-
named the Rich cardinal of Wincheſter. Upon the
left hand of the quene ſat the king of Scots in his e-
ſtate, who was ſerued with covered meſſe, as were
the ſozenamed biſhops; but yet after them. Upon
the ſame hand and ſide, nere the howds end, ſat the
ducheſſe of Yorke and the counteſſe of Huntingdon.
The earle of March, holding a ſcepter in his hand,
kneled upon the right ſide: the earle marſhall in
like manner on the left of the quene. The counteſſe
of Kent ſat under the table at the right foot, and the
counteſſe marſhall at the left. The duke of Gloceſter
ſir Humfrie was that daie ouerſeer, and ſtood before
the quene bareheaded. Sir Richard Percill was
that daie carrier to the quene, the earles brother of
Suffolke cupbearer, ſir John Steward ſewar, the
lord Clifford panſler in the earle of Marwickes
ſtand, the lord Willoughbie butler in ſteed of the erle
of Arundell, the lord Graie Kitchin or Kitchin nape-
rer, the lord Audlete almoner in ſteed of the earle of
Cambridge, the earle of Worceſter was that daie
earle marſhall in the earle marſhalls abſence; who
rode about the hall upon a great courſer with a mul-
titude of tipped ſtaues about him, to make and keepe
roume in the ſaid hall. Of the which hall the barons
of the cinque ports began the table upon the right
hand, toward ſaint Stephens chappell; and beneath
them at the table ſat the bolochers of the chancerie.
Upon the left hand next to the cupbord ſat the ma-
ior and his brethren the aldermen of London. The
biſhops began the table againſt the barons of the
cinque ports; and the ladies againſt the maſor. Of
which two tables, for the biſhops, began the biſhop of
London and the biſhop of Durham; and for the la-
dies, the counteſſe of Stafford, and the counteſſe of
March.

The feaſt was all of fiſh: for the ordering of the
ſervice whereof were diuerſe lords appointed head of-
ficers, as ſteward, controller, ſurgeo, and other ho-
nourable officers. For the which were appointed the
earles of Northumberland and Weſtmerland, the
lord Fitz Hugh, the lord Furneſhall, the lord Graie
of Wilton, the lord Ferres of Grobie, the lord Pol-
nings, the lord Harrington, the lord Darcie, the
lord Dacres, and the lord de la Wate. Theſe with o-
thers ordered the ſervice of the feaſt as followeth; and
thus for the fiſt courſe. Brawn and muſtard, eſes
in burneur, frument with balſen, pike in herbage,
lampre powdered, trotot, cooling, plaice fried, inat-
fine fried, creabs, lech lumbard flouriſhed, tartes;
and a deuſe called a pellican, ſitting on his neſt with
his birds, and an image of ſaint Katharine holding a
booke, and diſputing with doctors. Holding this poe-
ſie in his right hand, written in ſaite and legible let-
ters, *Madame le Roine;* and the pellican anſwering,
C'eſt la ſigne Cr. du roy, pour ſeul ſoy.
Et a tout ſa gent, elle metre ſa entent.

The ſecond courſe was: gellie coloured with co-
lumbine flowers, white porage or cream of al-
monds, breame of the ſea, conger, ſoles, chetien, bar-
bill and coth, freſh ſalmon, halibut, gutnard, roſbet
boiled, ſmelts fried, creuis or lobster, lech dainard,
with the kings poeſie flouriſhed thereupon. *Plus plus*
lampre freſh baked, ſampane flouriſhed with

a ſcutcheon roſall, and therein three crownes of gold
planted with flourdeluces and flour of camomill
brought of confections: with a deuſe of a panther,
and an image of ſaint Katharine with a whele in
one hand, & a ſcroll with a poeſie in the other, to wit,
La roynema ſile, in ceſſaile,
Per bon reſoun, aies renoun.

The third courſe was, dates in compoſt, creamie
moſle, carpe deore, turbut, tend, pearch with goton,
freſh ſurgion with welks, porperous coſſed, mcnnes
fried, creuiſſe de cau doure, prants, eſes roſſed with
lampre, a lech called the white lech flouriſhed with
hawthorne leaues & red hawes; a marchpane garni-
ſhed with diuerſe figures of angels, among which
was ſet an image of ſaint Katharine, holding this poeſie,
Neſteſcrit, par voir & eir,
Per mariage pure, ceſt guerre ne dure.

And laſtly a deuſe of a tiger looking in a mirroz,
and a man ſitting on horſe-backe all armed, holding
in his armes a tigers whelpe with this poeſie; *Per ſorte*
ſans reſounie ay priſe ceſte beſt; and with his owne hand
making a countenance of thowling of mirroz at
the great tiger, which held this poeſie; *Gile che mirroz*
ma ſiſſe deſſour. Thus with all honour was finiſhed the
ſolemne coronation, after which the quene ſoiour-
ned in the palace of Weſtminſter till Palmſun-
daie following; and on the morow ſhe toke her iour-
nie towards Windſor; where the king and ſhe held
their Caſter.]

After the ſolemne feaſt of the coronation was en-
ded, the king as well to viſit certeine places for de-
uotion by waie of pilgrimage, as alſo to ſee in what
ſtate and order diuerſe parts of his realme ſtood, de-
parted from the quene, appointing daie and place
where ſhe ſhould meet him; and ſo iournied forth
from place to place, thorough ſundry countreies, as
well of Wales as England, and in euerie quarter
where he came, he heard with diligent eare the com-
plaints of ſutors, and toke order for the adminiſtra-
tion of juſtice both to high and low, cauſing manie
mildemeanours to be reformed. At length he came
to the towne of Leiceſter, where he found the quene
according to the appointment before taken. Here at
Leiceſter, he held the feaſt of Caſter. How then
ſtandeth this with the report of Fabian, who ſaith, that
the king and quene kept their Caſter at Windſor;
and that when the ſaid feſtiual time was expired, the
king made prouiſion for his warres in France, de-
ring the tearme of Richard Whittinghams meraltie
of London, which was in the eight yeare of this king
Henries reigne: Suerlie there muſt needs be an
errout, either in miſtaking the yeare or the place; or
leſſe we will grant the king and quene (with their
court of attendants) to haue bene *hic ibi ſunt*, which
privilege is granted to none but Abiquaries.

But while theſe things were thus aduoying in Eng-
land, the duke of Clarence, the kings lieutenant in
France and Normandie, aſſembled together all the
garrifons of Normandie, at the towne of Bernate,
and from thence departed to the countrie of Maine,
and at Pont le Gene he paſſed the river of Ronne,
and rode through all the countrie to Lucie, where he
paſſed the river of Loire and entered into Anjou, and
came before the citie of Angiers, where he made ma-
nie knights, that is to ſaie, ſir William Bos, ſir
Henrie Copoart, ſir Rowland Alder, ſir Thomas
Beaufort, called the baſſard of Clarence and diuerſe
other; and after that he had ſcattered, burnt, and ſpoiled
the countrie, he returned with preie and pillage to
the towne of Beaufort in the baillie, where he was
aduerſified, that a great number of his enemies,
Frenchmen, Scots, Spaniards, and other were aſ-
ſembled together, at a place called Aſſel Baugie, that
is, Old Baugie, with the duke of Alenſon, calling
himſelfe

The third
courſe.

Juſtice mini-
ſtered by king
Henrie in pro-
greſſe.

Ab. Fl.

Anno Reg. 9.

The duke of
Clarence made
a rode into
Antou.

Wiel Baugie
or Baugie.

himselfe lieutenant generall for the Dolphin.

Forzusa, a
Lombard be-
traich the
duke of Cla-
rence.

The duke of Clarence had a Lombard restoring unto him, retrained with the part aduerse (his name was Andreu Forzusa) of whom the duke inquired the number of his enemies, to whom he reported, that their number was but small, & not of puissance to match with halfe the power of his strong armie, intising him with assurance of victorie, to set on the Frenchmen. The duke like a couragious prince, assembled together all the horsemen of the armie, and left the archers vnder the guiding of the bastard of Clarence, and two Portingales, capitains of Frenchie vicount, saying, that he onlie and the nobles would haue the honor of that tourney. When the duke was passed a certeine streit and narrow passage, he espied his enemies ranged in good order of battell, by the monition of the Lombard, which had sold him to his enemies, & his aduerfaries had laid such ambushments at the streits, that the duke by no waie with out battell could either retire or flee.

The English
men discom-
ted.

The duke of
Clarence and
diuerse nobles
of England
saine.

The Englishmen seeing this, ballantlie set on their enemies, who were fourte to one, by reason whereof at length the Englishmen were oppressed with multitude, and brought to confusion. There were saine, the duke of Clarence, the earle of Tankerville, the lord Roos, sir Gilbert Amfrenle earle of Angus, and sir John Lomlie, sir Robert Merend, and almost two thousand Englishmen: & the earles of Summerfet, Suffolke, and Berch, the lord Fitz Water, sir John Berkelie, sir Rafe Penile, sir Henrie Inglis, sir William Bowes, sir William Longton, sir Thomas Worrough, and diuerse other taken prisoners. And of the Frenchmen were saine about twelue hundred of the best men of warre they had, so that they gained not much.

The bastard of Clarence which tarried at Beaufort, being informed of the great number of the Frenchmen, made forward with all the archers, to come to the succor of the duke, but they came too late. For the Frenchmen hearing of the approaching of the archers, fled with their prisoners, and left the bodie of the duke, and other the dead carcases behind them. The archers buried them all saving the dukes corpse, which with great solemnitie was sent to England, and buried at Canturburie beside his father. After this the Englishmen burnt and spoiled the countrie of spaine, and so returned to Alanson, and after departed euerie man to his garrison. This battell was fought on Easter euen, in the yeare 1421. But now to returne to the king.

After he had kept his Easter at Leicester, he with the gouerne removed and went northward, till they came to Poike, where they were receiued with great toy of the citizens, and other the nobles and gentlemen of the countrie. The king went vnto Beuerlie, to visit the shrine of saint John, and (stinted at) by on his departure from thence, the sorrowfull newes of his brother the duke of Clarences death, came to him, for which he was right penfise. But with mourning would not auaille, he called to remembrance what he had to doe, and thereupon without delay, sent Edmund earle of Mortaigne, brother to the earle of Summerfet into Normandie, giuing to him like authority and prehemience, as his brother the late deceased duke of Clarence had before enioied.

The earle of
Mortaigne
was lieute-
nant of Nor-
mandie.

A parliament.

After this, he called his high court of parliament, in the which he declared with such great wisdom & grauitie, the aas which had bene done in France, the state of the time present, and what was necessarie to be provided for the time to come (if they would looke to haue that wel and high kingdome, for the which they had so long laboured and sought) that the communalitie gladly granted a fifteenth, & the clergie benenolentlie offered a double disme. And because

no delate should be in the kings affaires for lacke of paiement, the bishop of Winchester the kings uncle lent vnto him twentie thousand pounds, to be paid him againe of the same dismes. When all things necessarie for this tourney were ready and prepared, he sent his brother the duke of Bedford before him to Calis with all his armie, being (as some write) foure thousand men of armes, and twentie thousand archers and others, though some haue written, that the whole armie passed not twelue thousand of ony and other.

The king himselfe shortly after, about the middle of Aprill, passed the seas to Calis, and so from thence he marched through the countrie vnto Boies de Winrennes, where the French king and the gouerne then sojourned. The duke of Burgognie also that had receiued him at Pontreuell, attended him to Douai in Pontreuel, and there hauing taken leaue of him for six daies, returned now againe to him, according to his promise. Then did they consult together about their affaires, and appointed in all hast to fight with the Dolphin, and to raise the siege of Chartres which he had there planted. Hereupon, the king of England with all his puissance, came to the towne of Pante, and thither repaired the duke of Burgognie, but yer they departed from thence, they had knowledge, that the Dolphin hearing of the puissant armie of the king of England approaching towards him, was recoiled with his people towards Towlers in Touraine.

Hereupon the king of England incontinentlie, did not onlie send backe the duke of Burgognie into Picardie, to resist the attempts of sir Jacques de Harecourt, which made war in that countrie for the Dolphin, but also appointed the king of Scots, with the duke of Gloucester, to besiege the towne of Drem. They continuing thither about the eighteenth of Iulie, planted siege on euerie side, both of the towne and castell, and that with power of battie, and other forcible meanes, so constrained them within, that on the eight date of August they compounded, that if no sufficient rescue came to raise the siege, before the end of twelue daies next ensuing, both the towne and castell should be deliuered to the king of Englands vse, so as the soldiers might depart with their goods whither they would, except one Englishman, which was knownen to be amongst them, being fled for treason out of the kings dominions.

On the thirtieth date of August, which was the day of the appointment, the king of Scots receiued the towne and castell to the behoofe of his soueraigne lord the king of England, who during all the time of the siege late at Mortuall. The townsmen that would remaine still in their houses, were faine to be true subiects to the king; and the other which refused, departed with the soldiers. The Englishman that was excepted, was deliuered according to the covenants; and after executed, as he had deserved. The earle of Gloucester was made capitaine of Drem, and sir Henrie Mortimer balliue there. This done, the king hearing that the Dolphin should be at Wangencie, assembling his power, hastied thitherwards: but at his coming into those parties, he found no appearance of enemies in the field, and so he remained there fiftene daies.

In which meane while, the earle of Suffolke was sent forth to discover the countrie, and the king went by assault the towne of Wangencie, and after when hisseles began to faile, he marched forward, meaning to pursue the Dolphin. But the Dolphin doubting the English puissance, conueied all the vittels forth of those quarters, and retired himselfe to Wargies in Berrie, choosing that place as his first refuge, & therefoze determined there to remaine, till fortune turning

The king then
went forth to
pursue the
Dolphin.

The strong
towne of Drem
was besieged
by the Eng-
lishmen.

A parliament
called by the
duke of Bed-
ford, the king
being in
France.

The strong
towne of Drem
was besieged
by the Eng-
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The king then
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Dom. 1421.

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An. Reg. 9, 10.

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ning his whele, should looke on them with a moze fau-
orable countenance, herof in scoyne was he com-
monlie called king of Berrie. The king of Eng-
land followed, till vittels and forage began fore to
faile on all sides, and then returning, passed towards
Dyleance, taking the castell of Rouge Spont by as-
sault.

He staied three daies before Dyleance, and from
thence, for want of vittels, marched through Cal-
nois, till he came to Wignie sur Ponne, where he re-
mained for a season, to restreth his people that were
fore trauelled, in that painefull passed iournie: in
which the king lost not onelie manie of his men for
lacke of vittels, but also a great number of horses
and carriages. Some haue witten, that about the
same time, he should win the citie of Sens, othe-
wise called the kings new towne by surrender; but
after he had remained for a time at Wignie, we find
that he remoued to Paris, where he was hono-
rable receiued. For he came among them as one ha-
ving empire and dominion in his hand, so that to him they
were no lesse forward in submission for feare of his
indignation, than readie to giue him all the inter-
tainment that they could deuise for the keeping of
his fauour: the lacke whereof they knew stood with
the hazard of their safetie, as the contrarie tended to
their wellfare.

Shortly after, considering with himselfe that the
towne of Meaur in Brit, being replenished with e-
nimies, was not to be suffered to remaine in that
state, in the middes of his new gotten subjects; he de-
termined to take awaie the open scruple that might
poison and infect the members, dwelling hard by:
wherefore with a great number of earles and barons
in his companie, he came to besiege it. This towne
was no lesse well vittelled than manned, and no bet-
ter manned than fortified; so that the king could nei-
ther haue it to him deliuered at his pleasure, nor
gaine it by assault, without the great losse of his peo-
ple: yet neuertheless, he determined not to depart,
till he had got it by one meane or other. The river of
Spaine diuided this towne into two parts, so that
there was no enterie from the one into the other, but
by a bridge, raised by, and made ouer the river, sus-
tained with manie arches. The one part is called the ci-
tie, and the other la March, being the strongest and
best fortified. The king first lodged a mile off in a ca-
stell, and sent the duke of Excester to begin the siege,
which he did, according to his instructions, vpon the
first of October.

Shortly after, the king himselfe came, and lodged
in the abbey of Baron, the duke of Excester in the
abbey de Chage, the earle of March at the greie fri-
ers, and the earle of Warwick directed against that
part that is called la March. They within defended
themselves right balliantlie, so that the Englishmen
were not all at their ease, but specialie through lacke
of vittels manie died, and manie fell sicke, by reason
whereof, no small number returned home into Eng-
land; where in the meane time, on the first of Decem-
ber, a parlement was called and holden at West-
minster, by the duke of Bedford, gouernour of the
realme in the kings absence. In this parlement, a
sixteenth was granted to the king towards the main-
tenance of the warres, the one moiety to be paid at
Candlemasse, and the other at Martinmasse, of such
monie as at the time of the grant was current.

This yeare at Windsoze on the daie of saint Mi-
cholas in December, the queene was deliuered of a
sonne named Henrie, whose godfathers were John
duke of Bedford, and Henrie bishop of Winchester,
and Jaquet, (as the Frenchmen called him) Jaque-
line of Bauier, countesse of Holland was his god-
mother. The king being certified hereof, as he late at

siege before Meaur, gaue God thanks, in that it had
pleased his diuine prouidence to send him a sonne,
which might succeed in his crowne and scepter. But
when he heard reported the place of his natiuitie;
where it that he warned by some prophesie, or had some
foreknowledge, or else iudged himselfe of his sonnes
fortune, he said vnto the lord Fitz Hugh his trustie
chamberleine these wordes: My lord, I Henrie bozne
at Spommouth, shall small time reigne, & much get;
and Henrie bozne at Windsoze, shall long reigne,
and all lose: but as God will, so be it.

The king held his Christmasse at the siege before
Meaur, for he would not giue ouer that siege, al-
though his armie was greatlie diminished, by reason
of lacke of vittels, extreame cold, foule weather, and
other discommodities that bled great store of disea-
ses and sickenesse among his people; notwithstanding,
all the helps and means that might be, he deu-
ised to remedie the same: so that besides such as died,
as well of sickenesse as by the enimies hand, manie
returned home into their countries. But yet he cea-
sed not to continue the siege, beating the walles with
his ordinance, and casting downe bulwokes and
rampiers on eche side the towne, made approches as
well by water as land, with mightie engines deu-
ised of woodes to defend the Englishmen, as they ap-
proched the walles, and gaue assaults. The walles al-
so were in diuerse places undermined.

After this, the Englishmen found meanes, by
bridges made of boats, to passe the riuier; but yet the
souldiers and other within defended their rampiers
and breaches most stoutlie, and with guns and quar-
rels still shot at the Englishmen, of whom they due
manie, and among other the earle of Worcester was
slaine, with a bullet of the great artillerie, & the lord
Clifford with a quarrell of a crossebow; yet the Eng-
lishmen still won ground, and got nearer and nearer
to the walles. They also toone the chiefest part of a
bridge from the enimies, and kept watch and ward
vpon and about the same. The earle of Warwick
had also taken a tannure from them of the market
place, built on the southside thereof, able to receiue
and lodge a good number of men, which seruing to
good purpose, for the better brideling of them within,
he caused to be kept, and thus were they within Me-
aur soze oppressed on euerie side.

Wherevpon in Februarie, the capteins doubting
least the citie could not be defended long, caused all
the vittels and goods to be conuected into the market
place, and retired all the men of warre into the same,
leauing none in the other part of the citie, but the
commons, and such as were not able to do any a-
nailable seruice in the warre. The king aduertised
hereof, commanded in all hast to assault the citie,
which was quicklie done; so that the citie by fine
force was within three houres taken and spoiled; and
the same daie the market place besieged round a-
bout, and a mill toone adjoining vnto the same. In
April, the queene passed ouer into France, with a
saire retinue of men, vnder the conduct of the duke
of Bedford, the duke of Gloucester remaining lord
gouernour of the realme in his place. At his com-
ming thither, he was so welcommed and honozable
receiued, first of his husband, and after of his father
and mother, that she appeared to be no lesse loued of
his noble husband, than of his deere and naturall pa-
rents.

Whilist the siege still continued before Meaur, O-
liver Spennie a valiant man of warre of the Wol-
phins part (which before was capteine of Saleise, and
pelding it, swate neuer to beare armour against the
king of England) assembled a great number of men
of warre, as well Brittaines as Frenchmen, that is
to saie, the lord Spontbozier, the lord of Coimon, the
B k k. i.

King Henrie
prophesie of
his sonne.

Titus Lilius,

1 4 2 2

Meaur taken
by assault.

Anno Reg. 10.
Queene Ma-
tharine saileth
into France.

Oliver Spennie

lord of Chatelgiron, the lord Tintignace, the lord de la Housaie, and diuerse other, which entered into the countrie of Constantine in Normandie, and robbed and killed the Englishmen, where they might either espie or take them at their due aduantage. But the earle of Suffolke keeper of the marches, hearing of their doings, sent for the lord Scales, sir John Aston bailiffe of Constantine, sir William Hall, sir John Banaster, and many other, out of the garrisons within that territorie, the which encountered with their enemies at a place called *Le parke leuesque*, in English, *The bishops parke*.

A foze coñflict.

There was a foze fight and a long bettwit them, but finally, the Frenchmen were put to flight, so that in the conflict and chase were slain, the lord of Coinon, the lord of Chatelgiron, and three hundred other: and there were taken prisoners, the lord de la Housaie, and sir Oliver Hannie, with threescore others. The king pardoned sir Oliver Hannie his life, though he ill deserued so great a benefit, for that he had broken his oth and promise, but he was sent into England, there to learne to speake English, and so being brought to London, shortly after died, being as then a verie aged man, & was buried in the white friers. ¶ But here note (by the waie) the rotall hart of this king, who as he tempered all his actions with singular circumspection; so with a pitifull mind he pondered the miserie of his enemies; so that when he might (*iure belli*, by the law of armes) haue spoiled them of goods and life, he diuerse times spared both; with clemencie commonlie making conquest of them, who seemed by open hostilitie scarce conquerable.

Abr. Fl.

The king lying still before the market place at Meaux in Brie (as ye haue heard) foze beat the walls with his ordinance, and cast downe bulwokes and rampiers on euerie side the towne, so that he had made an open breach for his people to enter. Whereof the lord of Offemont being aduertised, with a companie of chosen persons sent by the Dolphin, assailed in the night season to enter the towne, to the succours of them within. But though diuerse of his people got ouer the walles, by helpe of ladders which they had set by; yet such was his chance, that as he passed a plank, to haue come to the walles, he fell into a deepe ditch; and in the meane time, the Englishmen perceiuing by the noise what the matter meant, came running to the ditch, toke the lord of Offemont, and slue diuerse of his companie that stood in defense.

Continuation
de la chroni-
cles de Flan-
ders.

The capitaine within, perceiuing in what case they stood, by reason their succours were thus intercepted, and doubting to be taken by assault, for that they wanted munition and weapon, began to treat with the king of England, who appointed the earle of Warwick, and the lord Hungerford, to commune with them; and in conclusion an accord was taken, and so the towne and market place with all the goods were deliuered into the king of Englands hands, the tenth daie of Maie, in the yeare 1422. The appointment taken with them of this towne was this, that they should yeld themselves simplie vnto the kings pleasure, their liues onlie saued: and hereby on manie of them were sent ouer into England, amongst whome was the bishop of that towne, which shortly after his arriual here fell sicke and died.

Ticus Livius.
The conditi-
ons of the
surrender of
Meaux into
the kings
hands.

There were also foure persons excepted, againstt whome the king might by order of law and iustice proceed as he saw cause, for their faults and trespasses committed. As first, the capitaine of the towne, named the bassard of Claurcu, the which had done manie greuous oppressions to the people of the countrie thereabouts, in spoiling them of their goods and ransoming them at his pleasure. He had also put diuerse to death most cruellie, when they were not able to pae such finance and ransomes as he deman-

ded. Whereupon, being now put to death himselfe, his bodie was hanged vpon a tree that stood on an hill without the towne, on the which he had caused both husbandmen and townesmen, with other prisoners, to be hanged before time. His standard also, which was wont to be borne before him in battell, was set vp in the same tree. The bailiffe also of the towne, and two of the chiefe burgesses that had bene of counsell with him in his vnlawfull doings, were likewise executed. Also beside these, there were found in this towne diuerse that were accused to be guiltie of the duke of Burgognies death, wherefore they were put to their triall, in the parlement at Paris, and some of them being found guiltie, were executed.

When the deliuerie of the strong towne of Meaux was published thorough out the countrie, all the townes and fortresses in the Ile of France, in Lannois, in Brie, & in Champaigne, yelded themselves to the king of England, which appointed in the same valiant captaine, and hardie soldiers. After that he had thus got possession of Meaux, and the other fortresses, he returned againe to Bois de Vincennes, and being there receiued of the king and queene of France, and of the queene his wife the thirtieth daie of Maie, being Whitson euen, they remoued all together vnto Paris, where the king of England lodged in the castell of Loure, and the French king in the house of saint Paule. These two kings kept great estate with their queenes, at this high feast of Pentecost, but the king of Englands court greatly erred, so that all the resort was thither. The Parisiens that beheld his princelie port & high magnificence, iudged him rather an emperour than a king, and their owne king to be in respect of him like a duke or marquisse.

The Dolphin hauing knowledge by espials where the king of England and his power laie, came with all his puissance ouer the riuer of Loire, and besieged Colneie, a towne situate vpon that riuer, a six score miles distant from Paris, and appointed part of his armie to waste and destroye the confines of the duchie of Burgognie, to the intent to diuide the power of the king of England, from the strength of the duke of Burgognie, supposing (as it came to passe indeed) that the duke would make haie towards Burgognie, to defend his owne lands. In the meane time, they within Colneie were so hard handled, that they promised to render their towne to the Dolphin, if they were not rescued by the king of England within ten daies. King Henrie hearing these newes would not send aie one creature, but determined to go himselfe to the raising of that siege, and so with all diligence came to the towne of Corbeil, and so to Senlis, where (whether it were with heat of the aie, or that he with his daile labour were feebled or weakened) he began to waie sicke, yea and so sicke, that he was constrained to farrie, and send his brother the duke of Bedford to rescue them of Colneie, which he did to his high honor. For the Dolphin hearing that the duke of Bedford was coming to raise his siege departed thence into Berry, to his great dishonor, and lesse gaine.

About the same time, the duke of Britaine sent his chancelor the bishop of Gaunts, with the bishop ofannes, and others of his counsell, as ambassadors from him vnto king Henrie, with full commission, to ratifie and allow for him and his people the peace concluded at Troies: but by reason of the kings greuous sicknesse, nothing was then done in that matter. After the lesse, the duke himselfe in person came afterwards to Amiens, and there performed that which he had appointed his ambassadors at this time, in his name, to haue done and accomplished.

The rotall
port of the k.
of England.Colneie be-
sieged by the
Dolphin.The king's
sicknes.Colneie re-
scued by the
duke of Be-Ticus Livius.
The duke of
Britaine de-
parted from
Paris to the
k. of England.The king of
England is
brought sicke
to Bois de
Vincennes.His countie
upon his
death bed.

Ticus Livius.

Charles Ch-
chelle archb.
of Cantor. for-
bearing a bill
against the
cleargie, as
appeares
before, pag.
545, 546.He departed
this life the
last of August
1422.The commu-
dation of king
Henrie the fift-
as is expressed
by mess. Hall.

The king of
England is
brought sicke
in Bois de
Wincesnes.

His counte-
nace was
very deb.

The roiall
port of the R.
of England.

Colneie be-
sieged by the
Dolphin.

The king is
sickly sicke.

Colneie re-
sued by the
duke of Be-
ford.

Titus Livius.
The duke of
Burgoyne
derth embas-
sadors to the R.
of England.

Christie Ch-
ristie archb.
of Cantuar. by
holding a bull
against the
clergie, as
appeares
before, pag.
145, 146.

He departed
this side the
last of August
1547.
The com-
mission of King
Henrie the fift
was executed
by mess. Hall.

thed. In the meane season, king Henrie waxed sicker
and sicker, and so in an hozelitter was conveyed to
Bois de Wincesnes, to whome hostlie after repa-
red the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, & the earles
of Salisburie and Warwicke, whome the king lo-
unglie welcomed, and seemed glad of their pefence.

Now, when he saw them penfise for his sickness,
and great danger of life wherein he presentlie laie,
he with manie graue, courteous, and pitie words,
recomforted them the best he could, and therewith ex-
horted them to be trustie and faithfull unto his sonne,
and to see that he might be well and vertuouslie
brought up. And as concerning the rule and gover-
nance of his realms, during the minoritye and yong
yeares of his said sonne, he willed them to goine to-
gether in frendlie love and concord, keeping conti-
nuall peace and amitie with the duke of Burgogonie,
and never to make treatie with Charles that called
himselfe Dolphyn of Wience, by the which any part
either of the crowne of France, or of the duches of
Foumandie and Guisen may be lessened or dimini-
shed; and further, that the duke of Orleans, and the
other princes should still remaine prisoners, till his
sonne came to lawfull age, least returning home a-
gaine, they might kindle more fire in one daie than
might be quenched in thre.

He further advised them, that if they thought it
necessarie, that it should be god to haue his brother
Humfrie duke of Gloucester to be protectour of Eng-
land, during the monage of his sonne, and his brother
the duke of Bedford, with the helpe of the duke of
Burgogonie to rule and to be regent of France, com-
manding him with fire and sword to persecute the
Dolphin, till he had either brought him to reason and
obedience, or else to drive and expell him out of the
realme of France. And here with he protested unto
them, that neither the ambitious desire to enlarge
his dominions, neither to purchase baine renowne
and worlde fame, nor any other consideration had
moued him to take the warres in hand; but onelie
that in prosecuting his iust title, he might in the end
attaine to a perfect peace, and come to enioie those
pieces of his inheritance, which to him of right be-
longed: and that before the beginning of the same
warres, he was fallie persuaded by men both wise
and of great holinesse of life, that vpon such intent
he might and ought both begin the same warres, and
follow them, till he had brought them to an end iust-
lie and rightlie, and that without all danger of Gods
displeasure or perill of soule.

The noble men present, promised to obserue his
precepts, and to performe his desires; but their hearts
were so penfise, and replenished with sorrow, that
one could not for weeping behold an other. Then he
said the seauen psalmes, and receiued the sacrament,
and in saying the psalmes of the passion ended his
daies here in this world, at Bois saint Vincent, the
last of August, in the yeare a thousand four hundred
twentie and two. This Henrie was a king, of life
without spot, a prince whome all men loved, and of
none disdained, a captaine against whome fortune
never frowned, nor mischance once frowned, whose
people him so feared, a iusticer both loued and obey-
ed (and so humane) that he left no offence im-
puted, nor frendship unrewarded; a ferret to re-
bels, and suppressor of sedition, his vertues nota-
ble, his qualities most praiseworthy.

In strength and nimblenesse of bodye from his
youth set to him comparable, for in travelling, lea-
ping, and running, no man well able to compare. In
raising of great iron barres and heauie stones he ex-
celled consummation all men, neuer shrinking at cold,
nor lothfull for heat; and when he most laboured,
his head commonlie vncovered; no more wearie of

harnesse than a light cloake, herie balliantlie abiding
at needs both hunger and thirst; so manfull of mind
as neuer seene to quinch at a wound, or to smart at
the paine; not to turne his nose from euill saour,
nor close his eyes from smoke or dust; no man more
moderate in eating and drinking, with diet not de-
licate, but rather more meet for men of warre, than
for princes or tender stomachs. Curie honest person
was permitted to come to him, sitting at meale,
where either secretlie or openlie to declare his mind.
High and weightie causes as well betwene men of
warre and other he would gladielie heare, and either
determined them himselfe, or else for end committed
them to others. He slept verie little, but that verie
soundlie, in so much that when his soldiers song at
nights, or minstrels plaid, he then slept fastest; of
courage inuincible, of purpose immutable, so wise
hardie alwaies, as feare was banished from him; at
euerie alarm he first in armoz, and foremost in orde-
ring. In time of warre such was his prouidence,
bountie and hap, as he had true intelligence, not one-
lie what his enemies did, but what they said and inten-
ded: of his deuises and purposes few, before the thing
was at the point to be done, should be made puiue.

He had such knowledge in ordering and guiding
an armie, with such a gift to encourage his people,
that the Frenchmen had constant opinion he could
never be vanquished in battell. Such wit, such prou-
idence, and such policie withall, that he neuer enter-
prised any thing, before he had fullie debated and fore-
cast all the maine chances that might happen, which
done with all diligence and courage he set his pur-
pose forwarde. What policie he had in finding present
remedies for sudden mischances, and what engines in
sauing himselfe and his people in sharpe distresses;
were it not that by his acts they did plainlie appeare,
hard were it by words to make them credible. Mar-
tonnesse of life and thirst in auarice had he quite
quenched in him; vertues in deed in such an estate
of souereigntie, youth, and power, as verie rare, so
right commendable in the highest degree. So staied
of mind and countenance beside, that neuer iolie or
triumphant for victorie, nor sad or damped for losse or
misfortune. For bountifullnesse and liberalitie, no
man more free, gentle, and franke, in bestowing re-
wards to all persons, according to their deserts: for
his saying was, that he neuer desired monie to keepe,
but to giue and spend.

Although that his properlie serues not for theme
of praise or dispraise, yet what in breuitie may well be
remembred, in truth would not be forgotten by both,
were it but onelie to remaine as a spectacle for mag-
nimitie to haue alwaies in reie, and for incourage-
ment to nobles in honourable enterprises. Knowne
he it therefore, of person and forme was this prince
rightlie representing his herocall affects, of stature
and proportion tall and manlie, rather leane than
grosse, somewhat long necked and blacke haired, of
countenance amiable, eloquent and graue was his
speech, and of great grace and power to persuade; for
conclusion, a matellie was he that both liued & died
a paterne in princehood, a lode-starre in honour, and
interour of magnificence: the more highlie exalted
in his life, the more deeplie lamented at his death,
and famous to the world alwaie. Peter Basset (a
chefe man in his chamber) affirmed that he deceased
of a pleurisie, though the Scots and French set it
downe to be of saint seacres disease, that they saie
was a polle with a crampe, which Enguerant reports
to be saint Anthonies fire, but neither of them trulie.
Anglorum praeis saith, that it was a sharpe fever,
which happening vnto him (wearied with the broiles
of warre) in a verie vnseasonable time of the yeare,
namelie the dogdaies, tormented him the sozer, and

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Angl. prel.
sub Hen. 5.

greto to be not onelie dangerous, but also desperat;
for: it left him not till life was extingwished: the poets
report is, as followeth:

*Interera fructibus, et tu nimioq; labore
Corripit Henricum languentem febris acuta,
Calis intemperies, sextili Sirum ardens
Furva pestiferi fecit ingravescere morbi.*

"A pestilent
fever.

His bodie imbalmed and closed in lead, was laid
in a chariot colall, richlie appavelled with cloth of gold.
Upon his coffin was laid a representation of his
person, adorned with robes, diadem, scepter, & ball,
like a king; the which chariot, six horses drew richlie
trapped, with severall appointments; the first with
the armes of S. George, the second with the armes
of Normandie, the third of king Arthur, the fourth
of saint Edward, the fifth of France, and the sixth
with the armes of England and France. On this
same chariot gave attendance James II. of Scots,
the principall mourner, king Henries uncle Tho-
mas duke of Excester, Richard earle of Marleshe,
the earle of March Edmund, the earle of Stafford
Humfrie, the earle of Powysaigne Edmund Beau-
fort, the lord Fitz Hugh Henrie, the lord Hunger-
ford Walter, sir Robert Robert lord Bourchier, sir
John Cornwall lord Fanhope, and the lord Crum-
well were the other mourners. The lord Louell, the
lord Audelite, the lord Pozele, the lord Solow bare
the banners of saints and annuities, as then they were
called; the baron of Wodele bare the standard,
and the earle of Longwile the banner. The hatchments
were carried onelie by capteins to the number of
twelue; and round about the chariot rode five hun-
dred men of armes all in blacke armour, their hos-
ses barbed blacke, and they with the but ends of their
speares upwarde.

Lord Crum-
well.

The conduct of this dolorous funerall was com-
mitted to sir William Philip, treasurer of the kings
houshold, and to sir William Porter, his chiefe car-
uer, and others. Beside this, on euery side of the cha-
riot went three hundred persons, holding long tor-
ches, & lords bearing banners, banners, and pennons.
With this funerall appointment was he conueied
from Bois de Vincennes, to Paris, and so to Rome,
to Abail, to Catis, to Douer, from thence thorough
London to Westminster; where he was interred
with such solenne ceremonies; with singing of lords,
prayer of priests, and such lamentation of commons,
as neuer before then the like was done in England.
Shortlie after this solenne buriall, his bodyfull
quene returned into England, and kept his estate
with the young king his sonne.

This ended this painfull pynches most noble and
fortunate reign, whose life (saith Hall) though cruel
Atropos abbreviated; yet neither fate, malice, nor
stretching time shall apall his honoure, nor blot out the
glozie of him that in so small time had done so ma-
nys and colall acts. [In this yeare, the drie and twen-
tith of October deceased the gentle and welbelovd
Charles French king the first of that name, who was
buried at S. Denis.] And that befellene the death
of these two kings, namelie the one of England, the
other of France, there was no great space of time;
for Charles departed in October, and Henrie in No-
uember; by the pynction of whose lites, which of the two
realmes remained the greater losse, it is a question
not to be discussed: Certaine it is that they were both
soveraigns tenderlie loved of their subjects, as they
were princes greatlie fauouring their people. Fi-
nallie, in memorie of this Henrie the fift, a king of
a colall hart, and vertue was adorned with imperi-
all vertues, I find so fit a report concerning in truth both
his properties and disposition, that I thinke it verie
conuenient here to be inserted in place of an epilogue.

Henricus illustris propeperans mors occupat artus,

*Ille sua patria decus immortale per aemum
Penturum; virtutis & indelebile lumen,
Celfo animi prorsus, leni quoque pectore cines
Non solui, at iustos hostes fideique probata
Dilexit; inuicem raro iracundior ore.*

Of learned men and writers, these I find remem-
bered by Bale and others, to haue liued in the daies of
this noble and valiant king Henrie the fift. First,
Alaine de Lin, bozne in Lin, and professed a Car-
melite frater in that towne, he at length became prior
of that conuent, proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Cam-
bridge, and wrote manie treatises; Thomas Otter-
bozne that wrote an hystorie of England, is thought
to liue about this season, he was a Franciscan or
grate frater, as they called them, a great student both
in diuinitie and philosophie; John Seguard an excel-
lent poet, and arhetorician, kept a schole, and read
to his scholars in Norwich, as is supposed, writing
sundry treatises, reprobating as well the profaning
of the christian religion in monks and priests, as the
abuse of poeetrie in those that take upon them to
write filthie verses and rimes; Robert Rose a frater
of the Carmelites order in Norwich commonlie cal-
led the white fraters, both an excellent philosopher, and
diuine, proceeded doctor at Orenford, promoted to be
prior of his house, and writing diuerse treatises; a-
mongst all the sophists of his time (as saith Bale) he
offended none of the Wickheleffs, who in that season
set forth purelie the word of God, as maie appeare by
his woorkes.

Moreover, John Lucke, a doctor of diuinitie in
Orenford, a frater infinite to the Wickheleffs; Richard
Cassiter bozne in Norfolk, vicar of saint Stephens
in Norwich, a man of great holinesse and puritie in
life, fauouring (though secretly) the doctrine of the
Wickheleffs, and reprobating in his sermons, the vn-
chast manners and filthie example that appeared in
the cleargie. Of sir John Oldcastle lord Cobham ye
haue heard before; William Waller a blacke frater
in Lin, and prouinciall of his order here in Eng-
land, made a booke of moralisations upon Ouids Me-
tamorphoses, comparable to possils upon Aescops
Fables; Richard Sneytham, a student in Orenford,
where he professed to greaue in learning and wis-
dome, that he was accounted the chiefe in all that
belonged to the study thereof he was made chancel-
lor of the same, chosen also to be one of the twelue
to examine and iudge upon Wickheleffs doctrine by the
archbishop of Cantuarburie; John Langdene a
monke of Chiches church in Cantuarburie, an other
of those twelue; William Caillo, a priest, and a ma-
ster of art in Orenford, a stedfast follower of Wic-
keleffs doctrine; burnt for the same in Smithfield at
London, the second day of March, in the yeare of our
Lord 1422; & last of king Henrie the fift his reign.

Furthermore, Richard Cradale student in Oren-
ford, one of those twelue also; William Lindwood a
lawyer excellentlie learned, as well in the ciuill as
canon lawes, advanced to the seruice of this king,
and made by him keeper of the priue seale, sent in
ambassage both to the kings of Spaine and Por-
tingale; Abbot Bullenell of most weightie impor-
tance. It is said that he was promoted to the bishop-
ricke of saint Wand; Bartholomew Florentius, sup-
posed (as Bale saith) by Nicholas Bingham, to be an
Englishman; wrote a treatise called Florarium,
whereof he took his surname; and also an other treatise
of abundance, in which he reprobeth certayne cor-
rupt manners in the cleargie; and the profession of
friars mendicants; Adam Bismelington, a Car-
melite frater, studied both in Orenford and Paris;
William Watercombe is placed by Bale about the
same of other learned men that liued in this kings
time, he was an excellent mathematician, as by the

1422
Anno Reg. 1.

Buchan. lib. 10.

W.P.

Abr. Fl. out of
Angl. prel.

the title of his works which he wrote it should appear.

Titus Lilius de Foro Luuifiis liued also in these daies, an Italian bozne: but sith he was both resiant here, and wrote the life of this king, I haue thought good to place him among other of our English writers. One there was that translated the said historie into English, adding (as it were) by waie of notes in manie places of that booke) sundrie things for the more large vnderstanding of the historie: a copie thereof I haue sene belonging to John Stow citi-

zen of London. There was also about the same time an other writer, who (as I remember) hath followed the said Lilius in the order of his booke, as it were chapter for chapter, onelie changing a god, familiar and easie stile, which the said Lilius vsed, into a certaine poeticall kind of writing: a copie thereof I haue sene (& in the life of this king partlie followed) belonging to master John Twine of Kent, who (as I was informed) meant to leaue to posteritie some fruits of his labours for the due vnderstanding thereof.

*Thus farre Henrie the fift sonne and successor
to Henrie the fourth.*



Henrie the sixt, sonne and heire to Henrie the fift.

1422
Anno Reg. 1.



Buchan. lib. 10.

After that death had be-
rest the world of that no-
ble prince king Henrie
the fift, his onelie sonne
prince Henrie, being of
the age of nine moneths,
or thereabouts, with the
sound of trumpets was
openlie proclaimed king
of England and France
the thirtieth daie of August, by the name of Henrie the
sixt; in the yeare of the world five thousand three
hundred, eighty and nine, after the birth of our Sa-
uiour 1422, about the twelue yeare of the emperor
Frederike the third, the fortieth and two and last of
Charles the first, and the third yeare of Goddaks regi-
ment (after his father Robert) gouernour of Scot-
land. The custodie of this yong prince was appointed
to Thomas duke of Excester, & to Henrie Beauford
bishop of Winchester. The duke of Bedford was
deputed regent of France, and the duke of Gloucester
was ordeined protectour of England; who taking
vpon him that office, called to him wise and graue
counsellors, by whose aduise he provided and toke
order as well for the good gouernment of the realme
& subiects of the same at home, as also for the main-
tenance of the warres abroad, and further conueni-
ence to be made in France, appointing valiant and ex-
pert captains, which should be readie, when need re-
quired. Besides this, he gathered great summes of
monie to mainteine men of warre, and left nothing
forgotten that might aduance the good estate of the
realme.

While these things were a doing in England, the
duke of Bedford regent of France studied most car-
nestlie, not onelie, to keepe and well gouerne the coun-
tries by king Henrie late conquered; but also deter-
mined not to leaue off warre & trauell, till Charles
the Dolphin (which was now called, because king

Charles his father in the moneth of October in this
present yeare was departed to God) should either be
subdued, or brought to obedience. And suerlie the
death of this king Charles caused alterations in
France. For a great manie of the nobilitie, which be-
fore, either for feare of the English puissance, or for
the loue of this king Charles (whose authoritie they
followed) held on the English part, did now reuolt to
the Dolphin, with all indeuour to vsurpe the English
nation out of the French territories. Whereunto they
were the more earnestlie bent, and thought it a thing
of greater facilitie, because of king Hencies yong
yeares; whome (because he was a child) they esteemed
not, but with one consent reuolted from their thowne
fealtie: as the recorder of the Englishmens battels
with forren nations herie aptlie doth note, saieing:

*Hic Franci puerum regem neglectum habentes
Desiscunt, violatque fidem gens perfida sacro
Consilio ante datum.*

The duke of Bedford being greatlie moued with
these sudden changes, fortified his towncs both with
garrisons of men, munition, and battels, assembled
also a great armie of Englishmen and Normans,
and so effectuonlie exhorted them to continue faith-
full to their liege and lawfull lord yong king Hen-
rie, that manie of the French captains willinglie
swore to king Henrie fealtie and obedience, by whose
example the commonaltie did the same. Thus the
people quieted and the countrie established in order,
nothing was minded but warre, and nothing spoken
of but conquest.

The Dolphin which lay the same time in the citie of
Poitiers, after his fathers deceasse, called himselfe
to be proclaimed king of France, by the name of
Charles the seventh; and in good hope to recover his
patrimoine, with an haughty courage preparing war,
assembled a great armie; and first the warre began
by light skirmishes, but after it grew into maine
battels. The Dolphin thinking not to lose any occa-
sion

Pont Moulan surprised by the French.
I 4 2 2
Enguerrant.

sions of well doing, sent the lord Granville to the towne of Pont Moulan, standing on the river of Seine, who coming to the same upon the sudden, the fourteenth of Januarie, took it, and slew a great number of English souldiours, which he found within it.

Lord Granville falsified his oth.

When the duke of Bedford the regent, aduertised of this sudden surprize, appointed the lord Thomas Montacute earle of Salisbury (a man both for policie and courage, liker to the old Romans than to men of his daies) accompanied with the earle of Suffolke, the lord Sciles, the young lord Poinings, sir John Fastolfe maister of the household, with himselfe, and diuerse others, to besiege the said towne of Pont Moulan, which after two moneths siege was rendred to the said earle, and the lord Granville swore to be true to the king of England ever after that day: but shortly after, forgetting his oth, he turned French againe.

The earle of Salisbury appointed sir Henrie Portimer, and sir Richard Vernon, captains of the towne, and from thence went into Champaigne, and there besieged the towne of Sens, took it, and sir William Mar in the captaine within it, and slew all the souldiours that kept it, made captaine there sir Hugh Godding, & sir Richard Aubemond. ¶ In this season, Henrie duke of Gloucester, either striken in loue, or upon some other occasion, married the ladie Jaquet or Jaquelin, daughter and sole heiress to William of Barre duke of Holland, which was lawfull wife to John duke of Brabant then liuing, who afterwards (as after ye shall heare) recovered his out of the dukes hands.

Affinitie an intertainer of friendship.

The chances thus happening (as you before haue heard) John duke of Bedford, Phillip duke of Burgonie, and John duke of Britaine made a frendlie meeting in the citie of Amiens, where they renewed the old league and ancient amitie made betwene the noble prince king Henrie the sixt and them, adding thereto these conditions and agreements, each of them to be to the other friend and aidet; and the enemie of the one to be enemie to the other; and all they to be friends and aiders to the king of England, wellwiller to his wellwillers, and aduersarie to his aduersaries. And (because that affinitie is commonlie the bond of amitie) there was concluded a marriage betwene the duke of Bedford, and the ladie Anne sister to the duke of Burgonie, which was after solemnized at Troies in Champaigne, in the presence of the duke of Burgonie brother to the bride, and of his uncle the duke of Brabant, the earles of Salisbury and Suffolke, and of nine hundred lords, knights, and esquires, with such feast and triumph, as before that time had not bene seene of the Burgognions.

Whilist these matters were in hand, the Parisiens, thinking to blind the eyes of the duke of Bedford, wrote to him how diuerse castles and fortresses lieng about their territories, were replenished with their enemies, daily stopping their passages, and robbing their merchants, to their utter vndoeing, if they by his helpe were not relieved. But this was but a glose of the Parisiens, meaning to cause him to go about the winning of some strong hold, whilist they in his absence might bring into the citie Charles the Dolphin, that then called himselfe French king; for so had they appointed, assigning to him the date of his coming, and the post of his entrie. But their practice being discovered to the duke of Bedford, he with a great power entered into Paris, one day before the same was appointed, & two nights before he was looked for of his enemies being vnprouided, and suddenly caused the conspirators within the citie to be apprehended, and openlie to be put to execution.

This done, putting a mistrust in the Parisiens, he

caused the castles and fortresses neare and adjoining to the citie, to be furnished with Englishmen. And to auoid all night-watchers about Paris, and the confines thereof, he first took into his possession either by assault or composition, the towne of Trainelle and Bzaie upon Seine. And because two castles, the one called Bacie, and the other Courlaie were also euill neighbors to the Parisiens, he sent sir John Fastolfe great maister of his household with a notable armie to win the same castles, which he did, and with preie and prisoners returned backe againe to his maister the regent.

In this verie season, the Dolphin sent the lord William Stewart earle of Buchquane that was constable of France, and the earle of Ventadour in Auvergne, and manie other noble men of his part, to late siege to the towne of Crauant in the countie of Auvergne, within the parts of Burgonie. Wherof hearing the lord regent, and the duke of Burgonie they assembled a great armie, and appointed the earle of Salisbury to haue the guiding thereof; who with his captains and men of warre, English and Burgognions, came in good arrate to giue battell to the besiegers. And because the river of Yonne, which runneth by the said towne, was betwene the English armie, and their aduersaries, they could not well assaile their enemies, which defended the bankes and passages verie stronglie: yet notwithstanding, both horsemen and footmen of the English part courageously put themselves into the river, and with fine force recovered the bankes, whome the Burgognions incontinentlie followed.

The English armie crossed the river and wonne the bankes.

When they were all gotten into the plaine, the archers shot, the bill men strake, and long was the fight in doubtfull balance. But in conclusion the French men not able to resist the force of the English nation, were discomfited, slaine, and chased, leauing a glorious victorie to the Englishmen and Burgognions. There were slaine of the Frenchmen an eightene hundred knights and esquires, beside commons: of Scots were hand thre thousand. Amongest the Frenchmen these were chiefest that were slaine: the earle of Westmarche, the earle of Comignens, the earle of Commoite, the lord Coquart de Comeron, the baron of Arminake, the vicount of Touraine, the baron of Rozettes, the lord de Vost, and the lord Permozancie.

Of Scots the lord of Saint Johns towne, sir John of Balgarte, sir John Turnbull, sir John Poliburton, sir Robert Little, sir William Coningham, sir William Doboglas, sir Alexander Bume, sir William Little, sir John Kotherford, sir William Crauford, sir Thomas Seton, sir William Hamilton, and his sonne, John Bilot. There were taken the earle of Buchquane constable of France, which lost his eye, the earle of Ventadour, sir Alexander Meloyne, sir Lewis Ferginie, and two and twentie hundred gentlemen of the French part. Of Englishmen there were slaine sir John Greie, sir William Hall, sir Gilbert Hallall one of the marshals of the field, Richard ap Wadocke, and one and twentie hundred souldiers and men of warre.

After this fortunate victorie was the earle of Salisbury made (by the lord regent) lieutenant and vicegerent for the king and the said lord regent in the countie of France, Brie, and Champaigne; and sir John Fastolfe was substituted deputie vnder the lord regent within the duchie of Normandie on this side the river of Seine; and withall he was also made gouernour of the countie of Andou and Maine. The earle of Salisbury after five moneths siege, won by surrender the towne and castell of Montaguillon in Brie, the capitaine thereof, the one named Regent of Cotine, and Guille Bourgois Britons, swore ne

Anno Reg.

The Parisiens prevented of their practices.

ner to beare armour against the Englishmen on this side the river of Loire. In the meane time of that siege, the earle of Suffolke took by force the castell of Coucie, and the strong castell of la Roch in Gasconnois he got by appointment.

1424
Ann. 1423, per
Buchanan.

In this second yeare of king Henrie the first, James (the first of that name & the hundred & second k. of Scotland, took to wife the ladie Jane, daughter to John earle of Summerfet deceased, and sister to John then duke of Summerfet, and also cosine germane remoued to king Henrie, and next to the duke of Winchester, and to the duke of Excester) was set at libertie, covenanting to paie a small portion of monie more than was allowed to him for his wiues marriage monie, and left hostages for the same. But before his departure out of the realme, he did his homage unto the yong king of England Henrie the first at the castell of Windsor, before thre dukes, two archbishops, twelue earles, ten bishops, twentie barons, and two hundred knights and esquires, beside others, in order of words according to the tenour hereafter following.

Homage done
by the king of
Scotland to
king Henrie
the first.

The formall recognifance or
acknowledgement of the
said homage.

I James Steward, k. of Scots, shall be true and faithfull unto you lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England & France, the noble and superiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland; and to you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome of Scotland, which I hold and claime of you; and I shall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour against all men; and faithfullie I shall knowledg and shall doe you seruice due for the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid. So God helpe me, and these holie euangelists.

But notwithstanding this his oth, and the great bounteous liberalitie of the mother & vncles of his wife, in bestowing on him abundance of plate & treasure, with rich clothes of arras; he had not bene long at home, but that some out of France into Scotland ouer came there James Steward, who (after manie of the Scottish nobilitie by diuerse occasions in France consumed) grew to be capteine of the hostesmen there. With him came the archbishop of Remes with power and commission for concluding a league betweene France and Scotland, and also of a marriage betweene Letwes the Dolphin's sonne and Margaret Jameses daughter, though both verie yong. Which matters accordinglie accomplished, to France againe they got the m. So James became as firme French as any of his predecessours.]

Buchan. lib. 1.
An. 1425.
W. D.

But now to leaue the Scottish king amongst his countriemen in Scotland, and returne to the doings of England. I find that the duke of Glocester, being protector and gouernour of the realme, prepared an armie of ten thousand men, and sent them ouer to his brother the regent into France; who comming into the territorie of Paris, were tofullie of him received. About the same time the Frenchmen got by stealth diuerse towines out of the Englishmens hands, and amongst other the faire towne of Compiene was one, and the pretie towne of Crotole another. When the duke of Bedford was aduertised hereof, he determined not to let the matter passe in such sort, but with all convenient speed sent forth a force to recouer those towines againe. And first the

earle of Suffolke with the earle of Lignie, and diuerse other capteins of the Englishmen went to besiege Compiene, and lodged on the one side of the river of Somme, as the lord Lisle Abham, sir Thomas Kampston, and the protonost of Paris late on the other side. The Frenchmen within the towne well furnished with good souldiers, munition, and vittels, couragiously defended themselves.

The Englishmen remembryng that Guiliam Remond, otherwisse called Mariolaine had ben the leader of the souldiers within the towne (which Mariolaine before at Paris was taken prisoner by sir John Falstolfe) caused him to be brought from Paris unto the campe, and set him in a chariot with an halter about his necke, and comitted him to the gibet without the towne, sending word to them within, that if they would not without delaie render the towne, their capteine should incontinentlie be strangled afore their faces. Which moued the souldiers so much, by reason of the loue they bare to their old capteine and gouernour, that for the deliuerance of him and partlie of themselves they yielded the towne, so that both he and they might depart with honoure and harnesse onelie in sure conduct and safetie. Yet per this towne of Compiene was deliuered, sir Philip Hall, which was sent to Crotole by the lord regent with eight hundred men to besiege it, got it suddenly by assault, for the Frenchmen had either disposed their garrison, or appointed their lodgings.

Compiene &
Crotole reco-
uered from the
French.

About the same time sir John de la Poole brother to the duke of Suffolke, being capteine of Auranthes in Normandie, assembled all the garrisons of the base marches of the countrie of Arrou, and came before the citie of Angiers, burnt the suburbs, spoiled and destroyed the whole countrie; and hauing as manie prisoners as his men might go awaie with, he was encountered by the earle of Aumarle, the viscount of Parbonne, and sir Housland Frenchmen; which finding the Englishmen out of arae, incumbrd with carriage of their great spoile, suddenly set on them, gaue them the ouerthrow, slew thre hundred and toke manie prisoners; as the said sir John de la Poole, sir John Ballet, John Aulfort lieutenant of Faleise, John Clifton, Henrie Portimer, and other to the number of six hundred.

But though the Frenchmen got here in this place, they went not awaie with like gaine in an other: for the bassard de la Bailline, and the lord Craignat capteins of Courallon, with a great band made rode into Gasconnois, whom by chance spattethrough Cough and other Englishmen, which were also abroad in the countrie, met and encountered. There was a fore fight betweene the parties, being of courage and number in maner equall. But after long conflict, the Frenchmen almost all were slaine and taken, and the bassard being well hoisted, fled; after whome followed vpon the spurres, spattethrough Cough chasing him euen to his castell gate, and there toke him: for the which act he was much praised of the erle of Salisburie (to whom he presented the said bassard) and had not onelie the rights giuen him that belonged to the prisoner, but also was rewarded with a goodlie courser at the earles hands.

*Or rather
Cough.

*Goche.

About this season, Arthur brother to John duke of Britaine, commonlie called the earle of Richmond, hauing neither profit of the name, nor of the countrie, notwithstanding that king Henrie the first had created him earle of Purie in Normandie, and gaue him not onelie a great pension, but also the whole profits of the same towne of Purie; yet now, because that the duke his brother was returned to the part of the Dolphin, he likewise revolting from the English obedience, came to the Dolphin to Dolsters, and there offered himselfe to settie him, whom the

English
: curiously
titer and
reth the
e.

Reg. 4.

Compiene
surrendered to
the English
by a policie.

the Dolphin gladly accepted, resolving more thereof, than if he had gained an hundred thousand crownes: for the Britons within the towne of Purie, hearing that their maister was ioined with the Dolphin, kept both the towne and castell against the duke of Bedford, furnishing it daile with new men and munition.

The lord regent aduertised hercof, raised an armie of Englishmen and Normans, to the number of eightene hundred men of armes, and eight thousand archers and other. He had in his companie the earles of Salisburie and Suffolke, the lords Scales, Willoughbie, and Boynings, sir Reginald Graie, sir John Fastolfe, sir John Saluaine, sir Lancelot Astele, sir Philip Hall, sir John Baskleie, sir John Crete, sir Thomas Blunt, sir Robert Harling, sir William Oldhall, and manie other, both knights and esquiers, with whom he came before the towne of Purie, which was well defended, till they within perceiued themselves in danger, by reason of a mine which the Englishmen made, whereupon they yielded the towne. But the captaine of the castell would not presentlie render the place, howbeit they promised to deliuer it, if the same were not rescued at a day assigned by the Dolphin or his power.

Upon this promise, hostages were deliuered into the possession of the lord regent, by whose licence an herald was sent to the Dolphin, to aduertise him of the time determined; who understanding the distresse of his friends, incontinentlie sent John duke of Alanson, as his lieutenant generall, the erle Douglas, whom at their setting forth he made duke of Touraine, and the earle Buchquhane as then constable of France, the erls of Aumarie, Montadoure, Comnere, Paulieurier, and Forests, the vicounts of Parpigne, and Louars, the lords of Craulle, Gaulles, Malicorne, Hannie, Ballaie, Fountains, Pontfoix, and manie other nobles knights and esquiers, to the number of sixtene thousand Frenchmen & Britons, besides five thousand Scots, whom the earle Douglas had but latelie transported out of Scotland.

This small armie approached within two miles of Purie. But when the duke of Alanson understood by such as he had sent to view the conduite of the Englishmen, that he could not get anye advantage by assailing them (although the Dolphin had given him strict commandement to fight with the regent) he retired backe with his whole armie to the towne of Wernueill in Berch, that belonged to the king of England; sending word to the garrison, that he had discomfited the English armie, and that the regent with a small number with him by swiftnesse of horse had saved himselfe. The inhabitants of Wernueill, giving to light credit hereunto, received the duke of Alanson with all his armie into the towne.

In the meane time came the date of the rescues of Purie, which for want thereof was deliuered to the duke of Bedford by the captaine called Gerard de la Ballier, who presenting vnto the duke of Bedford the heles of the castell, shewed him a letter also signed and sealed with the hands and seales of eightene great lords, who the date before promised by the tenour of the same letter to giue the duke battell, and to raise the siege. Well (said the duke), if their hearts would haue serued, their puillance was sufficient once to haue proffered, or so haue performed this faithfull promise; but sith they disdain to seke me, God and saint George willing, I shall not desist to followe the tract of their hostes till one part of vs be by battell ouerthrowne. And herewith he sent word the earle of Suffolke with five hundred horsemen, to espie the doings of the Frenchmen, and where they were lodged. The earle riding forth, passed

by Dampstie, and came to Wretuill, where he heard certeine newes where the Frenchmen had gotten Wernueill, and remained there still.

These newes he sent by post vnto the duke of Bedford, the which incontinentlie vpon that aduertisement set forthward in great hast towards his enemies. The Frenchmen hearing of his coming, set their people in arrate, and made all one maine battell without fore ward or reer ward; and appointed foure hundred horsemen, Lombards and others to breake the arrate of the Englishmen, either behind, or at the sides, of the which was captaine sir Stephan de Winolles, called the Hire. The duke of Bedford likewise made one entier battell, and suffered no man to be on horsebacke, and set the archers (euerie one having a sharpe stake) both on the front of the battell, and also on the sides, like wings. And behind were all their hostes tied together, either by the reins or by the talles, with the carts and carriages, to the defense whereof were two thousand archers appointed.

Herewith either part being come almost to the ioining, the duke of Alanson, on the one side, exhorted his people to plaie the men, declaring vnto them, that the conclusion of this battell should either deliuer them out of vile seruitude, or place them in the bale of bondage. On the other side, the duke of Bedford, to encourage his men, willed them to remember how oft they had subdued those their aduersaries in battell (with whom they should now cope) for the most part, euer being the lesse number against the greater. Again, he declared how necessarie it was to tame the bold attempts of the presumptuous Dolphin now in the beginning, least if the fire were suffered further to burne, it should haue need of the more water to quench it.

Spanish words he uttered, to put them in hope of good success, and victorie. But scarce had he ended his exhortation, when the Englishmen rushed forth, and boldly set on their enemies, crying; Saint George, a Bedford, a Bedford; and the Frenchmen likewise cried Pontop saint Denis. Then began the battell right fierce on both sides, continuing for the space of three houres in doubtful balance, fortune shewing hir selfe so equall, that no eie could iudge to whether part she was more fauourable. But at length, after that those foure hundred horsemen, which were appointed, as we haue hard, to breake the arrate of the Englishmen, had passed thorough on the one side vnto the place where the carriages and hostes stood, and could not passe further, by reason of the fierce shot of the English bowes, they falling to the spoile made a band, and therewith departed. Those archers then that were appointed to keepe the carriages, being now at libertie, came forthward, and so fiercely shot at the thickest peeple of their enemies fighting on foot, that in the end they were not able longer to indure, but were borne downe by fine force, and so hanged.

This battell was fought the eight and twentieth of August, in the yeare of our Lord a thousand foure hundred twentie and foure, in the which battell were slaine of the Frenchmen, the earles of Aumarie, Montadour, Forest, Parte, the lords Craulle, Gaulles, Fountains, Ambois, Louars, Montente, Combrese, Ryuell, Tumble, and Poisse, besides five hundred knights. The vicount Parbonnie was hanged on a gibbet, because he was one of the murderers of the duke of Burgognie. Of Scots also were slaine, Archembald earle Douglas, that was made (as before is mentioned) duke of Touraine, James Douglas sonne to the said Archembald earle of Winton, John earle of Boughen newlie made constable of France, sir Alexander Meldin, sir Henrie Balgaulie, sir John Sterling, William of Pomelidon, sir James

Wernueill gotten from the Englishmen by creating a lie.

The opening of their battell.

Five the faith Acus, but the las Gile there are foure the on both

Wendy Charter two of fildy nobt were the ths batt la. Meir.

The lost Scales to conque Winton a againe.

The battell of Wernueill, the 28 of the gull, 1422.

James directed to the English

James Graie, sir Robert Kanden, sir Alexander Linsale, sir Robert Steward, sir Robert Swinton, and seauen and twentie hundred Scots of name and armes, before others.

So that in this battell were slaine by report of gontoy king at armes in France, and the English harolds there present, of Frenchmen & Scots nine thousand and seauen hundred: and of Englishmen one and twentie hundred, but no man of name, savinge five yong esquieres. And there were taken prisoners, John duke of Alanson, the bastard of Alanson, the lord of Flete, the lord of Hozmit, sir Piers Harison, sir Lois de Gaucourt, sir Robert Bouslet, sir John Auernebull a Scot, and two hundred gentlemen, beside common soldiers. The Frenchmen with in Veruill, seeing the Dolphin's armie thus overthrowne, deliuered the towne to the regent, their liues saued. Then was sir Philip Hall appointed capteine there, and the lord regent returned, and came to Rone, and after to Paris.

The Dolphin that called himselfe king of France, was sore appalled with the overthrow of his armie: for he was driven out of all the countreies in maner, that appertained to the crowne of France, & might resort to none except to Bourbonnois, Aluergne, Berry, Poictou, Touraine, a part of Aniois, and Langue doc: yet to shew himselfe as king, he erected his court of parlement, his chancerie, & all other courts in the cite of Poitiers, and there established his great seale, with all due circumstances thereto appertaining: where he continued foureteene yeares together, and then was remoued to Paris, after he had got that cite, and expelled the Englishmen, as after shall appeare.

The duke of Bedford lieng at Paris, sent the lord Scales, sir John Montgomerie, sir John Fastolfe, with two thousand men to winne the countreies of Aniois, and Spaine, unto whom were rendezed with out assault, the strong castels of Beaumont le Vicount, Meune, Sillie, Olce, Courtieriers, Kouffe, Vasse, Courtemeniant, and twentie other, which I do here passe over. Such was then the opinion conceived of the English puissance, so oft tried, proued, and preuailing, that the Frenchmen thought the Englishmen would haue all which they wished for, or wroughit for.

The earle of Salisburie, with the said lord Scales, and the other capitaines before named, were appointed with an armie of ten thousand men, to besiege the rich and strong cite of Spans, the chiefe cite of all the countrie of Spaine; whither when they came, they made their appoche, and planted their batterie to the walls, so that with the shot of their great peeces (which kind of engins before that time had not beene much here nor heard of in France) the cite was within a few daies despoiled of all his towres and outward defenses. The citizens and soldiers, perceiving in what danger they stood, & knowing not how to remedie the matter, offered the towne vpon this condition, that all persons which would farrte within the towne, might abide; and all that would depart with horse and harnells onelie, should be permitted: which offers were accepted, and the towne rendered, whereof the earle made capteine the earle of Suffolke, and his lieutenant sir John Fastolfe.

After this, the earle of Salisburie besieged the faire towne of saint Sufan, whereof was capteine one Ambrose de Lorie, a right valiant chiefe. The earle caused the towne to be assaulted at his first coming to it: but he lost more than he gained, and therefore left off his assaults, and caused a trench to be cast about the towne, and so planted his batterie, by force whereof he overthrew the walles, in such sort that the capitaine offered for himselfe and his soldi-

ers 200000 crownes, so that they might depart in their doublets onelie, which summe (because winter appoched) was accepted, and the towne yelded. Of this towne sir John Popham was made capteine. When the earle went to Spaine la Tuber, which towne after five weekes siege was yelded, and appointed to the keeping of sir John Montgomerie, knight.

After the feast of the Purification of our ladie, the earle of Salisburie besieged the castell de la Fert Barnard, during which siege a sale was made of the towne of Alanson being in the Englishmens possession, by a Gascoigne that was one of the garrison there. But this sale being opened to the earle of Salisburie by the same Gascoigne at the date appointed, the lord Willoughbie and sir John Fastolfe, with two thousand men were sent to encounter with the buiers of that towne, so that when Charles de Willers chiefe merchant of this ware, came earlie in a morning with two hundred horsemen, and three hundred footmen, and approached the towne, abiding for the Gascoigne, yet he was aware, the Englishmen had compassed him and his companie round about, and setting vpon the Frenchmen, slue and toke all the whole number of them, saue Peter Danthenazie and five and twentie other, which by the swiftnesse of their horses saued themselves.

After this conflict, the lord Willoughbie returned to the earle of Salisburie, lieng still at siege before the towne de la Fert Barnard, which shortly after was rendered by into the earle of Salisburies hands, to whom the lord regent gaue it, to inioie to him and his heires for ever. Beside this, the said earle partlie by assault, & partlie by composition toke diuers other, as saint Bales; where he made capteine Richard Gethin esquier; Chauceaur Lermilage, where he made gouernour Hatthew Cough; Cherland, of the which he assigned ruler John Banasser; Spalcoyne, whereof he made capteine William Glasdale esquier; Lille Somb; Boulton, whereof was made capteine sir Lancelot Lille knight; Loupeland, whereof was made capteine Henrie Branch; Montseur, of the which was made capteine sir William Oldhall knight; la Suze was assigned to the keeping of John Suffolke, esquier. And besides this, a bouie fortie castels and piles were overthrowne and destroyed. The newes hereof reported in England, caused great reioysing among the people, not onelie for the conquest of so manie towne & fortresses, but also for that it has pleased God to giue them victorie in a pitched field: whereof generall processions were appointed, to render vnto God humble thanks for his fauour so bestowed vpon them.

This yeare after Easter, the king called a parlement at Westminster, by aduise of the prelates; and comming to the parlement house himselfe, he was conueled through the cite vpon a great courser, with great triumph, the people flocking into the streets to behold the child, whom they iudged to haue the liuelie image and countenance of his father, and like to succeed him, and be his heire in all princelie qualities, martiall policies, and morall vertues, aswell as in his realmes, seignories and dominions. In this parlement was granted to the king a subside of twelue pence the pound, towards the maintenance of his warres, of all merchandize, comming in or going out of the realme, as well of Englishmen as strangers.

During which parlement, came to London Peter duke of Dufimbre, sonne to the king of Portingale, coulsine germane remoued to the king; which of the duke of Excester and the bishop of Winchester. Her his vnckles was highlie feasted, he was also elected into the order of the garter. During the same season, Edmund Mortimer, the last earle of March,

Five thousand
saith Acemili-
as Giles saith
there died our
saue thousand
on both parts.

Dorley and
Charleton
two of the Eng-
lish nobilitie
were slaine at
this battell, as
the newe saith.

The lord
Scales sent
to conquer
Aniois and
Spaine.

Spans deliue-
red to the
Englishmen.

*Or rather
Gorche,

Generall pro-
cessions after
victorie.
Anno Reg 3.

A subside of
tunnage and
poundage.

The prince of
Portingale
commeth to
London.

Idoring
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men
told,
I know
it.

of that name (which long time had bene restrained from his libertie, and finally wared lane) deceased without issue, whose inheritance descended to the lord Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Richard earle of Cambridge, beheaded (as before ye haue heard) at the towne of Southampton. In the time of this parliament also was sir John Portiner cousin to the same earle, either for desert or malice, atainted of treason, and put to execution, of whose death no small slander arose amongst the common people.

After all these things done in England and in France, Humfreie duke of Gloucester, who had married the ladie Jaquet, or Jaqueline of Bauler, countesse of Heinault, Holland, and Zeland (notwithstanding she was coupled in marriage afore to John duke of Brabant, as yet living, and had continued with him a long space) passed now the sea with the said ladie, and went to Mons or Bergen in Heinault, where the more part of the people of that countrie came and submitted themselves unto him, as to their soveraigne lord, in right of his said wife, the ladie Jaquet or Jaqueline: with which doing hir former husband was greatlie moued. And likewise the duke of Burgognie, being great friend to the same duke of Brabant, was much offended: who of old familiaritie wrote lovinglie to the duke of Gloucester, requiring him to reforme himselfe according to reason, and to forsake his vngodlie life, both in keeping of an other mans wife, and also in seeking to usurpe other mens rights and titles.

Whereupon went letters betwixt them for a time, but at length when the duke of Burgognie perceived that the duke of Gloucester meant to mainteine his interest, & to make warre against the duke of Brabant; he took part with the duke of Brabant so earnestlie, that he consented to fight with the duke of Gloucester bodie to bodie within liks in defense of the duke of Brabants quarrell, and further aided the duke of Brabant in his warres against the duke of Gloucester, with all his puissance, inasmuch that in the end (after the duke of Gloucesters returne into England) the duke of Brabant recovered all the towns in Heinault, which the ladie Jaquet or Jaqueline held against him. And further the same ladie was by composition deliuered by them of the towne of Mons unto the duke of Burgognie; who caused hir to be conveyed unto Gant, from whence she made shift to escape into Holland, where she was obeyed as countesse of the countrie.

Then made the warre in hir owne defense against the dukes of Burgognie and Brabant, who sought to spoile hir of all hir towns and lands: but they procured pope Martin the first (before whome the matter was) to give sentence that the first matrimonie with the duke of Brabant was good, and the second with the duke of Gloucester to be unlawfull. But in the meane time, the lord J. Fitz Walter was sent over to the aid of the ladie Jaquet or Jaquelin, with a power of Englishmen, landed in Zeland, nere unto the towne of Zertre, against whome came the duke of Burgognie, and encountering with them and other such Hollanders and Zelanders, as were joined with them, nere to a place called Biewers hauen, there discomfited them; so that of English, Hollanders, and Zelanders, with the said lord J. Fitz Walter, were slaine seauen or eight hundred, and the residue chased to the water. At length, when the duke of Gloucester vnderstood the sentence pronounced against him by the pope, he began to war wearie of his wife the said ladie Jaquet, by whome he neuer had profit, but losse, and took in a second marriage Eleanor Cobham, daughter to the lord Cobham of Steveroto, which before (as the same went) was his soveraigne para-

mour, to his slander and dishonour.

A little before this time, sir Thomas Kemplton, sir Philip Branch, sir Nicholas Burdet, and other Englishmen, to the number of five hundred men of warre, repaired and fortified the towne of St. James de Beuron, situate on the frontiers of Normandie towards Britaine, within halfe a league of the duke of Britains ground, with whome as then they had open warre; and so began to dw. manie displeasures to his people. Whereupon Arthur earle of Richmond and Purie, brother to the said duke, and latelie before created constable of France, assembled an huge power of men to the number of fortie thousand (as some haue written) and with the same came before the said towne of St. James de Beuron, and played his siege verie stronglie about it, enforcing with his great ordinance to ouerthrow the walls. And one day amongst other, he determined to give the assault, and so did, the which continued a long space verie hot and earnest.

The Britons Whistonants were come downe into a low bottom, where there was a little pond or fish-pole, and they must needs passe by a streit waie to come to the walles in great danger. On that side of the towne was a little bulwke, which sir Nicholas Burdet kept, having with him a fortie or eightie fighting men: and over against the same bulwke there was a gate well furnished also with English souldiers; so that the Britons which came downe into the ditches in great number to give the assault, heard on either side them the Englishmen (within the said bulwke and gate) make a great noise, in crieng Salisburie and Suffolke; with the which cri the Britons being maruelouslie astoned, began to recolle in great disorder. And therewith the said sir Nicholas Burdet issued forth vpon them, and pursuing them right valiantlie, slue them downe, so that there died of them what by the sword, and what by drowning in the said pole, about seauen thousand or eight hundred, and to the number of fiftie were taken prisoners. And beside this, those Englishmen gained eightene standards and one banner.

Incontinentlie the newes hereof were reported to the constable of France, who was busie at the assault on the other side of the towne, whereof he was sore displeased, and no lesse amazed; so that he caused the retreat to be sounded, for all the siege on that side toward the pole was already raised. After this, vpon counsell taken amongst the Frenchmen, it was determined that they should dislodge: and so about the middes of the next night, the constable and all the residue of his people departed toward Fougiers, leaving behind them great plentie of artillerie both great and small, with victuals, and all their other provisions: as fourtene great guns and fortie barrels of powder, three hundred pipes of wine, two hundred pipes of biscket and flower, two hundred stalles of figs and rellins, and five hundred barrels of herrings.

Somewhat before this season fell a great diuision in the realme of England, which of a sparke was like to haue grown to a great flame, for whether the bishop of Winchester called Henrie Beaufort, sonne to John duke of Lancaster by his third wife, enuied the authoritie of Humfreie duke of Gloucester, protector of the realme; or whether the duke disdained at the riches and pompous estate of the bishop: sure it is that the whole realme was troubled with them and their partakers: so that the citizens of London were faine to keepe daile and nightlie watches, and to shut by their shops for feare of that which was doubted to haue ensued of their assembling of people about them. The archbishop of Cantuarbie and the duke of Aquitaine, called the prince of Portingale, rode

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rode eight times in one daie betwene the two parties, and so the matter was staied for a time. But the bishop of Winchester, to cleere himselfe of blame so farre as he might, and to charge his nephew the lord protector with all the fault, wrote a letter to the regent of France, the tenor whereof insueth.

The bishop of Winchesters letter
excusatorie.

Right high and mightie prince, and my right noble, and after one, lieuest lord, I recommend me vnto you with all my hart. And as you desire the welfare of the king our soueraigne lord, and of his realmes of England and France, your owne health, and ours also: so halt you hither. For by my truth, if you tarie, we shall put this land in aduenture with a field; such a brother you haue here, God make him a good man. For your wisdom knoweth, that the profit of France standeth in the welfare of England. Written in great hast on Allhallowen euen. By your true seruant to my liues end, Henrie Winchester.

The duke of Bedford being sore grieved and disquieted with these newes, constituted the earle of Warwick, which was latelie come into France with six thousand men, his lieutenant in the French dominions, and in the duchie of Normandie; and so with a small companie, he with the duchesse his wife returned againe ouer the seas into England, and the tenth daie of Januarie he was with all solemnitie receiued into London, to whome the citizens gaue a paire of basins of silver and gilt, and a thousand markes in monie. Then from London he rode to Westminster, and was lodged in the kings palace. The five and twentieth daie of March after his coming to London, a parlement began at the towne of Leicester; where the duke of Bedford openly rebuked the lords in generall, because that they in the time of warre, thorough their priue malice and inward grudge, had almost moued the people to warre and commotion, in which time all men ought to shoulde be of one mind, hart, and consent: requiring them to defend, serue, & dread their soueraigne lord king Henrie, in performing his conquest in France, which was in manner brought to conclusion. In this parlement the duke of Gloucester laide certaine articles to the bishop of Winchester his charge, the which with the answers hereafter do insue; as followeth.

The articles of accusation and accord
betwene the lord of Gloucester, and the lord of Winchester.

Are insueth the articles, as the kings counsell hath conceived, the which the right high and mightie prince my lord of Gloucester hath furnished vpon my lord of Winchester chancellor of England, with the answer to the same.

First, whereas he being protector, and defender of this land, desired the Tower to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein; Richard Woodville esquier (having at that time the charge of the keeping of the Tower) refused his desire, and kept the same Tower against him vndelie and against reason, by the commandement of my said lord of

Winchester; and afterward in appointing of the said refusall, he receiued the said Woodville, and cherished him against the state and worship of the king, and of my said lord of Gloucester.

Item, my said lord of Winchester, without the aduise and assent of my said lord of Gloucester, or of the kings counsell, purposed and disposed him to set hand on the kings person, and to haue remoued him from Eltham, the place that he was in, to Windsor, to the intent to put him in gouernance as him list.

Item, that where my said lord of Gloucester (to whome of all persons that shoulde be in the land, by the waie of nature and birth, it belongeth to see the gouernance of the kings person) informed of the said vndue purpose of my said lord of Winchester, declared in the article next abovesaid, and in letting thereof, determining to haue gone to Eltham vnto the king to haue provided as the cause required: my said lord of Winchester vnturle, and against the kings peace, to the intent to trouble my said lord of Gloucester going to the king, purposing his death, in case that he had gone that waie, set men of armes and archers at the end of London bridge next Southwarke: and in forbarring of the kings high waie, let balaue the chaine of the stoupes there, and set by pipes and hurdles in manner and forme of bulwarks: and set men in chambers, cellars, & windowes, with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the intent to bring small destruction to my said lord of Gloucesters person, as well as of those that then shoulde come with him.

Item, my said lord of Gloucester saith and affirmeth, that our soueraigne lord his brother that was king Henrie the sixt, told him on a time, when our soueraigne lord being prince was lodged in the palace of Westminster in the great chamber, by the noyse of a spannell, there was on a night a man spied and taken behind a tapet of the said chamber, the which man was deliuered to the earle of Arundell to be examined vpon the cause of his being there at that time; the which so examined, at that time confessed that he was there by the stirring and procuring of my said lord of Winchester, ordeined to haue slaine the said prince there in his bed: wherefore the said earle of Arundell let sacke him forthwith, and doctored him in the Thames.

Item, our soueraigne lord that was, king Henrie the sixt, said vnto my said lord of Gloucester, that his father king Henrie the fourth lining, and visited then greatlie with sicknesse by the hand of God, my said lord of Winchester said vnto the king (Henrie the sixt then being prince) that the king his father so visited with sicknesse was not personable, & therefore not disposed to come in conuersation and gouernance of the people; and for so much, counselled him to take the gouernance and crowne of this land vpon him.

The answer of the bishop.

Are insue the answers to the accusations made by my lord of Winchester chancellor of England, vnto the causes and matters of heavinesse, declared in the articles against him by my lord of Gloucester.

First, as of the refusall made by to my lord of Gloucester, of opening the Tower to him, of his lodging therein, by the commandement of my said lord of Winchester; he answereth, that in the presence of my said lord of Gloucester before his coming out of his countrie of Heirault, for causes such as were thought resonable, it seemeth lawfull that the Tower shoulde haue bene notablie stoyed and kept with vit-

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Articles set
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lord of Gloucester,
against
the bishop
of Winchester.

tels: hotob: it it was not forthwith executed, and that in likewise after that my said lord of Gloucester, was gone into his said countrie of Hainault, for seditious and odious billes and languages, cast and used in the citie of London, fouding of insurrection and rebellion against the kings peace, and destruction as well of diuerse estates of this land, as strangers being under the defense, in so much that in doubt thereof, strangers in great number fled the land. And for the more sure keeping of the said Tower, Richard Woodville esquier so trusted with our soueraine lord the king that dead is (as well ye know) & also chamberlain and counsellor vnto my lord of Bedford, with a certeine number of defensible persons assigned vnto him, was made deputie there by the assent of the kings counsell, being that time at London, for to abide therein, for the safegard thereof; and straightlie charged by the said counsell, that during that time of his said charge, he should not suffer any man to be in the Tower stronger than himselfe, without speciall charge or commandement of the king by the aduise of his counsell.

2 Item, that sone after (vpon the comming of my said lord of Gloucester into this land from his countrie of Hainault) the said lords of the kings counsell were informed, that my said lord of Gloucester grudged with the said maner of inforcing the Tower, and let saie to them of London, that he had well vnderstand that they had bene heauilie threatened for the time of his absence, and otherwise than they shuld haue bene, if he had bene in this land. Wherefore he was right euill contented, and especiallie of the said forcing of the Tower, set vpon them in manner of a chased villain, considering the good equitie and truth that they had alwaies kept vnto the king, offering them there vpon remedie if they would.

3 Item, that after this, Richard Scot licutenant of the Tower, by the commandement of my said lord of Gloucester, brought vnto him frer Randolp, the which had long before confessed treason done by him against the kings person that dead is, for the which knowlege he was put to be kept in the said Tower, & straightlie commanded vnder great paine giuen vnto the said Scot, to kepe him straightlie & suerlie, & not to let him out of the said Tower without commandment of the king by aduise of his counsell. The which frer Randolp, my said lord of Gloucester kept then with himselfe (not witting to the said Scot) as he declared to my said lord of Winchester, sone after that he had brought the said frer Randolp to my lord of Gloucester; saing to my lord of Winchester, that he was wdone but he helped him, & expelled, as for cause of the withholding of frer Randolp: and saing moreover, that when he desired of my said lord of Gloucester, the deliuerance of the said frer Randolp, to lead him againe vnto the Tower, or sufficient warrant for his discharge: my said lord of Gloucester answered him, that his commandement was sufficient warrant and discharge for him. In the which thing abovesaid, it was thought to my lord of Winchester, that my said lord of Gloucester toke vpon him further than his authoritie stretched vnto, and caused him to doubt and dread, least that he would haue proceeded further. And at such time as the said Woodville came vnto him, to aske his aduise and counsell, of lodging my said lord of Gloucester in the Tower; he aduised and charged him, that before he suffered my said lord of Gloucester, or any person to lodge therein stronger than himselfe, he should procure him a sufficient warrant therof, of the king, by the aduise of his counsell.

4 Item, as to the said article of the foresaid causes of heauinesse, my said lord chancelor answereth, that he neuer purposed to set hand on the kings per-

son, nor to remoue him, or that he should be removed, or put in any manner of gouernance, but by the aduise of the kings counsell. For he could not perceive any manner of goodnesse or of auantage that might haue grolone to him thereof, but rather great peril and charge; and hereof my said lord of Winchester is ready to make pprove, in time and place conuenient.

5 Item, as to the third article of the foresaid causes and heauines, my said lord chancelor answereth, that he was oft and diuerse times warned, by diuerse credible persons, aswell at the time of the kings last parlement, holden at Westminster, as before and since, that my said lord of Gloucester purposed him bodilie harme, & was warned therof, and counselled by the said persons, and that diuerse times, to abstaine him from comming to Westminster, as my said lord of Winchester declared vnto my said lord of Gloucester.

6 Item, that in the time of the said parlement, diuerse persons of low estate of the citie of London, in great number assembled on a day vpon the wharfe, at the crane of the vinetree, and wished and desired that they had there the person of my lord of Winchester, saing, that they would haue thowen him into the Thames, to haue taught him to swim with wings. Whereof billes and language of slander and threatenings were cast and spoken in the said citie by my said lord the chancelor, which caused him to suppose that they that so said and did, willed and desired his destruction, although they had no cause.

7 Item, that after the comming to London of sir Rafe Botiller, and maister Letwes, sent from my lord of Bedford, to the rest of the lords of the counsell, they being informed, that my said lord of Gloucester did beare displeasure to my said lord of Winchester, they came to the said lord of Gloucester to his In, the second sundae next before All hallondate, and there opened vnto him, that they had knowledge and vnderstanding of the said displeasure, praing him to let them know if he bare such displeasure against my said lord of Winchester, and also the causes thereof. At the which time (as my said lord of Winchester was afterwards informed) my said lord of Gloucester affirmed that he was heauie toward him, and not without causes that peraduenture he would put in writing.

8 Item, that after the mondate next before All hallondate last past in the night, the people of the said citie of London, by the commandement of my said lord of Gloucester, as it was said (for what cause my lord the chancelor wist not) assembled in the citie, armed and arraised, and so continued all the night. Amongst diuerse of the which (the same night by what excitation, my said lord the chancelor wist not) seditious and heauie language was used, and in especiall against the person of my lord the chancelor. And so the same mondate at night, my said lord of Gloucester sent vnto the Ius of court at London, charging them of the court dwelling in the same, to be with him vpon the morrow at eight of the clocke in their best arrais.

9 Item, that on the morrow being tuesday next following, my said lord of Gloucester sent earlie vnto the maior and aldermen of the said citie of London, to ordeine him to the number of three hundred persons on horse backe, to accompanie him vnto such a place as he disposed him to ride, which (as it was said) was vnto the king, to the intent to haue his person, and to remoue him from the place that he was in, without assent, or aduise of the kings counsell. The which thing was thought vnto my said lord the chancelor, that he ought in no wise to haue done, nor had not bene sene so before.

Item, that my said lord the chancelloz, considering the things aboue said, and doubting therfore of perils that might haue ensued thereof, intending to purueie there against, and namelie for his owne suertie and defense, according to the laie of nature, ordeined to let, that no force of people should come on the bridge of London towards him, by the which he or his might haue bene indangered or noied, not intending in any wise bodilie harme vnto my said lord of Glocester, nor to any other person, but onelie his owne defense, in eschewing the perill abouesaid.

Item, as toward the fourth and fift of the said articles, my lord the chancelloz answereth, that he was euer true to all those that were his soueraigne lords and reigned vpon him, and that he neuer purposed treason or vnturth against any of their persons, and in especiall against the person of our said soueraigne lord Henrie the sixt. The which considering the great wisdom, truth, and manhood that all men knew in him, he would not for the time that he was king, haue set on my said lord the chancelloz so great trust as he did, if he had found or thought in him such vnturth. The which thing my said lord the chancelloz offered to declare and shew, as it belongeth to a man of his estate to do, requiring therupon my lord of Bedford and all the lords spirituall and tempozall in this parlement, that it might be scene that there were iudges conuenient in this case, that they would do him right, or else that he might haue leaue of the king by their abuisse to go sue his right, before him that ought to be his iudge.

And as toward the letter sent by my lord of Winchester vnto my lord of Bedford, of the which the tenor is before rehearsed, of the which my lord of Glocester complained him of the malicious and vnture purpose of my said lord of Winchester, as toward the assembling of the people, and gathering of a field in the kings land, in troubling thereof, and against the kings peace: my said lord of Winchester answereth, that if his said letters duellie vnderstand, and in such wise as he vnderstood and meant in the writing of them, it maie not reasonable be gathered and taken, that my said lord of Winchester intended to gather any field, or assemble people in troubling of the kings land, and against the kings peace, but rather purposed to acquite him to the king in his truth, and to keepe the rest and peace in the kings land, and to eschew rebellion, disobedience and all trouble. For by that that in the beginning of the said letter, he calleth my said lord of Bedford his lieuest lord after one, that is the king, whome he ought to accept of dutie of his truth, the which he hath euer kept, and will keepe.

Moreover, in the said letter he desireth the comming home of my lord of Bedford, for the welfare of the king and of his realmes of England and of France, which stand principallie in keeping of his rest and peace, and praieth my said lord of Bedford to speed his coming into England, in eschewing of iopardie of the land, and of a field, which he dread him might haue followed if he had long taried. As toward those wordes: If ye farie, we shall put this land in aduenture with a field, such a brother ye haue here, etc. My said lord of Winchester saith, the soth is: before he wrote the said letter, by the occasion of certeine ordinances made by the mayo and aldermen of London against the excessive taking of masons, carpentars, tilers, plasterers, and other labourers for their daile tourmes, and approued by the kings devise and counsell, there were cast manie heauines and seditious willes vnder the names of such labourers, thetarning rising with manie thousands, and menacing of estates of the land, and likewise seditious and euill language sownen and so continued and likelie to haue ensued, of purpose and intent of diso-

bedience and rebellion. To the redressing of which, it seemed to my lord the chancelloz, that my said lord of Glocester did not his indeuour nor diligence that he might haue shewed. For lacke of which diligence, they that were disposed to do disobedience were incouraged and emboldened, so that it was like, that they should haue made a gathering, and that the king and his true subiects should haue bene compelled to haue made a field to haue withstand them; the which field making, had bene aduenturing of this land, and in tokening that it was neuer my said lord chancellozs intent, to gather no field, but as truth most stirred him against such as riotouslie would make such assembling against our soueraigne lord, and the weale of this land, he desired so hastilie the comming of my said lord of Bedford: the which he would in no wise haue so greatlie desired, if he would haue purposed him vnto any vnlawfull making of a field; for he wist well, that my said lord of Bedford would most sharplie haue chastised and punished all those, that so would make any riotous assemble.

When this answer was made, the duke caused this writing following openlie to be proclaimed.

BE it knowne to all folkes, that it is the intent of my lord of Bedford, and all the lords spirituall & tempozall, assembled in this present parlement, to acquite him and them, and to proceed truelie, iustlie, and indifferently, without any parcialitie in any manner of matter or quarels, moued or to be moued betwene my lord of Glocester on that one partie, & my lord of Winchester chancelloz of England on that other partie. And for suer keeping of the kings peace it is accorded by my said lord of Bedford, & by my said lords spirituall and tempozall, an oth to be made in forme as followeth, that is to saie.

The oth of the lords.

That my said lord of Bedford, and my said lords, spirituall and tempozall, and ech of them shall (as far forth as their cunninges and discretions suffice) truelie, iustlie, and indifferently counsell and aduise the king, and also proceed and acquit themselves in all the said matters, and quarels, without that they or any of them shall prouilie and apertlie make or shew himselfe to be partie or parciall therein, not leaning or eschewing so to do for affection, loue, meed, doubt, or dread of any person or persons. And that they shall in all wise keepe secret all that shall be commoned by waie of counsell, in the matters and quarrels abouesaid, in the said parlement, without that they or any of them shall by word, writing of the king, or in any wise open or discover it to any of the said parties, or to any other person that is not of the said counsell: but if he haue a speciall commandement or leaue therevnto of the king or my said lord of Bedford. And that ech of them shall with all his might and power, assist by waie of counsell, or else shew it vnto the king, my lord of Bedford, and to the rest of my said lords to put the said parties to reason; and not to suffer that any of the said parties by them, or by their assistance, proceed or attempt by way of fight against the kings peace; nor helpe, assist, or comfort any of them thereto: but let them with all their might and power withstand them, and assist vnto the king, and my said lord of Bedford, in keeping of the

kings peace, and redressing all such maner of proceeding by waite of fight or force.

Dukes: the duke of Bedford, the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Excester. Bishops: the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Carleill, the bishop of Bath, the bishop of Landaffe, the bishop of Rochester, the bishop of Elychester, the bishop of Worcester, the bishop of Saint Davids, the bishop of London, the bishop of Duresme. Carles: the earle of Northumberland, the earle of Stafford, the earle of Arford. Lords: the lord Hungerford, the lord Epsforth, the lord Poinings, the lord Cromwell, the lord Wobrough, the lord Louell, the lord Botreux, the lord Clinton, the lord Zouch, the lord Audeleie, the lord Ferrers of Groubie, the lord Talbot, the lord Roos, the lord Greie, the lord Greie of Ruthen, the lord Fitz Walter, the lord Barksleie. Abbats: the abbat of Waltham, the abbat of Classenburie, the abbat of S. Augustines in Canturburie, the abbat of Westminster, the abbat of S. Maries in Porke, the abbat of S. Albons not knowne because he was not present. Which in manner and forme above rehearsed, all the lords aforesaid spirituall as temporall, being in this parliament at Leicester assembled, the fourth day of March, promised upon their faith, dutie, and allegiance, which they owe to the king their soueraigne lord, truelie to obserue and keepe, according to the true meaning and purport of the same.

The arbitrement.

IN the name of God Amen. We Henrie archbishop of Canturburie, Thomas duke of Excester, John duke of Norfolk, Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, John bishop of Bath, Humfreie earle of Stafford, William Alnwick keeper of the kings priuie seale, Kase lord Cromwell, arbitrators in all maner of causes, matters and quarrels of heavinesses & greivances, with all incidents, circumstances, dependents, or connexes being and hanging betwene the high & worthy prince Humfreie duke of Glocester on the one partie, and the worthy full father in God Henrie bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England on the other partie, by either of them, for the peasing of the said quarrels and debates taken and chosen in maner and forme as it is conteined more plainelie in a compromise made thereupon, of the which the tenor insueth in this forme.

1424
Anno Reg. 4.

Memorandum, the seauenth daie of March in the fourth yeare of our soueraigne lord the king, Henrie the sixt, the high and mightie prince Humfreie duke of Glocester at the reuerence of God, and for the god of the king our soueraigne lord in this land, & name: lie at the reuerence, and especiallie at the request and praier of the mightie and high prince my lord of Bedford his brother, agreed him to put, and putteth all maner matters and quarrels indeed, with all their incidents, circumstances, dependents and connexes that touchen him and his person, that he hath in anie wise do, or feeleth himselfe greued or heauie against my lord his vnicle, my lord of Winchester: or else that my lord of Winchester findeth him agreued against him, in as much as they touch him or his person from the beginning of the world unto this date, in the aduise, ordinance and arbitrement of the worthy father in God, Henrie archbishop of Canturburie, the high and noble prince Thomas duke of Excester, and John duke of Norfolk, the worthy full father in God Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, John bishop of Bath, the noble lord Humfreie earle of Stafford, the worthy full persons maister William Alnwick keeper of the

kings priuie seale, and Kase lord Cromwell, promising and beighting by the faith of his bodie, & word of his princehood and kings sonne, to do, keepe, obserue, and fulfill for him and his behalfe, all that shall be declared, ordeined, and arbitrated, by the foresaid archbishop, dukes, bishops, earle, keeper of the priuie seale, and lord Cromwell in all matters and quarrels abovesaid.

Granting also and promising ouer that, to be comprehended in the foresaid arbitrement, as toward putting awaie all heavinesses and displeasures, in anie wise conteined, by my lord of Glocester against all those that haue in anie wise assisted, counselled, or fauoured vnto his said vnicle of Winchester, and as toward anie matters that be touching my lord of Glocester, remitteth it, and the gouernance thereof vnto the king & his counsell, they to deme it by the aduise of his counsell, as him thinketh it to be done. In witness of the which thing to this present compromise my said lord of Glocester hath subscribed his name with his owne hand: Humfreie Glocester. And in like forme my lord of Winchester in another compromise hath subscribed with his owne hand vnder the word of his priesthood, to stand at the aduise, ordinance, & arbitrement of the persons abovesaid, *Mutatis mutandis*.

A decree or order taken by the kings
counsell for the pacifying of the quarrels
& variances that were betwene
the duke of Glocester, and the bishop
of Winchester.

The causes aforesaid and quarrels by us seene, heard, and diligentlie examined and decreed, by the assent of the said parties, ordeine and award, that my lords of Glocester, and of Winchester, for any thing done or spoken, by that one partie against that other, or by anie of theirs, or anie other person or persons, afore the seuenth daie of this present moneth of March, neuer hereafter take causes, quarrels, displeasures, or heavinesses, that one against the other, ne neither against the counsellors, adherents, or fauourers of that other for anie thing or things that are past. And that my said lord of Glocester be good lord to my said lord of Winchester, & haue him in loue and affection as his kinsman & vnicle. And that my said lord of Winchester haue to my said lord of Glocester true and full loue and affection, do and be readie to do him such seruice as apperteineth of honestie to my said lord of Winchester and his estate to do. And that each of them be good lord vnto all those adherents, counsellors, and fauourers of that other, and shew them at all times fauourable loue and affection, as for anie thing by them done or said, before the seauenth daie of March.

And we decree, ordeine, and award, that my said lord of Winchester, in the presence of the king our soueraigne lord, my lord of Bedford, and my lord of Glocester, and the residue of the lords spirituall and temporall, and commons being in this present parliament, saie and declare in maner and forme that folloiweth: My soueraigne lord, I haue well vnderstand, that I am noised among the states of your land, how that the king our soueraigne lord that was, at that time being prince, and lodged in the great chamber at Westminster, by the baseng of a spannell, there was on a night taken behind a tapet in the same chamber, a man, that should haue confessed, that he was there by mine excitation and procuring, to haue slaine the foresaid prince there in his bed; whereupon he was sacked, and worthily also drowned in the Thames.

Further

An. Reg. 4.

Furthermore, I am accused, how that I should haue stirred the king that last died, the time also that he was prince, to haue taken the gouernance of this realme, and the crowne vpon him, his father liuing the same time, being king. Although which language and nothing, I feele my name and fame greatly emblemished in diuerse mens opinions. Wherevpon, I take first God to my witness, and after all the world, that I haue bene at all times, and am true louer, and true man, to you my soueraigne lord, and shall be all my life. And also, I haue bene to my soueraigne lord that was your father, all the time of his reigne, true man, and for such he took me, trusted me and cherished me to his liues end; and as I trust, no man will affirme the contrarie, nor neuer in my life procuring nor imagining death nor destruction of his person, ne assenting to any such thing, or like thereto, the time that he was king or prince, or else in other state.

I was likewise true man to king Henrie the fourth, all the time that he was my soueraigne lord, and reigned vpon me. In which matters, in all manner of wise that it liketh to you my soueraigne lord for to command me, I am ready for to declare me: and furthermore, where, how, and when it shall like you, by the aduise of your counsell, to assigne me. Wherefore I beseech you my soueraigne lord, as humble as I can, considering that there is no grounded proceste, by the which I might lawfully in these matters abonesaid, be conuict (blessed be God) to hold me, and declare me, by the aduise of all the lords, spiritual and temporall, being in this present parlement, true man to you my soueraigne lord, and so to haue bene vnto my soueraigne lords that were your father and grandfather, and true man also to haue bene at all times to your said father whilest he was prince, or else in anie other estate, the said slander and noise notwithstanding, and this same declaration to be made in this your said present parlement.

The which words declared in maner as it is abovesaid, it seemeth to my said lords the arbitrators, that it is met, that my said lord of Winchester shoulde him apart, and in the meane time, the lords being present, be singularly examined therevpon, and saie their aduise. And if it be assented by them, in maner as my said lord of Winchester desireth, let him be called againe, and that then my lord of Bedford haue these words in effect that follow: Faire vncle, the king my lord by the aduise of his counsell, hath commanded me to saie to you, that he hath well understood and considered all the matters which ye haue here openly declared in his presence, and therevpon ye desire a petition, that he will declare you, and by the aduise and assent of the lords spiritual and temporall, being in this present parlement, he declareth you a true man to him, and that ye haue so bene to my lord his father, and grandfather, also true man to my lord his father while he was prince, or else in anie other estate, the said slander and nothing notwithstanding, and will that the said declaration be so made in this present parlement.

After the which words thus said (as before is declared) it was decreed also by the said lords arbitrators, that the said lord of Winchester shoulde haue these words that follow vnto my said lord of Gloucester: My lord of Gloucester, I haue conceiued to my great heauinesse, that ye should haue receiued by diuerse reports, that I should haue purposed and imagined against your person, hono^r, and estate, in diuers matters, for the which, ye haue taken against me great displeasure: Sir, I take God to my witness, that what reports so euer haue bene to you of me, peradventure of such as haue had no great affection to me, God forgive it them, I neuer imagined, ne purposed

anie thing that might be hindring or prejudice to your person, hono^r, or estate: and therefore I praise you, that ye be vnto me good lord from this time forth; for by my will, I gaue neuer other occasion, nor purpose not to do hereafter by the grace of God. The which words so by him said, it was decreed by the same arbitrators, that my lord of Gloucester, shoulde answer and saie: Faire vncle, sith ye declare you such a man, as ye saie, I am right glad that it is so, and for such a man I take you. And when this was done, it was decreed by the same arbitrators, that euery each of my lord of Gloucester, and Winchester, shoulde take either other by the hand, in the presence of the king and all the parlement, in signe and token of good loue & accord, the which was done, and the parlement adioyned till after Easter.

At this reconciliation, such as loued peace reioiced (sith it is a fowle & pernicious thing for priuat men, much more for noblemen to be at variance, sith vpon them depend manie in affections diuerse, whereby factions might grow to the shedding of blood) though others, to whom contention & hartgrudge is delight, wished to see the bittermost mischance that might therof insue, which is the bitter ouerthrow and desolation of populous tribes, even as with a little sparkle whole houses are manie times consumed to ashes; as the old proverbe saith, and that verie well and aptly;

Sola scintilla perit hac domus aut tota incilla.

But when the great fier of this dissension betwene these two noble personages, was thus by the arbitrators (to their knowledge and iudgement) utterly quenched out, and laid vnder bond; all other controuersies betwene other lords, taking part with the one partie or the other, were appeased, and brought to concord, so that for soe the king caused a solemne feast to be kept on Whitsonday; on which date he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the erle of Cambridge (whome his father at Southampton had put to death, as before ye haue heard) duke of York, not foreseeing that this preferment shoulde be his destruction, nor that his seed shoulde of his generation be the extreame end and finall conclusion. He the same date also promoted John lord of Arundell, and earle marshall, sonne and heire to Thomas duke of Norfolk (by king Richard the second exiled this realme) to the title, name, and stile of duke of York.

During this feast, the duke of Bedford adioyned the king with the high order of knightshood, who on the same date dubbed with the sword these knights, whose names insue: Richard duke of York, John duke of Norfolk; the earle of Westmerland, Henrie lord Persie, John lord Butler, sonne to the earle of Dymond, the lord Kosse, the lord Batrauers, the lord Welles, the lord Barkelle, sir James Butler, sir Henrie Greie of Tankerville, sir John Talbot, sir Rafe Greie of Marke, sir Robert Wre, sir Richard Greie, sir Edmund Hungerford, sir Walter Wingfield, sir John Butler, sir Reginald Cobham, sir John Passhelen, sir Thomas Tunstall, sir John Chedocke, sir Rafe Langstre, sir William Dzurie, sir William ap Thomas, sir Richard Carnonell, sir Richard Wadville, sir John Shirdlow, sir Nicholas Blunket, sir William Cheintestice, sir William Babington, sir Rafe Butler, sir Robert Beauchampe, sir Edmund Trafford, sir John June these baron, and diuerse others.

After this solemne feast ended, a great aid and subsidie was granted for the continuance of the conquest in France, and so therevpon monie was gathered, and men were prepared in euery citie, towne, and countrie. During which businesse, Thomas duke of Excester, great vncle to the king, a right sage and

The duke of Excester died.

A. 11. y.

discreet counsellor, departed out of this mortal life, at his manor of Greenewich, and with all funerall pompe was conveyed through London to Berrie, and there buried. ¶ In the same yeare, also died the lady Elizabeth, halfe sister to the same duke, and of the whole blood with king Henrie the fourth, married first to the lord John Holland, duke of Excester, and after to the lord Janhope, buried at the blacke friers of London.

Fr. Thin.

1425

[Philip Morgan after the death of John Foxham (sometime treasurer of England, bishop of Elie and Durham, both which bishoprics, for any thing that I can yet see, he enjoyed both at one time) was made bishop of Elie in the yeare of our redemption 1425, in this sort. Henrie the sixt and manie of the nobilitie had written to the convent of the church of Elie, to chuse William Alnewicke (doctor of both lawes confessor to the king and keeper of the privie seale) to be their bishop. Notwithstanding which (they having more regard to their owne privileges and benefit) chose Peter the prior of Elie to succeed in the place of John Foxham. But none of both these enjoyed that roome; for Martin bishop of Rome (stepping into the matter to make the third part, neither favouring the kings motion, nor approving the monks election) removed this William Morgan from the see of Worcester into Elie, sometime called Helix: as I have seen it set downe in Saron characters in an ancient booke of the lives of saints written in the Saron tongue, about the yeare of Christ 1010, before the time of Edward the confessor, and much about the time of Albo Floriacensis. This Morgan sat at Elie nine yeares, twentie and six weeks, and foure daies, departing this life in his manour of Hatfield, in the yeare 1434, and was buried at the Charterhouse of London; being the twentie and fourth bishop that was installed in that place.]

1426

* Or rather
Goch.

John Winter.

While these things were thus a doing in England, the earle of Warwicke, lieutenant for the regent in France, entered into the countrie of Paine, & besieged the towne of Chateau de Loire, the which hostile to him was rendered, whereof he made captaine Mattheu Cough, esquier. After this, he took by assault the castell of Paiet, and gave it for his valiantnesse to John Winter esquier, and after that he conquered the castell of Lude, and made there captaine William Glafeldale gentleman. Here he was informed, that the Frenchmen were assembled in the countrie of Beaulle, whereupon he halted thitherwards to have given them battell, but they having knowledge of his approach, durst not abide to trie the matter with him by a pight field, but fled before he came nere them.

The earle of
Warwicke
made gouver-
nour of the
young king.

Anno Reg. 5.

1427

The earle in his returne won the castell of Pont-dubleau by surrender; where he left the valiant lord Willoughbie, and then returned to Paris. During which season, he was ordained by the three estates of the realme of England, to be gouvernour of the young king in the place of the duke of Excester deceased: howbeit, he did not as yet returne into England, but remained in France for a season, and achieved manie worthy enterprises. Whilste the lord regent of France was thus in England, meanes was made by the duke of Burgognie, for the delivrie of the duke of Alanson, taken at the battell of Verneuil, and now for the summe of two hundred thousand crownes he was set at libertie; but he would not by any meanes acknowledge the king of England to be his liege and soveraigne lord.

After that the duke of Bedford had set all things in good order in England, he took leave of the king, and together with his wife returned into France, first landing at Calis, where the bishop of Winchester (that also passed the seas with him) received the

habit, hat, and dignitie of a cardinal, with all ceremonies to it appertaining: which promotion, the late right despitefuling into the unreasonable ambitious mind of the man, that even from his youth was ever to checke at the highest: and also right well ascertained with what intollerable pride his head should soon be swollen under such a hat: did therefore all his life long keepe this prelat backe from that presumptuous estate. But now the king being young and the regent his friend, he obtained his purpose, to his great profit, and the impoverishing of the spiritualitie of his realme. For by a bull legantine, which he purchased from Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in manner had mouie but he: so that he was called the rich cardinal of Winchester.

After that the lord regent was arrived in France, the lord of Anstian, marshall of Britaine, assembled a great companie of the British nation, which fortified and repaired the towne of Pontorion: and after, the said marshall, with a thousand men, entered into the countrie of Constantine, and comming before the towne of Arranches, was encountered by the Englishmen of that garrison; & after long fight, his people were put to the worse, chased, and discomfited, and he himselfe taken prisoner in the field. The duke of Bedford, hearing that the towne of Pontorion, situate within two leagues of Pont Saint Michel, was well fortified, and strongly defended, sent thither the earle of Warwicke, accompanied with the lord Scales, and other valiant captains and souldiers, to the number of seaven thousand men, to besiege the towne; who so intrenched it on euerie side, that no man could scale neither in nor out.

The siege thus long continuing, vittels began to war scant in the English armie: wherefore the lord Scales, having in his companie sir John Harpeleite bailiffe of Constantine, sir William Brearton bailiffe of Caen, sir Rafe Tesson, sir John Carbonell, and three thousand good men of warre, departed from the siege to get vittels, powder, and other things necessary for their purpose. And as they were returning with their carriages by the sea coast, nere to Saint Michaels Mount, they suddenly were encountered by their enemies, whereof were chiefe, the baron of Coloses, the lord Daulebois, captaine of the said Mount, the lord Mountabon, the lord Pontburcher, the lord of Chateaugiron, the lord of Anthgnat, the lord of Chateaublan, with six thousand men of warre.

The lord Scales and his companie, perceiving themselves beset on the one side with the sea, & on the other with their enemies, alighted from their horses, and like courageous persons, there in an unspeakable furie, set on their enemies. The fight was fierce & cruel. The Englishmen kept themselves close together; so that their enemies could get no advantage of them. At the last, the lord Scales cried, *St. George they die*. Whereupon, the Englishmen took such courage, and the Frenchmen that fought before, were so dismayed, that they began to flee in deed. The Englishmen leaped on horse-backe, and followed them so, that they slew and took aboute eleven hundred persons, among the which were taken the baron of Coloses, the vicount of Rone, and others. The lord of Chateaugiron, with a Scottish captaine, & divers other men of name were slaine. After this victorie, the lord Scales with his vittels, provision, and prisoners, returned to the siege, where he was of the earle and other noble men toioulde received.

Whilste the siege continued thus before Pontorion, Christopher Hanson, and other souldiers of the garrison of Saint Susan, made a rode into the countrie of Anjou, and came to a castell called Hamfort, which

The lord of
Bedford
taken and his
people slaine
and imprisoned.Pontorion
rendered to
the English
men.* Or rather
Goch.On the one
part.

Enguerran.

castell was so pitulie scaled, that the capteine with-
in, and his companie, were taken or slaine, before
they knew of their enemies approaching. When know-
ledge hereof was given unto the Frenchmen which
were assembled, to the number of twentie thousand,
to raise the siege that late before Pontorson, they left
that enterprise, and went to recover the said castell
of Ramfort, and so comming before it, planted their
siege so on each side of it, that at length by composition
the Englishmen within, doubting to be taken by
force, rendered by the castell, having libertie to de-
part with bag and baggage.

Shortlie after, the lord of Rair, calling himselfe
lieutenant generall for the Dolphin, entered into
Spain with an armie of three thousand men, and by
force toke the castell of Malicorne, wherof was cap-
teine an Englishman, one Oliver Waterhouse. In
like manner, they toke the little castell of Lude, and
therein William Blackborne, lieutenant for Will-
iam Gladale esquire. After this, the Frenchmen re-
turned backe to the Dolphin, and kept not on their
journeie to Pontorson, for that they understood by es-
pials, that the earle of Marlowe, and the English-
men there, determined to give them battell, if they
once attempted to raise the siege. They within the
towne, being straitlie besieged, perceiving no like-
lihood of succours, and seeing the English armie daie-
lie increase, fell to treatie for doubt to be taken by
force, and so rendered the towne upon condition, that
they might depart with houlse and harnesse onelie.
Which being granted to them, the earle like a valiant
capteine entered into the towne, and there ap-
pointed for governors, the lord Ros, and the lord Talbot,
and leaving there a convenient garrison, returned to
the lord regent.

After the taking of this towne of Pontorson,
there was a league, and treatie concluded betwix
the regent and the duke of Britaine; by the articles
of which agreement, the townes of Pontorson and
saint James de Beuron were beaten downe to
the ground and razed. When the lord of Rair was
departed out of Spaine (as ye have heard) Christopher
Hanson, Philip Gough, Martin Goodricke, called the
Scaler, toke by stealth the castell of saint Laurence
de Spottiers. At the same time, when the capteine and
the most part of his companie were gone forth to
heare masse, in a church over against the same cas-
tell, and keeping themselves close, till the capteine
returned, they toke him as he was entered within
the first gate, & so was this castell stuffed with Eng-
lishmen, and capteine thereof was appointed sir
William Adhall.

The same season, sir John Fastolfe, gouvernour of
the countries of Anjou and Spaine, assembled a
great puissance of men warre, and laid siege before
the castell of saint Owen Disrais, beside the towne
of Laual; and after he had laine there ten daies, the
castell was delivered, they within departing with
their lives and armour onelie to them granted, by
the tenor of the composition, which they toke with
the same sir John Fastolfe. After the winning of
this castell, the Englishmen remoued to the strong
castell of Craule, and after twelue daies, they with-
in offered to yield the castell by a daie, if they were
not succoured by the Dolphin or his power: the offer
was taken and pledges deliuered.

When sir John Fastolfe returned in post to the
regent, aduertising him of this composition and ag-
reement; wherefore, the said regent raised a great
power to fight with the Frenchmen at the daie ap-
pointed, and in his companie were the earles of
Portaigne and Marlowe, the lord Ros and Tal-
bot, sir John Fastolfe, sir John Aubmond, sir John
Hatchiffe, and diuerse other, to the number of twen-

tie thousand men; and so marched forwards, in hope
to meet and joine battell with their aduersaries. But
the French power, being not far off from the place,
durst not approach. Wherefore, the regent sent to sir
John Fastolfe incontinentlie, to retrieve the castell:
but they within (contrarie to promise and appoint-
ment) had secretly vittelled & manned the place, and
so forsaking the pledges and their fellowes in armes,
refused to render the fortresse: wherefore, the pledges
were brought before their sight, and there before the
castell openly put to death.

After this the lord Talbot was made gouernour
of Anjou and Spaine, and sir John Fastolfe was as-
signed to an other place. This lord Talbot, being
both of noble birth, and of valiant courage, after his
comming into France, obtained so many glorious
victories of his enemies, that his onelie name was
yet so dreadfull to the French nation, and much re-
nowned amongst all other people. This justie and
most valiant capteine entered into Spaine, where he
slue men, destroyed castles, burnt townes, and in
conclusion suddenly toke the towne of Laual. The
lord Lochar, and diuerse other, withdrew into the cas-
tell, in the which they were so straitlie besieged, that
in the end they agreed to paye the lord Talbot an
hundred thousand crownes, for licence to depart,
with all their bag and baggage.

When this castell was delivered to the keeping of
Gilbert Hallsall, which after was slaine at the siege of
Dyleance, in whose place Matthew Gough was
made capteine there: who being at the iourneie of
Scutis, by treason of a miller that kept a mill ad-
joining to the wall, the Frenchmen entered into the
towne, and brought it againe into their subiection.
Now the duke of Bedford hearing that the towne of
Pontargis, in the territoirie of Dyleance, was but
scantlie kept, and not thoroughlie furnished, sent
the earle of Suffolk, with his brother sir John Pole,
and sir Henrie Bisset, having in their companie a
sir thousand men, to assalt that towne; but when they
came thither and found the towne both well man-
ned and stronglie fortified, contrarie to their expec-
tation, they successed from giving the assault, and
onelie laid their siege round about it.

The earle of Marlowe was appointed to lie
with a great number of men of warre, at S. Spar-
thelines de Archempe, to encounter the Frenchmen,
if they would attempt to aid or vittell those within
the towne. The situation of this towne was such,
that by reason of waters and marshes, the English
armie must needs sever it selfe into three parts, so
that the one could not easilie helpe the other, but ei-
ther by boats or bidges. This siege continued aboue
two moneths, so that in the meane time the French-
men had leasure to prouide for the succour thereof;
and so it came to passe, that the constable of France
Arthur of Britaine, the lord Boisac one of the mar-
shals, Stephan la Hire, Pothon de Saintreilles, the
lord Craule, and diuerse others, to the number of
three thousand horsemen, were sent forth by the
Dolphin.

These pitulie in the night season came on that
sode, where sir John de la Pole and sir Henrie Bisset
laie, whome they found so out of order, and without
good watch, that the Frenchmen entered into their
lodgings, slue many in their beds, and spared none,
for their resistance was but small. Sir John de la
Pole with his horse saved himselfe, and sir Henrie
Bisset escaped by a boat, and eight other with him.
The residue lying in plumpes, and straining to passe
by a bidge of timber, the which was pestered with
peeasse of the multitude, brake, and so there were a
great number drowned: insomuch that there were
laine by the enemies sword, and drowned in the wa-
ter

Hollages ex-
cused for pro-
misc broken.

The lord
Talbot, a
valiant cap-
teine.

* Or rather
Gough.

A great
slaughter by
negligence
of the watch
at Pontar-
gis.

The lord of
Rair
taken and his
people slaine
and discom-
ted.

Pontorson
rendered to
the English-
men.

* Or rather
Gough.

hot fire
ing.

in the centre
of the daie.

guarant.

ter, sixtēne hundred men.

The earle of Warwicke hearing of this misfortune, departed from saint Mathelines with all speed, and comming before Pontargis, offered battell to the French capitaine, which answered, that they had maner and vittelles the towne, and intended to do no more at that time. The Englishmen hereupon came forth backe againe with all their ordnance to the duke of Bedford, who had not the French so great cause to vaunt of their successe: for at this verie time, Sir Nicholas Burdet, appointed by the duke of Sum-
Sir Nicholas Burdet, Polydor.
 meret to indamage his enemies in the coaste of Brittain, sent his men into euery part, working all the displeasure to the people that might be devised. The countie, through which he passed, was wasted: the townes were burnt, the houses spoiled, and great number of prisoners taken, the small villages were sacked, and the wasted townes ransomed, and so without hurt or damage the said Sir Nicholas Burdet returned into Normantie.

These newes being signified to the constable, and other the French capitaine, allayed their great wrath and triumphant joy, conceived for the victory of Pontargis, that both they were to attempte and further enterprises against the English nation. But the duke of Alanson, who (as ye haue heard) was latelye deliuered out of captiuitie, returned againe the pulled spirits of the Dolphin, and somewhat aduanced, in hope of good speed, the fainting hartes of his capitaine; so that (some occasion offered) they determined to atchieue a notable feat (as they took it) against the Englishmen, which was the recoverye of the citie of Orlans out of their hands: for so it happened, that diuers of the chiefe rulers in that citie, and namelie diuerse spirittuall persons, meaning to revolt to the Dolphin the, aduertised him by letters of their whole minde, which letters were conueied vnto him by certēne friers.

The Dolphin glad of those newes, appointed the lord de la Beche and Faget, marshall of France, accompanied with the lords of Mount Jehan, of Beuil, Dornall, Lofle, Beaumanoir, the Bre, and his brother Guillaime, with five hundred other valiant capitaine and souldiers, to the accomplishing of this enterprise; who comming thither at the date assigned, in the night season approached towards the walles, making a little fire on an hill, in sight of the towne, to signifie their comming, which perceiued by the citizens that nere to the great church were watching for the same, a burning cresset was shewed out of the steeple, which suddenlye was put out and quenched. That needeth manie wordes.

Orlans lost by treason of the citizens.

The capitaine on horsebacke came to the gate, the traitors within shew the porters and watchmen, and let in their friends, whereby the French entered first, and the men of armes waited at the barriers, to the intent that if need required, they might fight it out in open field. Hereby manie Englishmen were slaine, & a great crye and garboile raised through the towne, as in such surprises is wont. The cause of this mischance was not knowne to any, but onelie to the conspirators; for the remnant of the citizens being no partakers, imagined, that the Englishmen had made haucke in the towne, and put all to the sword. The Englishmen on the other side iudged, that the citizens had begun some new rebellion against them, or else had fallen amongst themselves.

The earle of Suffolke, which was gouernour of the towne, hauing perfect knowledge by such as escaped from the wals, how the matter went, withdrew without any tarriance into the castell, which standeth at the gate of saint Vincent, thereof was constable Thomas Colver esquier, whither also fled manie Englishmen; so as for byging of the enimie, prease

of the number, and lacke of vittells, they could not haue endured long: wherefore they pitifully sent a messenger to the lord Talbot, which then late at Alanson, certifieng him in how hard a case they were. The lord Talbot hearing these newes, like a careful capitaine in all hast assembled together about seuen hundred men, & in the evening departed from Alanson, so as in the morning he came to a castell called Cuiorch, two miles from Orlans, and there staid a while, till he had sent out Mathew Cough as an espiall, to vnderstand how the Frenchmen demeaned themselves.

Mathew Cough so well sped his business, that prustie in the night he came into the castell, where he learned that the Frenchmen were negligent to see themselves without taking heed to their watch, as though they had bene out of all danger: which well vnderstood, he returned againe, and within a mile of the citie met the lord Talbot, and the lord Stales, and opened vnto them all things, according to his credence. The lords then, to make hast in the matter, because the date approached, with all speed possible came to the posterne gate, and alighting from their horses, about six of the clocke in the morning, they issued out of the castell, crying saint George, Talbot.

The Frenchmen being thus suddenlye taken, were so amazed, in so much that some of them, being not out of their beds, got vp in their shifts, and leapt vnder the walles. Other ran naked out of the gates to save their liues, leauing all their apparell, horses, armour, and riches behind them, none was hurt but such as resisted. A hard shift was made on all hands for safetie of life, & hapie was he that could find a place of refuge where to lurke vnsifted and vnhurt of the enimie; who in the execution of their vengeance were so petympoize, that it was a matter of great difficultie or rather impossibilitie to escape their force. To be short, there were slaine and taken, the number of foure hundred gentlemen, the priuat souldiers were frankelie let go. After this, inquisition was made of the authors of the treason, and there were found & condemned thirtie citizens, twentie priests, and sixtēne friers, who according to their demerits were all hanged.

The citie of Orlans being thus recovered, the lord Talbot returned to Alanson, and shortlye after the earle of Warwicke departed into England, to be gouernour of the young king, in stead of Thomas duke of Excester, latelye departed to God, and then was the lord Thomas Montacute earle of Salisburie sent into France, to supplie the roome of the said earle of Warwicke, who landed at Calis with five thousand men, and so came to the duke of Bedford as then lying in Paris, where they fell in counsell together concerning the affaires of France, and namelie the earle of Salisburie began manuellouslie to shew the gainting of the citie & countrie of Orlance.

This earle was the man at that time, by whose wit, strength, and policie, the English name was much fearefull and terrible to the French nation, which of himselfe might both appoint, command, and do all things in manner at his pleasure, in whose power (as it appeares after his death) a great part of the conquest consisted: for, merlie, he was a man both painefull, diligent, and ready to withstand all dangerous chanches that were at hand, prompt in counsell, and of courage inuincible, so that in no one man, men put more trust; no; any singular person wote the parts so much of all men.

Hereupon, after this great enterprise had long bene debated in the priue counsell, the earle of Salisburie demie therein was of them all granted and allowed, so that he being replenished with good hope of victory, and furnished with artillerie & munition apper-

W. P.
Les grandes
chroniques de
Bretaigne.

Anno Reg. 7.
Orlance be-
sieged.
Talbot of
Orlance.

Orlans was
taken.
Abr. Fl.

Tristram
cruc.

Anno Reg. 4.
Duke of
Berkshire
1428

Agamemnon
earle of
Salisbury
1428

rather
be,
the,W. P.
Les grandes
chroniques de
Bourgoigne.Anno Reg. 7.
Dileance de
Gugon.
Ballard of
Dileance.ms recor
D.

Fl.

A bulwourke
at Dileance
taken.
Abr. Fl.uttopis ep
ed.

o Reg. 6.

ze of Ep
re deale

4 2 8

statute
of Dile
re a pe
and bu
man.

apertaining to so great an enterprise, accompanied with the earle of Suffolke, and the lord Talbot, and with a valiant armie, to the number of ten thousand men, departed from Paris, and passed through the countie of Beaulieu. There he took by assault, the towne of Crenelle, and within five daies after had the castell deliuered unto him, by them that were fled into it for their safegard. He also took the towne of Baugencie, suffering every man which would be come subiect to the king of England, to intioie their lands and goods. The towne of Meun upon Loire, and Jargeaulx, hearing of these doings, presented to them the keys of their towne upon like agreement. [About this time in this 4 2 8, the towne of Baunts and territories there with a fearefull earthquake were shaken, houses castles and strong buildings, in such terrour, as it was thought the end of the world had bene come.]

After this, in the moneth of September the earle came before the citie of Dileance, and planted his siege on the one side of the river of Loire, but before his coming, the ballard of Dileance, the bishop of the citie, and a great number of Scots, hearing of the earles intent, made diuerse fortifications about the towne, and destroyed the suburbs, in which were twelve parish churches, and foure orders of friers. They cut also downe all the vines, trees, and bushes, within five leagues of the citie, so that the Englishmen should haue neither refuge nor succour.

After the siege had continued full three weekes, the ballard of Dileance issued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Englishmen; but they received him with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with all his companie compelled to retire and flee backe into the citie. But the Englishmen followed so fast, in killing and taking of their enemies, that they entered with them. ¶ The bulwourke of the bridge, with a great tower standing at the end of the same, was taken incontinentlie by the Englishmen, who behaued themselves right valiantlie vnder the conduct of their courageous capteine, as at this assault, so in diuerse skirmishes against the French; partly to keepe possession of that which Henrie the sixt had by his magnanimitie & puissance achieved, as also to enlarge the same. But all helped not. For who can hold that which will atwaie? In so much that some cities by fraudulent practises, other some by martiall prowesse were recovered by the French, to the great discouragement of the English and the appalling of their spirits; whose hope was now dashed partly by their great losses and discomfitures (as after you shall heare) but chiefly by the death of the late deceased Henrie their victorious king; as Chr. Okland herie true lie and agreeable to the storie noteth:

*Dolphinus, comit' que eius fera praelia tentant,
Fraude domi capiant alias, virtute recepta
Sunt urbes alia quiddam, sublapsa referunt
Anglum spes retro, languescere pectora dicat,
Quippe erat Henricus quintus, dux strenuus olim,
Mortuum: hinc damni grauior causa atque doloris.*

In this conflict, manie Frenchmen were taken, but moze were slaine, and the keeping of the towne and bulwourke was committed to William Glasdale esquier. By the taking of this bridge the passage was stopped, that neither men nor vittels could go or come by that waie. After this, the earle caused certeine bulwokes to be made round about the towne, casting trenches betwene the one and the other, laicng ordinance in euerie place where he saw that any batterie might be deuised. When they within saw that they were enuironed with fortresses and ordinance, they laid gun against gun, and fortified towers against bulwokes, and within cast new rampiers, and fortified themselves as stronglie as might be deuised.

The ballard of Dileance and the fire were appointed to see the walles and watches kept, and the bishop saw that the inhabitants within the citie were put in good order, and that vittels were not vainelie spent. In the tower that was taken at the bridge end (as before you haue heard) there was an high chamber, hauing a grate full of barres of iron, by the which a man might looke all the length of the bridge into the citie; at which grate manie of the
10 these capteins stood manie times, biewing the citie, and deuising in what place it was best to giue the assault. They within the citie well perceived this watching hole, and laid a peece of ordinance directlie against the window.

It so chanced, that the nine and fiftith daie after the siege was laid, the earle of Salisburie, sir Thomas Cargraue, and William Glasdale, with diuerse other went into the said tower, and so into the high chamber, and looked out at the grate, and within a short space, the sonne of the maister-gunner, perceiving men looking out at the window, took his match (as his father had taught him) who was gone downe to dinner, and fired the gun; the shot whereof brake, and shinered the iron barres of the grate, so that one of the same bars strake the earle so violently on the head, that it stroke atwaie one of his eyes, and the side of his cheeke. Sir Thomas Cargraue was likewise stricken, and died within two daies.

The earle of
Salisburie
slaine.

The earle was conueied to Meun on Loire, where
30 after eight daies he likewise departed this world, whose bodie was conueied into England with all funerall appointment, and buried at Wilsam by his progenitois, leaving behind him an onelie daughter named Alice, married to Richard Beuill, sonne to Rafe earle of Westmerland, of whose moze shall be said hereafter. The damage that the realme of England receiued by the losse of this noble man, manifestlie appeared; in that immediatlie after his death, the prosperous good lucke, which had followed the
40 English nation, began to decline, and the glorie of their victories gotten in the parties beyond the sea fell in decaye.

Though all men were sorrowfull for his death, yet the duke of Bedford was most stricken with heavinesse, as he that had lost his onelie right hand, and chiefe aid in time of necessitie. But sith that dead men cannot helpe the chances of men that be liuing, he like a prudent gouernour appointed the earle of Suffolke to be his lieutenant and capteine of the siege, and joined with him the lord Scroales, the lord Talbot, sir John Fastolfe, and diuerse other right valiant capteins. These persons caused bastilles to be made round about the citie, and lest nothing vnattempted, that might aduance their purpose, which to bring to wished effect there was not arie want, as of no cautelous policie, so of no valiant enterprise, tending to the enemies overthrow.

In the Lent season, vittels and artillerie began to waiescant in the English campe, wherefore the earle
60 of Suffolke appointed sir John Fastolfe, sir Thomas Kampston, and sir Philip Hall, with their retinues, to ride to Paris, to the lord regent, to informe him of their lacke, who incontinentlie vpon that information prouided vittels, artillerie, and munitions necessarie, and lobed therewith manie chariots, carts, and horses: and for the sure conueiung of the same, he appointed sir Simon Dordier, prouost of Paris, with the gard of the citie, and diuerse of his owne household-feruants to accompanie sir John Fastolfe and his complices, to the armie lieng at the siege of Dileance. They were in all to the number of sixtene hundred men, of the which there were not past
five or six hundred Englishmen.

These departing in good order of battell out of Paris,

Enguecrant.

ris, came to Gernille in Beaulle, and in a morning earlie, in a great frost, they departed from thence toward the siege; and when they came to a towne called Roubaie, in the lands of Beaulle, they perceived their enemies coming towards them, being to the number of nine or ten thousand of Frenchmen and Scots, of whom were capitaine Charles of Clermont, sonne to the duke of Bourbon then being prisoner in England; sir William Stewart constable of Scotland, a little before deliuered out of captivity, the earle of Derby, the lord John Maudslowe, the Widame of Chartres, the lord of Tournes, the lord of Lohar, the lord of Egler, the lord of Beauieu, the bastard Tremolle, and manie other valiant capitaine.

Wherefore sir John Fastolfe set all his companie in good order of battell, and pitched stakes before euerie archer, to breake the force of the horsemen. At their backes they set all the wagons and carriages, and within them they tied all their horses. In this manner stood they still, abiding the assault of their enemies. The Frenchmen by reason of their great number, thinking themselves sure of the victorie, eagerly set on the Englishmen, which with great force them received, and themselves manfully defended. At length, after long and cruell fight, the Englishmen drove backe and vanquished the proud Frenchmen, a compelled them to flee. In this conflict were slain the lord William Stewart constable of Scotland, and his brother the lord Donalle, the lord Chateaubrian, sir John Baskot, and other Frenchmen and Scots, to the number of five and twentie hundred, and aboute eleuen hundred taken prisoners, although the French writers affirme the number lesse.

After this fortunate victorie, sir John Fastolfe and his companie (having lost no one man of any reputation) with all their carriages, vittels, and prisoners, marched forth and came to the English campe before Dyleance, where they were safely received, and highly commended for their valiance and worthy prowesse shewed in the battell; the which because most part of the carriage was herring and lenton stiffe, the Frenchmen called it the battell of herrings. The earle of Suffolke being thus vittelled, continued the siege, and euerie daie almost skirmished with the Frenchmen within, who (at length being in despair of all succours) offered to treat, and in conclusion, to save themselves and the citie from captivity of their enemies, they desired to submit the citie, themselves, and all theirs under the obedience of Philip duke of Burgogny, because he was extract out of the stocke and blood roiall of the ancient kings of France, thinking by this means (as they did in deed) to breake or diminish the great amitie betweene the Englishmen and him.

This offer was signified by them unto the duke of Burgogny, who with thanks certified them againe, that he would gladly receive them, if the lord regent would therewith be contented. Whereupon he dispatched messengers to the duke of Bedford, who though some counselled that it should be verie good and necessarie for him to agree to that manner of yielding; yet he and other thought it neither convenient nor honourable, that a citie so long besieged by the king of England, should be deliuered unto any other prince, than to him, or to his regent, for that might be a verie bad president to other townes in any like case. Whereupon the regent answered the Burgognyan ambassadoys: that after so long a siege on his part, and obstinate resistance of theirs, he might not receive rendering and conditions at their appointment. At this answer the duke being the groine, as concluding that our side should envie his glorie, or not to be so forward in advancing his honour as he

would have it.

In time of this siege at Dyleance (French writers saye) the first weeke of March 1428, unto Charles the Dolphin, at Chinon where he was in verie great care and studie how to winne against the English nation, by one Peter Badiouart capitaine of Gasconie, (made after marshall of France by the Dolphin's creation) was carried a pretty French of an eightieth yeeres old, called Jone Dompzin, the name of his father (a soyle shepheard) James of Arc, and Isabell his mother, brought up by peltrie in their trade of keeping cat-tell, borne at Dompzin (wherefore reported by Bale Jone Dompzin) upon Denise in Lorraine within the diocesse of Thoul. His name was the counted like some, of person stronglike made and manlie, of courage great, hardie, and stout withall, an understander of counsels though he were not at them, great semblance of chastitie both of bodie and behaviour, the name of Jesus in his mouth about all his businesses, humble, obedient, and fasting diuerse daies in the weeke. A person (as their bookes make him) raised up by power diuine, onely for succour to the French estate then depelle in distresse, in whom, for planning a credit the rather, first the companie that toward the Dolphin did conduct him, through places all dangerous, as holden by the English, where the neuer was afore, all the waie and by nightertale safely did the lead: then at the Dolphins sending by his assignement, from saint Batharins church of Fierbois in Touraine (where the neuer had bene and knew not) in a secret place there among old iron, appointed the his sword to be sought out and brought him, that with five shoures delices was grauen on both sides, therewith he fought & did manie slaughters by his owne hands. On what far rode he in armour cap a pie & mulleted as a man, before him an ensigne all white, wherein was Jesus Christ painted with a shoure delice in his hand.

Unto the Dolphin into his gallerie when first he was brought, and he shadowing himselfe behind, setting other gate lords before him to trie his cunning from all the companie, with a salutation (that indeed marvell all the matter) he pickt him out alone, who thereupon had him to the end of the gallerie, where he held him an houre in secret and private talke, that of his private chamber was thought verie long, and therefore would have broken it off; but he made them a signe to let him see on. In which (among other) as likelike it was, the Satour unto him the singular feats (for sooth) given him to understand by revelation diuine, that in vertue of that sword he should achieve, which were, how with hono: and victorie he would raise the siege at Dyleance, set him in state of the crowne of France, and drive the English out of the countie, thereby he to intole the kingdome alone. Whereupon he hartens at full, appointed him a sufficient armie with absolute power to lead them, and they obedientlie to do as he had them. Then fell he to worke, and first defeated indeed the siege at Dyleance, by and by encouraged him to crowne himselfe king of France at Reims, that a little before from the English he had wonne. Thus after pursued the manie bold enterprises to our great displeasure a two yeares together, for the time he kept in state until he were taken and for herse and withcherte burned: as in particularities hereafter followeth. But in his prime time he armed at all points (like a folie capitaine) roade from Poitiers to Blois, and there found men of warre, vittels, and munition, readie to be conueied to Dyleance.

Here was it knowne that the Englishmen kept not so diligent watch as they had bene accustomed to do, and therefore this man (with other French capitaine) comming forward in the dead time of the night

1500 English
did slay and
vanquish 10000
French.

The battell of
herrings.

W. P.

W. P.
Lehi de Tice
Les chroni-
de Breange
Le Robert
terry him
bert.

Jone de Arc
Pucell de Orlans
In vita Domp-
vica.

Grand chro.

From the
to foot.

This saluta-
tion apper-
after batt.

Les grand
chronic.

The siege of
Dyleance
broken by.

night, and in a great raine and thunder entred into the citie with all their vittels, artillerie, and other necessaries provisions. The next daie the Englishmen boldie assaunted the towne, but the Frenchmen defended the walles so, as no great feat worthe of memorie chanced that daie betwixt them, though the Frenchmen were amazed at the valiant attempt of the Englishmen, wherupon the baron of Orlance gaue knowledge to the duke of Alanson, in what danger the towne stood without his present helpe, who comming within two leagues of the citie, gaue knowledge to them within, that they should be ready the next daie to receiue him.

This accordingly was accomplished: for the Englishmen willingly suffered him and his armie also to enter, supposing that it should be for their advantage to haue so great a multitude to enter the citie, wherby their vittels (whereof they within had great scarcitie) might the sooner be consumed. On the next daie in the morning, the Frenchmen altogether issued out of the towne, wone by assault the bastille of saint Lou, and set it on fire. And after they likewise assaulted the tower at the bridge foot, which was manfully defended. But the Frenchmen (more in number) at length took it, yet the lord Talbot could come to the succours, in the which William Gladel dale the capteine was slaine, with the lord Hollins, and lord Poinsings also.

The Frenchmen pushed vp. with this good lucke, fetched a compass about, and in good order of battell marched toward the bastille, which was in the keeping of the lord Talbot: the which upon the enemies approach, like a capteine without all feare or dread of that great multitude, issued forth against them, and gaue them so sharpe an encounter, that they not able to withstand his puissance, fled (like sheepe before the wolfe) againe into the citie, with great losse of men and small artillerie. Of Englishmen were lost in the two battiles, to the number of six hundred persons, or thereabout, though the French writers multiplie this number of hundreds to thousands; as their manner is.

The earle of Suffolke, the lord Talbot, the lord Scales, and other captains assembled together in counsell, and after causes shewed to and fro, it was amongst them determined to leaue their fortresses and battiles, and to assemble in the plaine field, and there to abide all the daie, to see if the Frenchmen would issue forth to fight with them. This conclusion taken was accordingly executed: but when the Frenchmen durst not once come forth to shew their heads, the Englishmen set fire of their lodgings, and departed in good order of battell from Orlance. The next daie, which was the eight daie of Maie, the earle of Suffolke rode to Jargeaur with foure hundred Englishmen, and the lord Talbot with an other companie returned to Mehun. And after he had fortified that towne, he went to the towne of Lauall, & towne it, together with the castell, for punishing the townsmen for their cankered obstinacie against them.

Thus when the Englishmen had severed themselves into garrisons, the duke of Alanson, the baron of Orlance, Jone le Pussell, the lord Gaiw court, and diuerse other captains of the Frenchmen, came the twelfth daie of June, before the towne of Jargeaur, where the earle of Suffolke and his two brethren sojourned, & gaue to the towne so fierce an assault on thre parts, that Poiton de Sentrailes, perceiving an other part bold of defendants, scaled the wals on that side, and without difficultie took the towne, and slue sir Alexander Poole, brother to the earle, and manie other, to the number of two hundred. But the Frenchmen gained not much thereby, for they lost thre hundred good men and more. Of the

Englishmen fortie were taken, with the earle and his other brother named John.

The Frenchmen, as they returned to Orlance, fell at variance for their prisoners, and slue them all, saving the earle and his brother. Shortly after, the same French armie came to Mehun, where they took the tower at the bridge foot, and put therein a garrison. From thence they remoued to Baugencie, and constrained them that were within the towne to yeld, upon condition they might depart with bag and baggage. At the same place there came to the duke of Alanson, the new constable Arthur of Britaine, and with him the lord Walbret, and other. Also after this the earle of Wandosme came to them, so that by the daile repaire of such as assembled together to strengthen the French part, they were in all to the number betwene twentie and thre and twentie thousand men.

All which being once ioined in one armie, shortly after fought with the lord Talbot (who had with him not past six thousand men) nere vnto a village in Beaulle called Pataie: at which battell the charge was giuen by the French so vpon a sudden, that the Englishmen had not leisure to put themselves in a rate, after they had put up their stakes before their archers, so that there was no remedie but to fight at aduventure. This battell continued by the space of thre long houres: for the Englishmen, though they were overpressed with multitude of their enemies, yet they neuer fled backe one foot, till their capteine the lord Talbot was sore wounded at the backe, and so taken.

When their hearts began to faint, and they fled, in which flight were slaine aboue twelue hundred, and fortie taken, of whome the lord Talbot, the lord Scales, the lord Hungerford, & sir Thomas Kampston were chiefe. Diuerse archers, after they had shot all their arrowes, hauing onelie their swords, defended themselves, and with helpe of some of their horsemen came safe to Mehun. This overthrow, and specially the taking of the lord Talbot, did not so much reioice the Frenchmen; but it did as much abash the Englishmen: so that immediatlie thereupon, the townes of Jennie, Mehun, Fort, and diuerse other, returned from the English part, and became French. From this battell departed without anie stroke striken sir John Fastolfe, the same yeare for his valiantnesse elected into the order of the garter. But for doubt of misdealing at this hunt, the duke of Bedford took from him the image of saint George, and his garter; though afterward by meanes of friends, and apparant causes of good excuse, the same were to him againe deliuered against the mind of the lord Talbot.

Charles the Dolphin that called himselfe French, perceiving fortune to smile thus vpon him, assembled a great power, and determined to conquer the citie of Reimes, that he might be there sacred, crowned, and anointed, according to the custome of his progenitors, that all men might iudge that he was by all lawes and decrees a iust and lawfull king. In his waie thitherwards he besieged the citie of Arrerre, the citizens whereof compounded with him to yeld, if they were not rescued within certeine daies. From thence he came before Trois, and after twelue daies siege had that citie deliuered vnto him, by composition, that the capteine sir Philip Hall (with his people and moneables) might depart in safetie. After that Trois was yelded, the communalte of Chaalons rebelled against sir John Aubemond their capteine, and constrained him to deliuer the towne vpon like composition. In semblable manner did they of Reimes, desiring him to giue safe conduct to all the Englishmen safelie to depart. When Reimes was

Prisoners
slaine by the
French as
they were
taken.

Nichol. Gilles.
Five thousand
saith Hall.

Great losse on
the English side
The lords
Talbot,
Scales, and
Hungerford
taken.

The siege of
Orlance
broken vp.

The French
king crowned.

was thus become French, the foresaid Charles the
Welshin in the presence of the dukes of Lorraine and
Barre, and of all the noble men of his faction, was
sacred there king of France by the name of Charles
the seaventh, with all rites and ceremonies thereto
belonging. They of Aurere, when the terme of their
appointment was expired, submitted themselves to
him; and so likewise did all the cities and townes ad-
joining.

One taken to
be a witch.

The duke of Bedford advertised of all these doings, 10
assembled his power about him, and having together
ten thousand good Englishmen (beside Normans)
departed out of Paris in warlike fashion, & passing
through Byie to Mondreault Ponne, sent by
his herald Bedford, letters to the French king, si-
gnifying to him; that where he had (contrarie to the
small conclusion accorded betwene his noble bro-
ther H. Henrie the sixt, & king Charles the first, father
to him that was the usurper) by allurement of a di-
velly witch, taken upon him the name, title, & digni-
tie of the king of France; and further had by mur-
ther, stealing, craft, and deceitfull meanes, violent-
lie gotten, and wrongfullie kept diuerse cities and
townes belonging to the king of England his ne-
phew; for proofe thereof he was come downe from
Paris with his armie, into the countrie of Byie, by
 dint of sword and stroke of battell to proue his wri-
ting and cause true, willing his ennemie to chuse the
place, and in the same he would giue him battell.

The new French king being come from Reimes 30
to Dampmartine, studieng how to compasse them
of Paris, was halfe abashed at this message. But yet
to let a good countenance on the matter, he answer-
ed the herald, that he would sooner seeke his master,
than his maister should need to pursue him. The duke
of Bedford hearing this answer, marched toward the
king, and pitched his field in a strong place. The
French king though at the first he meant to haue a
bidden battell; yet when he understood that the duke
was equall to him in number of people, he changed
his purpose, and turned with his armie a little out
of the waile. The duke of Bedford, perceiuing his faint
courage, followed him by the hills and dales, till he
came to a towne not far from Senlis, where he found
the French king and his armie lodged; wherefore he
ordered his battels like an expert chesseine in mar-
tiall science, setting the archers before, and himselfe
with the noblemen in the maine battell, and put the
Normans on both sides for wings. The French
king also ordered his battels with the aduise of his
captains.

The French
armie fled in
the night.
Boheme.

Thus these two armies late two daies and two
nights either in sight of other, without anie great
doing, except a few skirmishes, wherein the dukes
light horsemen did vertie valiantlie. At length in the
dead of the night (as yf it were as might be) the French
king brake up his campe, and fled to Byie. The duke
of Bedford had much adoe to staie his people in the
morning from pursuit of the French armie: but for
that he mistrusted the Parisiens, he would not de-
part farre from that citie, and so returned thither a-
gaine. ¶ In this season pope Martin the first of that
name, meaning to subdue the Bohemers that dis-
sented from the church of Rome in matters of reli-
gion, appointed Henrie Beaufort Bishop of Win-
chester & cardinal of saint Eusebie, to be his legat
in an armie that should invade the kingdome of
Boheme, and to bring a power of men with him out
of England. And because the warre touched reli-
gion, he licenced the cardinall to take the tenth part
of euery spirituall dignitie, benefice, and promo-
tion.

This matter was opened in the parlement house,
and assented to: whereupon the bishop gathered the

monie, and assembled foure thousand men & above,
not without great grudge of the people, which daile
were with tallages and aids wearied and sore burde-
ned. As this bishop was come to Douer ready to
passe the seas over into Flanders, the duke of Glo-
cester hauing receiued letters from the duke of Bed-
ford, containing an earnest request to releue him
with some speedie aid of men of warre, was con-
strained to write vnto the bishop of Winchester,
willing him in time of such need, when all stood upon
losse or gaine, to passe with all his armie toward the
duke of Bedford, to assist him against his aduersa-
ries; which thing done, and to his honour achieved, he
might performe his iourne against the vngardians
Bohemers. The cardinall (though not well contented
with this countermand) yet least he should run
into the note of infamie, if he refused to aid the re-
gent of France in so great a cause, passed over with
his power, and brought the same vnto his cosine to
the citie of Paris.

About the same season, the French king, in hope
to be receiued into the townes of Campaigne and
Beauuois (by reason of the fauour and good will
which the inhabitants bare towards him) was come
with an armie towards Campaigne. Whereof the
duke of Bedford being advertised, and hauing now
his host augmented with the new supplie, which the
cardinall had of late brought vnto him, marched for-
ward with great speed toward the place where he un-
derstood the French king was lodged: and coming
to Senlis, he perceiued how his enemies were in-
camped upon the mount Blioth, betwene Senlis
and Campaigne.

Here might either armie behold the other: where-
upon for the avoiding of dangers that might insue,
the campes were fenced, and the battels pitched,
and the fields ordered as though they should haue
tried the matter by battell: but nothing was done
except with skirmishes, in the which the Normans
sore vexed the Frenchmen; and therefore receiued
great commendations & praises of the lord regent:
who undoubtedly determined to haue giuen battell
to his enemies if they would haue abidden it. But af-
ter the armies had thus lien either in sight of other,
for the space of two daies together, the French king
not determining to aduenture in an open battell the
whole chance of the game, least he might thereby re-
ceiue a perpetuall checkmate, in the night season re-
moued his campe, and fled to Crespe, though his
number was double to the English armie. The duke
of Bedford, seeing that the French king was thus
cowardlie recoiled with all his power and armie, re-
turned againe to Paris, euer suspecting the deceit-
full faith of the Parisiens.

The bishop of Winchester, after that the French
king was retreated backe, went into Boheme, and
there did somewhat, though hostlie after without a-
nie great praise or gaine he returned into England,
more glad of his coming backe than of his aduan-
cing forward. Anon after the pope vblegated him,
and set an other in his place, whereof he was no-
thing contented. On the first daie of Nouember, be-
ing the daie of saint Leonard, king Henrie in the
eight yeare of his reigne was at Westminster with
all pompe and honour crowned king of this realme
of England. In the same yere the French king was
receiued into the towne of Campaigne, and hostlie
after were the townes of Senlis and Beauuois reu-
dered to him. And the lord Longueuall toke by selfe
the castell of Amarie, and due all the Englishmen
within it.

Also about the same time, the Frenchmen recou-
red castell Gallard south of the Englishmens hands,
where the lord Barbacon was found in a dungeon,
inclosed

Parlement
at Rome cal-
led by the
duke of Bed-
ford.

The French
got saint De-
vis.

One had a
part in the leg
and a fall,
spawes all
buried out of
the mire.

Anno Reg.

Bohemia.

The pope had
vblegated the
cardinal of
Winchester,
H. Beaufort
cardinal of
Winchester.

Thom. W.

inclosed within a great grate of iron like to a little chamber, and forthwith they brake open the grate: but Barbason would not come forth; because he had given his faith and promise to one Kingston that was capteine of that fortresse for the king of England, to be true prisoner, untill the Frenchmen had sent to the same Kingston (that was departed upon such covenants as they were agreed upon at the belluerie of that fortresse) willing him to come backe againe upon safe conduct. Which at their earnest request he did, and withall discharged the lord Barbason of his oath; and so then he came forth, and remained at his libertie, to the great reioicing of the Frenchmen, which iudged that he had bene rather dead than alive all that time of his imprisonment.

About the same time also the French king sought by all meanes possible to breake the amitie betwixt the realme of England, and the house of Burgognie. Whereof the duke of Bedford having intelligence, thought it stood him upon the more earnestlie to looke to his charge; and namelie as it were an anchorhold, he determined to provide that he might defend and safelie keepe the duchie of Normandie, and therefore appointing the bishop of Terrowen and Elie, named Elwes of Lutzenburgh, chancelor for king Henrie of the realme of France, to remaine at Paris upon the defense of that citie, with a convenient number of Englishmen, he departed into Normandie, and coming to Rone, called a parlement there of the three estates of the duchie, in the which he declared manie things unto them, touching the happie life, and great freedom which they might be assured to enjoy, so long as they continued under the English obedience: and therefore he exhorted them to abide constant in their allegiance, faith, and promise made and swoyne to his noble brother king Henrie the sixt.

Whilste the duke of Bedford was busie to retaine the Normans in their due obedience, the French king departed from Senlis; and coming to the towne of Saint Denis, found it in maner desolate, so that he entered there without resistance, and lodged his armie at Mount Martyr and Amberguilliers, nere unto the citie of Paris; and from thence sent John duke of Alanson, and his sorerelle Jone la Pucelle, with three thousand light horsemen to assault the citie, and followed himselve, in hope to get it, either by force or treatie. But the English captains, everie one keeping his ward and place assigned, so manfully defended themselves, their walles and towers, with the assistance of the Parisiens, that they repelled the Frenchmen, and theyr doone Jone their great goddesse into the bottome of the towne ditch, where the lay behind the backe of an asse sore hurt in the leg, till the time that she (all filthie with urine and durt) was draine out by Gulschard of Thienzone, servant to the duke of Alanson.

The French king, perceiuing that he could not prevaile in this enterprise, left the dead bodies behind him, and taking with him the wounded captains, returned into Berrie. But in the meane waie, the inhabitants of Laigrie submitted themselves unto him. The duke of Bedford being in Normandie, hearing of this sudden attempt, with all hast possible came to Paris, where he gave manie great thanks, with high commendations unto the captains, soldiers and citizens for their assured fidelitie, great hardihood and manlie doing. Which his gentle words so encouraged the hearts of the Parisiens, that they swore, promised and concluded, to be friends for ever to the king of England and his friends, and enemies allwaies to his foes and aduersaries, making proclamation by this stile: Friends to K. Henrie, friends to the Parisiens, Enemies to England, enemies to

Paris. Marie whether this was uttered from their hearts, it is hard so to saie, for the sequela of their acts seemed to proue the contrarie.

Some after these doings, came to Paris with a great companie Philip duke of Burgognie, and then upon long consultation had for the recouerie of their losses, it was agreed that the duke of Bedford should raise an armie, & that the duke of Burgognie should be his deputie, and tarie at Paris for the defense of the citie. The duke of Bedford then without any great resistance recouered againe the towne of Saint Denis, with diuerse other fortresses. And after this he sent the bastard of Clarence to laie siege to the castell of Lozlie, the which (notwithstanding the great strength thereof) after six moneths siege, was rendered by into his hands. During the siege of this castell, sir Thomas Iairrell knight, with foure hundred Englishmen departed from Courneie in Normandie, and rode by Beaunois, spoiling and waisting the countie to the suburbs of Cleremont. Whereof the earle of that towne having aduertisement, assembled all the men of warre of the garrisons adjoining, and with the same set forward to fight with the Englishmen, whom he found in a streit place nere to Beaunois.

The earle of Cleremont, perceiuing that he could not hurt them with his men of armes, by reason of the strength, came doone on foot with all his companie, and fiercelie set on the Englishmen: but by the terrible shot of the English archers, the Frenchmen in the end were constrained to flie; and the Englishmen perceiuing the matter, straight leapt on horsebacke and followed the chase. In the which were taken two hundred prisoners, and thise as manie slaine. The earle escaped by the swiftnesse of his horse. At the same season the earle of Suffolke besieging the towne of Aumarle (whereof was capteine the lord of Hambures) after foure and twentie great assaults, had the towne and castell simplie to him rendered. Thus by little and little the Englishmen recouered manie townes which before they had lost. Wholbeit about the verie same time, the Frenchmen scale the towne of Laual, by treason wrought by a miller, which keeping a mill that ioined to the wall, suffered the French to passe through his mill into the towne. Shortly after also sir Steuen de Vignolles, surnamed la Hire, toke by scaling the towne of Louiers in Normandie. The Englishmen in the cold moneth of December besieged the towne of Laigrie in the which was the Pucelle, and diuerse other good captains.

[In the moneth of Maie 1430, with a valiant man in feats of armes on the duke of Burgognions side, one Franquet and his band of three hundred soldiers, making all towards the maintenance of the siege, the Pucelle Jone and a foure hundred with hir did meet. In great courage and force did she and hir people sundrie times assaile him, but he with his (though much vnder in number) by meanes of his archers in good order set, did so hardlie withstand them, that for the first and second push the rather lost than won: Whereat this captiuesse striken into a fretting chafe, called out in all hast the garrison of Laigrie, and from other the forts thereabout, who thicke and threefold came doone with might and maine, in armour and number so far exceeding Franquets, that though they had done hir much hurt in hir horsemen; yet by the verie multitude were they oppressed, most in hir furie put to the sword; & as for Franquet that woorthie capteine himselve, hir rage not appeased, till out of hand she had his head stroken off: contrarie to all manhood (but she was a woman, if she were that) & contrarie to common right & law of armes. The man for his merits was verie much lamented, and she by hir mallice then found of what spirit

Saint Denis
by her recou-
ered againe.

Parlement
at Rone cal-
led by the
duke of Bed-
ford.

The French
king Saint De-
nis.

no Reg. 8.

hence.

the pope did
regat the
small of
scholier.
Henries
marion of
Amindore.

W. W. C.

La Hire.

Laigrie be-
sieged by the
Englishmen.

W. P.
1430
Le Roisier.

rit the was.]

Campieigne
besieged.

After this the duke of Burgognie accompanied with the earles of Arundell, and Suffolke, and the lord John of Lutzenburgh besieged the towne of Campieigne with a great puissance. This towne was well walled, manned, and bittelled, so that the besiegers were constrained to cast trenches, and make mines, for otherwise they saw not how to compasse their purpose. In the meane time it happened in the night of the Ascension of our Lord, that Ponton de Saintreilles, Jone la Pusell, and five or six hundred men of armes issued out by the bridge toward Pont-decier, intending to set fire in the tents and lodgings of the lord Batodo de Poelle.

Abr. Fl. ex
Gefnero.

In this yeare of our Lord, among diuerse notable men of learning and knowledge, one Richard Fleming, English borne, a doctor of diuinitie professed in Orford, did flourish: who by the prouidence of God grew in such fauour with this king Henrie the first, & the nobles nere & about him, that he was preferred to the bishops see of Lincolne. This man founded Lincolne college in Orford, in which vniuersitie he had bene a profitable student. Diuerse bookes he wrote (as the vniuersitie librarie doth beare witness) whereof these following haue bene scene under their names and titles: to wit: A protestation against the Spaniards, the Frenchmen, and the Scots, made in the general counsell holden at Sens: one booke of the Etymologie of England; besides diuerse other treatises, as Gefner reporteth *Ex bibliotheca Oxonijs*, aforesaid.]

Richard Fleming
bishop of
Lincolne.

The books
that he wrote.

At the verie same time that Campieigne was besieged (as before is said) sir John of Lutzenburgh, with eight other gentlemen, chanced to be nere unto the lodging of the said lord Batodo, where they espied the Frenchmen, which began to cut downe tents, overthrow paullions, & kill men in their beds: whereupon they with all speed assembled a great number of men, as well English as Burgognions, and courageously set on the Frenchmen, and in the end beat them backe into the towne, so that they fled so fast that one letted another, as they would haue entered. In the chase and pursute was the Pusell taken, with diuerse other, besides those that were slaine, which were no small number. Diuerse were hurt also on both parts. Among the Englishmen, sir John Pontgomerie had his arme broken, and sir John Steward was shot into the thigh with a quarell.

Jone the Pusell
taken.

W. P.

Chroniques
de Britaigne.

[As before ye haue heard somewhat of this damselfs strange beginning and proceedings, so with the ending of all such miraclemongers doth (for the most part) plainelie decipher the vertue and power that they worke, by hir shall ye be aduertised what at last became of hir; cast your opinions as ye haue cause. Of this louers (the Frenchmen) reporteth one, how in Campieigne thus besieged, Guillaume de Flaue the capteine hauing sold hir aforesaid to the lord of Lutzenburgh, under colour of halting hir with a band out of the towne towards their king, for him with speed to come and leaue the siege there, so gotten hir forth he shut the gates after hir, when anon by the Burgognians set upon and overmarcht in the conflict she was taken: marie yet (all things accounted) to no small maruell how it could come so to passe, had she bene of any deuotion or of true beleefe, and no false miscreant, but all holie as she made it. For earlie that morning she gat hir to saint James church, confessed hir, and receiued hir maker (as the booke formes it) and after setting hir selfe to a pillar, manie of the townemen that with a five or six score of their children stood about there to see hir, unto them (quod she) Good children and my dere friends, I tell you plaine one hath sold me. I am betrayed and horrible shall be deliuered to death; I beseech you praye to

God for me, for I shall neuer haue moze power to do service either to the king or to the realme of France againe.

Saith another booke, she was intrapt by a Picard capteine of Spoilons, who sold that citie to the duke of Burgognie, and he then put it ouer into the hands of the lord of Lutzenburgh, so by that meanes the Burgognians appoched and besieged Campieigne, for succour whereof as damself Jone with hir capteins from Laigrie was thither come, and daile to the English gaue manie a hot skirmish, so happened it one a daie in an outfallie that she made by a Picard of the lord of Lutzenburghs hand, in the fiercest of hir fight she was taken, and by him by and by to his lord presented, who sold hir ouer againe to the English, who for witchcraft and sorcerie burnt hir at Rone. Tillet telleth it thus, that she was caught at Campieigne by one of the earle of Aigneis soldiers, from him had to Beaurevoir castell, where kept a thre months, she was after for ten thousand pounds in monie and thre hundred pounds rent (all Tillet) sold into the English hands.

In which for hir pranks so vnconuoth and suspicious, the lord regent by Peter Chauchon bishop of Beanois (in whose diocesse she was taken) caused hir life and beleefe, after order of law to be inquired upon and examined. Wherein found though a virgin, yet first shamefullie reuealing hir sex abominable in acts and apparell to haue counterfeited mankind, and then all damnable faithlesse, to be a pernicious instrument to hostilitie and bloudshed in diuelish witchcraft and sorcerie, sentence accordingly was pronounced against hir. Holbeite upon humble confession of hir iniquities with a counterfeit contrition pretending a carefull sorrow for the same, execution spared and all mollified into this, that from thenceforth she should cast off hir vnnatural wearing of mans abilliments, and keepe hir to garments of hir owne kind, abjure hir pernicious practises of sorcerie and witcherie, and haue life and leasure in perpetual prison to bewaile hir misdeeds. Which to performe (according to the manner of abjuratioun) a solemn oath verie gladlie she toke.

But herein (God helpe vs) she fullie afoze possessed of the fiend, not able to hold hir in anie towarde of grace, falling straight waie into hir former abominations (and yet seeking to eetch out life as long as she might) stak not (though the shift were shamefull) to confesse hir selfe a strumpet, and unmarried as she was) to be withchild. For trial, the lord regents lenitie gaue hir nine moneths staie, at the end whereof the found herein as false as wicked in the rest, an eight daies after, vpon a further definitive sentence declared against hir to be relapse and a renouner of hir oath and repentance, was she thereupon deliuered ouer to secular power, and so executed by consumption of fire in the old market place at Rone, in the selfe same stead where now saint Michaels church stands, hir ashes afoztoward without the towne walls shaken into the wind. Now recounting altogether, hir passioall bringing by, rude without any vertuous instruction, hir campestrall conuersation with wicked spirits, whome in hir first salutation to Charles the Dolphin, she offered to be our Ladie, saint Katharine, and saint Annes, that in this behalfe came and gaue hir commandments from God hir maker, as she kept hir fathers lambs in the fields (where saints in warres among christen men were (be true) neuer so parciatall patrons or partners to maintenance of horrible slaughters, rapines and bloudshed) hereto hir murderous mind in killing of Franquet hir owne prisoner, hir two yeares continuance in hir abominations and deadiie mischief without anie hir trauell or motion betwene the princes for peace, hir relapse

Christianiss
vix.

Tillet.
This yrelate
in his death
left a hundred
and fiftene
crownes in
gold, that vnder
colour of
warres with
the misdeeds
he had stealed
from christen
princes.
Vicina.

Lij. in vita
H.6.

Polydorp.
in H.6.

Les grand
chrou.

Let grand
chronicles
liure.

Anno Reg. 9.

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relapse at last & falling againe into his abjured iniquities, by his virginities (if it were ante) by his holie words, his fasting and prayers that they might be, with satan (after St. Paule) can change himselfe into an angell of light, the deapler to deceiue.

These matters may verie rightfullie denounce vnto all the world his execrable abominations, and well iustifie the iudgement he had, and the execution he was put to for the same. A thing yet (God wot) verie smallie shadowed, and lesse holpen by the verie trauell of the Dolphin, whose dignitie abroad foulie spotted in this point, that contrarie to the holie degree of a right christen prince (as he called himselfe) for maintenance of his quarels in warre would not reuerence to prophane his sacred estate, as dealing in diuelish practises with misbelievers and witches. Which malicie he full foolishly salued (like one that to kill the strong sent of onions would cheate a cloude of garlike) so a sic and twentieth yeares after, he pact with pope Calixt the third, by whose mandat directed to his three delegats, the bishops of Paris, Reims, and Constance, at the cathedrall church of Paris, in presence of Jone (the pufels mother) John and Peter his brethren, the seven and twentieth daie of November 1455, the validitie and goodnesse of the proccesse and sentence upon him was called in question, and in great solemnitie sit vpon.

Wherein the cause was so sincerelie canuassed among them, that afterward, on the eight of Julie 1456, a quite contrarie sentence was there declared: of effect, that this Jone (forsooth) was a damsell diuine, no fault in the Dolphin for his counsell and witcherie practises with him; the proccesse, iudgement, and condemnation against him all wrong and iniurions. And for iustificacion and remembrance aswell of his innocencie in life and death, as also of the sinceritie of his later sentence, a new crosse in that old market to be reared. In this tale of Tillers is the further likened to Deboza, Isabell, and Judith, and vnto Romanee Clelia compared by Polydor, that shames not somewhat also to carpe at his iudgment, and much pitieth his paine. But what puritie or regard of deuotion or conscience is in these writers trow yee, who make no consideration of his heinous enormities, or elsse any difference betwene one stirred by by merie diuine, or naturall loue, and a damnable forcerer suborned by satan? And thus much of this gentle Jone, and of his god oratours that haue said so well for him: now iudge as ye list.]

After the bestowing of this Pusell in fort as yee haue heard, the siege still continued before Campsie, and the duke of Bedford sent to the duke of Burgognie lieng at the siege, the earle of Huntingdon, and sir John Robbert (two tollie gentlemen, of no lesse prudence to parte with the enemie, than puissance to encounter them) with a thousand archers (whose actiuitie, I warrant you, stood not then vpon the first triall) which daillie skirmished with them within, and made such bassiles & fortresses, that the towne had bene rendred into their hands, but that the duke of Burgognie departed from the siege to go into Babant, to receiue the possession of that duchie, by the death of his cousin Philip the duke of that countrie, as then departed this world.

Sir John de Lutzenburgh was left by the duke of Burgognie as generall of the siege before Campsie, the which he raised within a short space after, contrarie to the minds of the Englishmen, which were verie desirous to haue lien there till the towne had bene rendered, which if the siege had bene continued but eight daies longer, must needs haue come to passe; by reason that pestilence and famine had almost consumed all the souldiers within the towne, so that it remained in maner without defense. After

the breaking by of this siege, John duke of Norfolk toke againe the townes of Dampmartine, and the Chasse Pongaise, with diuerse other townes. Also the earle of Stafford toke the towne of Winton countie Robert, and from thence foraged all the countrie to Sens, and after toke Queinoie in Brie, Grand Puis, and Kampellon.

During this time, the Frenchmen on the other side toke Louiers, and Villeneuf. Then also did the towne of Melun rebell, and had such aid of other townes adioining, that the English souldiers were faine to leaue Melun, Bozret, and Corbell. Thus did things wauer in doubtful balance betwixt the two nations English and French. But because the English fore mistrusted further danger, it was concluded, that king Henrie in his totall person with a new armie should come into France, partlie to visit and comfort his owne subiects ther, and partlie either by feare or fauour (because a child of his age and beautilie doth commonlie procure them loue of elder persons) to moue the Frenchmen to continue their due obediens to towards him.

Wherefore after a great host conuenient for that purpose assembled, and monie for maintenance of the warre readie gathered, and the realme set in an order vnder the gouernement of the duke of Glocester protectour (which during the kings absence appeared diuerse riots, and punished the offenders) the king with a great power toke shipping at Douer on saint Georges euen within night, and landed at Calis on the morrow being saint Georges daie, and sundate, by seven of the clocke in the morning. He remained in Calis a good space, and from thence he remoued to Rone, being there receiued with all triumph. He tarried in that citie a long time, his nobles daillie consulting on their great businesse & weightie affaires.

In this kings time, & somewhat about this yeate, a certeine Breton, whose a good honest widowe had receiued into his house, and concerned well of him in opinion, was by him mainteined of his owne purse, & (as Polychronicon saith) she found him of almes and for Gods sake. This charitable deed of hers deserued a deuout mind to God ward, and a thankful hart to him. But (good soule) how was she recompensed? Euen murdered in his bed by the hands of that villaine whose so bountifullie she succoured, and motherlike tendered. Vnto which bloudie fact (which was a preparatiue to a further mischance byed in his vnnaturall hart) he added another offense: for when he had dispatched the woman, vnto the riddance of his to his aduantage, and as he had obtained oportunitie (to his thinking) he conueied all that she had a waite with him for his owne release. When being persecuted with guiltinesse of conscience, which troubleth offenders with ceaselesse verasions, and forceth them from place to place to seeke corners of euasion and shift, he toke priuilege of holie church at saint Georges in Southwarke, where lateng hands on the crosse, as a shield of sufficient safegard, he abjured this land, and by that meanes thought himselfe free from afterclaps.

Neuertheless, God (whose mercifull nature abhorreth the effusion of mans blood) prepared a punishment for the malefactor, who passing through the suburbs of London, without Algate (the place where he had committed the murder) the women of the same parish and street (as it were intraged) came out with stones, staves, kenell dong, and other things, wherewith they so bethwacht him on all parts of his bodie, that they laid him a stretching, and rid him quite of life. In the working of this their teene they were so fell and fierce, that the constables with their assistants (which were no small number) doing what they could by their authoritie and maine strength,

Ap m. f.

were

King Henrie the first in person goeth with an armie into France.

S. Albons.

Ed. Hall.

Abr. Fl. ex Polychron. A widow without Algate murdered in his bed by a Breton whose the charitable relieved. A fowle ingratitude.

The mother reuenged by women at the appointment of Gods iustice.

Christianity must rec.

Tillers. This plete at his death left a hundred and sixteen crowns in gold, that better colour of merces with the mildness he had shewed from children princes.

May in vita his.

Ano Reg.

were not able to rescue him out of the womens hands; who had sworne in their hearts (as it seemed by the manner of their reuenge which was void of all mercie) to see the end of such a villaine as most unnaturalie had laine a woman, a neighbour, a widow, a pitifull woman, a good neighbour, an honest widow; the wretch himselve being a fugitive, a stranger boine, a begger, and he to whome she shewed hir selfe the staffe of his support. A singular ingratitude which nature abhorreth, law disalloweth, heauen disclaimeth, God detesteth, humanitie condemneeth, and euerie god bodie to the verie death detesteth; as the old distichon excellentlie and with good sense noteth;

*Lex & natura, calum, Deus, omnia iura
Dammant ingratum, merent illum quos, natum.*

But to returne to the affaires of king Henrie, who in the moneth of Nouember remoued from Rone to Pontoise, and so to saint Denis, to the intent to make his entrie into Paris, and there to be sacred king of France. There were in his companie of his owne nation, his vncle the cardinall of Winchester, the cardinall and archbishop of Poike, the dukes of Bedford, Poike, and Norfolk, the earles of Warwicke, Salisburie, Orenford, Huntington, Dymond, Powisaigne, and Suffolke. Of Gascoignes, there were the earles of Longuille and Marche, besides manie other noble men of England, Guier, and Normandie. And the chiefe of the French nation were the dukes of Burgognie, and Leues of Lutzenburgh, cardinall and chancelor of France for king Henrie: the bishops of Beauuois and Poion, both pères of France, beside the bishop of Paris, and diuerse other bishops; the earle of Wandemount, and other noble men, whose names were superfluous to rehearse. And he had in a gard about his person three thousand pike archers, some on horsebacke, and part on foot.

To speake with what honour he was receiued into the citie of Paris, what pageants were prepared, and how richlie the gates, streets, and bridges on euerie side were hanged with collie clothes of arras & tapestrie, it would be too long a procelle, and therefore I doe here passe it ouer with silence. On the seventeenth daie of December, he was crowned king of France, in our ladies church of Paris, by the cardinall of Winchester, the bishop of Paris not being contented that the cardinall should doe such an high ceremonie in his church and iurisdiction. After all the ceremonies were finished, the king returned toward the palace, hauing one crowne on his head, and another boine before him; and one scepter in his hand, and the second boine before him. As touching other the roiall seruices and princelie appointments, they are verie diligentlie & at large set out in the French chronicle of that time. This coronation of the king, *Anglorum prelia* as manie other good and memorable matters, so this also he hath noted, saleng thereof in comelie breuitie and truth, as after followeth:

*Aeterna fame paulo post rege sepulto,
Parisis, diadema vias & compita circum
Iunior Henricus portat lepidissimus infans.*

This high and tofous feast passed not without some spot of displeasure among the English nobilitie: for the cardinall of Winchester, which at this time would haue no man be equall with him, commanded the duke of Bedford to leaue off the name of regent, during the time that the king was in France, affirming the chiefe ruler being in presence, the authoritie of the substitute to be clerelie detogate, according to the common saleng; In the presence of the higher power, the smaller giueth place. The duke of Bedford took such a secret displeasure with this doing, that he neuer after fauoured the cardinall, but stood against him in all things that he would haue forward. This

was the root (as some haue thought) of that diuision amongst the English nobilitie, where through their glorie within the realme of France began first to decline.

The next daie after the solemn feast of the kings coronation, were kept triumphant iusts and toernies, in the which the earle of Arundell, and the bastard of S. Waile, by the iudgement of the ladies wone the pize. The king kept open hall the space of five daies to all commers, and after (because the aire of Paris seemed contrarie to his pure complexion) by the aduise of his counsell, he remoued to Rone, where he kept his Christmase. But before his departure from Paris, the noble men as well of France and Normandie did to him homage, and the common people sware to him fealtie. In this meane time, sir Francis called the Aragoignois, a noble capteine of the English part in Normandie, took by force and policie the towne of Pontargis, with a great pize of treasure and prisoners, and put therein a garrison, leauing it well furnished with vittels and munition.

About the same time, the earle of Arundell, being truelie informed that the lord Boufanc marshall of France was come to Beauuois, intending to doe some feat in Normandie, assembled the number of three and twentie hundred men, and comming nere to the said towne of Beauuois, sent a great number of light horsemen to run before the towne, to traîne out the Frenchmen within; the which issuing out and following the English horsemen vnto their scale, were so inclosed and fought with, that in maner all the number of them, save a few which fled backe into the towne with the marshall, were laine or taken. Amongst other of the chiefe prisoners, that dailant capteine Ponton de Santrails was one, who with out delaie was exchanged for the lord Talbot, before taken prisoner at the battell of Patie. There was also taken one called the shepheard, a simple man, and a filie soule; but yet of such reputation for his supposed holinesse amongst the Frenchmen, that if he touched the wall of any of their aduersaries townes, they beleued verelie it would incontinentlie fall downe.

This chance succeeded not fortunatlie alone vnto the English nation, for Richard Beauchampe earle of Marbolke had a great skirmish before the towne of Gournie, where he discomfited and repelled his enemies: and beside those that were laine, he took fortie horsemen, all being gentlemen of name and armes. Like chance happened to the friends of king Charles, towards the marches of Lozraine, where Keigner duke of Bar besieged the towne of Wandemont pertaining to the earle thereof named Anthoine, coufine to the same duke Keigner. This earle, before the dukes approaching, left a conuenient crue within the towne to defend it, and with all speed rode to the dukes of Bedford and Burgognie, being then at the foresaid great triumph at Paris, where he purchased such fauour at their hands, because he had euer taken their parts, that not onelie sir John Falstolf was appointed to go with him, hauing in his companie sir hundred archers, but also the duke of Burgognies marshall named sir Anthoine Coulon-gon, accompanied with fiftene hundred other men of warre.

When the duke of Bar heard that his enemies were thus comming towards him, like a hardie capteine he raised his siege, and met face to face with the earle and his companie, betwene whome was a cruell and mortall battell. The horsemen of the French side endured long, but in conclusion the English archers so galled their hostes, and so wounded the men, that the Barrois, Almaines, and other of duke Keigners side were compelled to flee. In the chase was taken

King Henrie
the first crowned
in Paris.

Le Roiser
historiall,

By rather
booke,
saint Denis
was besieged

Pontargis
recovered by
the English

The lord Talbot
was ransomed
by exchange.
The shepheard
the simple

Coche.

A legat from
Rome sent to
treat a peace
betwixt the
English and
French.

A crue for six
pices.

Cherries taken
by creation
notwithstanding
the crue.

hen the duke of Bar, the bishop of Metz, the lord of of Roquemaque, sir Guerard of Salceburgh, the Viscount of Arcie, and two hundred other, beside three thousand which were flaine.

In this luckie time also, no lesse occasion of victorie was offered to the Englishmen in an other part, if they could haue vsed it with such circumspect warrenesse as had bene expedient. For Robert lord Willoughbie, and Matthew Gough, a valliant Welshman, with fiftene hundred Englishmen, laid siege to a towne in Anton called saint Severine. Whereof Charles the French king being aduertised, sent with all speed the lord Ambrose de Loze, with manie noble men to the succours of them within the towne, whereof the same lord Ambrose was capitaine: and therefore made the more hast to releue his deputie, and the other being streiallie besieged, but yet staied at the towne of Beaumont, till his whole power might come to him.

The Englishmen aduertised of this intent of the capitaine, came vpon him in the night, and found the Frenchmens watch so out of order, that a thousand men were entered into the campe before they were espied; by reason whereof the Englishmen found small resistance. But when the daie began to appeare, and that the sunne had set forth his bright beames abroad, that all things might be seene, the Englishmen giuen wholie to spoile, followed not their enemies in chase, but being contented with their preie and gaine, began to retreat toward the siege againe, which the lord Willoughbie still maintained with a part of the armie.

But see the chance. The Frenchmen which were coming after, hearing by the noise of the people that some traie was at hand, put spurs to their horses, and set on the Englishmen pestered with bag and baggage of the spoile to spoile, followed not their enemies in chase, but being contented with their preie and gaine, began to retreat toward the siege againe, which the lord Willoughbie still maintained with a part of the armie.

About this season, Nicholas the cardinall of the holie crosse was sent into France, as a legat from Eugenie the fourth as then bishop of Rome, to treat a peace betwene the Englishmen and Frenchmen. But when after great instance and labour made betwene the parties, he saw their obstinate and forward minds, nothing inclined to anie agreement, he wan so much at their hands by earnest sute, that a truce was granted to indure for six yeares to come: but as the same was hardlie granted, so was it of the Frenchmen sone and lightlie broken. For the bastard of Orleans newlie made earle of Dunois, took by treason the towne of Chartres from the Englishmen, affirming by the law of armes, that stealing or buieng a towne, without inuasion or assault, was no breach of league, amitie, or truce. In which towne he slue the bishop, because he was a Burgonian. Whereby did new malice increase, and mostall warre began effsones to be put in vze.

Whilist these things were doing in France, the cardinall of Winchester was come backe againe into England, to appease certeine commotions and sturres attempted by sundrie persons vnder colour of religion: but after that William Pandenle, and John Sharpe the chiefe authours thereof were appe-

bended and executed by the gouernour and the kings iustices, the residue yelded and confessed their offences, whereof two articles were these (as some write) that priests should haue no possessions, and that all things by the order of charitie among christian people should be in common. Other thought their opinions were not such errors, but that their enemies spread abroad such rumors of them, to make them more odious to the people.

After that, a parlement was called by the duke of Glocester, in the which monie was assigned to be leuied, and men appointed, which should passe ouer into France to the aid of the duke of Bedford, for the maintenance of the warres: because it was suspected the truce would not long continue. During this parlement, James the king of Scots sent ambassadours to conclude a peace with the duke of Glocester, who (because the king was absent) referred the matter to the three estates. After long consultation, not without great arguments, a peace was concluded. When the parlement was ended, the cardinall well furnished with men & monie, departed out of England, and came to Rome to the king, to whome also resorted the duke of Bedford from Paris, to consult of things not vnlikelie to follow.

Herevpon a great councell was kept in the castell of Rome, and manie doubts moued, and few weightie things out of hand concluded. At length, after great disputation, with manie arguments ended, the dukes of Bedford and Porke, and Edmund late earle of Mortaigne, and now (by the death of John duke of Summerfet, leauing behind him a sole daughter and heire, married to the earle, and called Margaret after the countesse of Richmond) attained to the name and title of duke of Summerfet, approved the reason of those, that held it expedient to haue an armie in a readinesse for defense, least the Frenchmen suddenlie should attempt anie enterprize to the danger of the Englishmen, and losse of those townes and countries that were vnder them.

When all things were agreed, king Henrie came to Calis, from thence to Douer; and so by easie courtesies the one and twentieth daie of Februarie to London, where he was triumphantlie receiued, and richlie presented, as in the chronicles of Robert Fabian it more at large appeares. After that the king was departed into England, the duke of Bedford regent of France, and capitaine of Calis, taried behind in the marches of Picardie, where he was informed certeine souldiers of Calis grudging at the restraint of twolles, began to murmur against the king and his councell, to some danger of the towne. The duke vpon due examination had, caused diuerse to be put to death, and manie banished that towne and marches for euer.

In the meane time, the ladie Anne duchesse of Bedford departed this life at Paris, by whose death the fast knot of faithfull friendship betwixt the duke of Bedford and his brother in law the duke of Burgonie began somewhat to slacken. Shortly after, to wit, about the beginning of the next yeare 1433, the said duke of Bedford being thus a widower, through the perswasion of the lord Lewis of Lutzenburgh bishop of Teruine and Cle, and chancelor of France for king Henrie, agreed to marrie the ladie Jaquet, daughter to Peter earle of saint Paule, and nece to the said bishop, and to the lord John of Lutzenburgh.

The marriage was solemnized at Teruine with great triumph. Which ended, the duke with his new spouse (being about the age of seauentene yeares) came vnto Calis, and so into England, from whence in the moneth of August next he returned to Paris. The duke of Burgonie, though nothing pleased

The two estours.

A parlement called by the duke of Glocester the king being in France. A peace concluded with the Scots.

1432 King Henrie returneth out of France into England.

The duchesse of Bedford lieth to the duke of Burgonie deceased.

The duke of Bedford marrieth with the earle of saint Paules daughter.

¶ m. ij. with

*Or rather
Gode.
Saint Henrie
was besieged.

ontargis
ordered by
English.

ye lord Ed
ransomed
exchange.

ye holie
phers.

Wor.

ndemont
ged.

I legat from
Rome sent to
treat a peace
betwixt the
English and
French.

I truce for six
yeares.

Chartres tak-
en by treason
from the Eng-
lish.

with this new alliance contracted by the duke of Bedford, with the house of Lutzenburgh, but yet not able to do anie thing to let it; because of the marriage communitie yet he could find any power or knowledge to hinder it. Whilste these things were a doing, in some places the French souldiers of the Dolphins, lacking wages (as the time serued) take both Englishmen and Burgognians, ransoming and spoiling them at their pleasure. Herewith the regent much moued, prepared for warre after six moneths the truce had bene taken: and so the warre againe was renewed.

The Frenchmen anon as open truce-breakers, raised a crue, and suddenlie took the towne of saint Valerie in Normandie, nere to the mouth of the riuer of Some. An other armie, under the leading of sir Ambrose de Loze, wasted and destroyed all the countrie about Caen. The duke of Bedford on his part sent the earle of Arundell, the earle of Marwickes sonne, the lord Lisle Adam marshall of France for king Henrie, and twelue hundred men of warre with ordinance and munition to besiege the towne of Laigrie vpon the riuer of Sarne. The earle with shot of canon brake the arch of the bridge, and got from the Frenchmen their bulwourke, and set it on fire. Diuerse assaults were attempted, but the towne was well defended: for there were within it an eight hundred men of armes, besides other meane souldiers.

Laigrie besieged.

The duke of Bedford herewith gathered an armie of six thousand men, whereof were capitaines; Robert lord Willoughbie, sir Andrieu Ogard chamberlaine to the duke, sir John Saluaine bailiffe of Rone, sir John Montgomerie bailiffe of Caer, sir Philip Hall bailiffe of Bernoull, sir Richard Katcliffe deputie of Calis, sir Rafe Beuill, sir Rafe Standish, sir John Hanford, sir Richard Cuthin, sir Richard Harington bailiffe of Euxeur, sir William Fulthorpe, sir Thomas Griffin of Ireland, Dault Hall, Thomas Stranguish, Leonard Dymstone esquiers, and Thomas Gerard. All gentlemen of courage, and as forward to giue the French the foile, as the French for their liues to giue them the discomfiture. But vnto which side the victorie should befall, wicerteine it was before the trial of both their chancas had determined the doubt by the euent of the conflict.

The duke of Bedford furnished with this armie and companie of worthie capitaines came to the siege before Laigrie, where he made a bridge of boats, and brought his ordinance so nere the towne, that to all people it seemed not long able to resist. But the earle of Dunois, otherwise called the bastard of Orleans, with diuerse hardie capitaines, as valiantlie defended as the Englishmen assaulted. At length the French king, perceiuing this towne to be the three cornerd keie betwene the territories Burgognion, English, and French, and the losse thereof should turne him to irreuocable damage, sent the lord of Rieux, Poiton, the Hure, the lord Caluocourt, and sir thousand men, with great plentie of vittels, to the intent either to raise the siege, or else to vittell the towne.

The Frenchmen made a brag, as though they would haue assailed the Englishmen in their campe, but when they perceiued the courage of the lord regent, and the desire he had to fight, they framed themselves so in order of battell, as though they could do all things, and yet in effect did nothing: but that whilst part of them maintained a skirmish, a sort of rude & rusticall persons were appointed to conueie into the towne thirtie oren, and other small vittels. But this sweet gaine was derelie paid for, if the losse with the gaine be pondered in equal balance: for hauing regard to their 30 leane oren, in the skir-

mish were slain the lord Saintrelles brother to that valiant capitaine Poiton de Saintrelles, also capitaine John brother to the lord Caluocourt, and fiftie other noble and valiant personages.

The Frenchmen thus politickie hauing done their feat, in the beginning of August, removed their armie vnto Fort vnder Per, where, by a bridge of tuns they passed into the Ile of France. The duke of Bedford (like a wise prince) not minding to leave the more in ieopardie for hope of the lesse, nor the accident for the substance, raised his siege, and returned to Paris, nothing more minding than to trie his quarrell with dint of sword against the enemies, if they would thereto agree. And hereupon sent Bedford his herald to the lord Caluocourt and other capitaines of the French armie, offering them battell and a pitched field within a conuenient time, and where they would appoint. The French capitaines answered the English herald, that there was time to gaine, and time to lose: and for choise of times they would vse their owne discretions.

Shortlie after, Piers Audebeuse constable of the castell of Rone, corrupted with monie, suffered the marshall of France, with two hundred other, as persons disguised to enter the place by stealth: but they were soone espied, and diuen to the dungeon, where they were constrained to yeld themselves prisoners: of the which some were hanged, some beheaded, and some ransomed, at the pleasures of the regent. This pageant thus played, the lord regent sent the earle of saint Paule, and Robert lord Willoughbie, with a competent number of men to besiege the towne of St. Valerie, which the Frenchmen a little before had taken. This siege continued the space of three weeks; at the end whereof the Frenchmen within yelded the towne, and departed with their horse and harnesse onelle to them saved.

The earle put there in garrison fresh and valiant souldiers, and appointed capitaine there, sir John Aubemond. In the same towne (whether by infection of aire, or by corrupt vittels, which the townsmen did eat) a great pestilence shortly after happened, which consumed within a small time two parts of the people. The earle of saint Paule, and the lord Willoughbie returning backe to the regent, were tollallie receiued, and within a while after, the earle departed from Paris to laie siege to the castell of Pouchas. But being incamped nere the towne of Blangie, he by a sudden maladie departed this life, the last of August, leaving his seignories to Helwes de Lutzenburgh his sonne and heire. Because this dead earle was father in law to the regent, solemne obsequies were kept for him both in Paris and in London.

In the meane season, the Frenchmen entering into high Burgognie, burnt, took, and destroyed diuerse townes; whereupon the Burgognians assembled a great armie, both to reuenge their quarrels, and to recouer their townes taken from them. To whom as to his friends the duke of Bedford sent the lord Willoughbie, and sir Thomas Kiriell, with a conuenient number of souldiers, which entering into the lands of Laonnais, were encountered with a great power of their enemies. But after long fight, the Frenchmen were ouerthrowne, and of them left dead in the field an hundred and fiftie horsemen, beside prisoners, which after vpon urgent cause were all killed.

Whilste these things happened thus in France, John lord Calbot gathered together a crue of chosen men of warre in England, to the number of eight hundred, and sailed into Normandie, and passed by Rone to Paris. In his waie he took the strong castell of Joing betwene Beauuois and Gisors, and caused

Anno Reg.

The lord Calbot.

Earle of Arundell.

1471

The castle of Rone taken by treason of the capitaine.

Souldiers besieged.

Saint Paule was taken by assault.

The last of August.

Anno Reg.

Souldiers killed.

1471

The lord Calbot took the castle of Joing.

Intervention in Norm.

An. Reg. 12.

caused all the Frenchmen within to be taken and hanged, and after rased and defaced the castell. After he had rested himselfe a while at Paris, and taken advise with the counsell there, what waie it should be best for him to take, without prolonging time; he with the lord de Alie Adam and others, departed from thence, having in their retinues sixtene hundred men of warre. And coming to the castell of Amadour upon Dife, thereof was capteine sir Amadour de Cignois brother to the Hirc, they found it abandoned by them that had it in keeping, who were withdrawne to the towne of Creill.

Either therefore the lord Talbot followed, who being in a skirmish the said Amadour, he was at length the said towne of Creill, and after the townes of Pont St. Sparence, Beusille in Cimoie, la Rouge maison, Crespie in Walois, & Cleremont in Beauvois, and after with great riches and good prisoners returned to Paris. Neither had the lord Talbot such good and prosperous successe alone, but the earle of Arundell also at the verie same season took the castell of Somelme, & rased it to the ground, after he got by force the castell of Doyle, & from thence came to S. Selerine, where the lord Ambrose de Loze, being capteine, issued out and fought with the Englishmen so egerlie, that he drove them backe an arrowe shot by fine force: but the earle so encouraged his men, that they gaue a fresh onset upon the Frenchmen, and followed it so fiercelie, that they slue a great number of them, and drove the residue into the towne.

After this victorie, he besieged Louiers, whereof was capteine the Hirc, and his brother, who rendered the towne without assault. Then the earle assembling together a great armie, returned againe to S. Selerine, & intoned the towne with a strong siege. When he had lien there almost thre moneths, euerie daie attempting or doing somewhat, he finally gaue so fierce an assault, that by force he entered the towne, and slue John Almaine, and Guilliam saint Albine, the chiefe capteins, and eight hundred other men of warre. The children of le seigneur de Loze were taken prisoners. The earle put new men of warre into the towne, and made capteine there sir John Cornemall. After this, he beset the strong towne of Sillie pitched his campe. The inhabitants terrified at the losse of saint Selerine, delivered him pledges, upon condition; that if they were not rescued within thirtie daies next, then they (their liues saued) should render the towne into his possession: which offer was received.

The French king, being aduertised hercof, by a post, appointed (as some saie) Arthur earle of Richmont (or as other write, John duke of Alanton) with a great companie of men of warre to go to the rescue of this towne. But whether it was the earle or duke, certeine it is at his approaching to the siege, he incamped himselfe by a brooke side, ouer the which a man might haue striden, & perceiving how stronglie the English were incamped against him, he thought it not for his profit to giue battell; & so in the night season rased & went his waie without further attempt. When they within the towne knew that their succours failed, they rendered themselves to the mercie of the earle of Arundell, who gentlie received them, and leauing a garrison in the towne, departed to Spais, and in his waie took the castles of Spallate, and saint Laurence. About this time the lord Willoughbie & sir Thomas Isrich, returning with great victorie out of Burgognie, passing by the towne of Louiers, latelie reduced to the English obedience, furnished it both with men and munition.

Among so many good chances, some euill are accustomed to happen, or else the gairners would not know themselves. And so at this time it happened,

that a great number of the common and rusticall people in Normandie dwelling by the sea coast; either prouoked by the French king, or desirous of alteration and change (which thing the commons much comēt and desire) made an insurrection, put on harnesse, and by force expelled certeine English garrisons out of their holds, publishing and proclaiming openlie, that their onelie purpose and intent was to expell and banish the whole English nation out of their countries and coasts. Wherefore it maie be likelie, that the blacke Norman will sooner become white, than the people bred in France will heartilie loue an English bozne. For it standeth not with their enuious nature, to alter their malicious manners; as the old prouerbe saith truelie of them:

Celica natura semper sequitur sua iura.

These rebels thus fantastickly assembled, with all speed marched toward Caen, to the intent thre both to increase their number, and also to consult what waie they should follow in their new begun enterprise. But the dukes of Yorke and Summerset, then lieng in Normandie, having perfect knowledge hereof, immediatlie sent forth the earle of Arundell, and the lord Willoughbie with six thousand archers, and thirtene hundred light horsemen, to staie and keepe them from making anie further progresse. The earle of Arundell appointed the lord Willoughbie, with two thousand archers, and certeine horsemen to go afoze him, and lie in a skale within some couert place. Which done, the earle followed; & so keeping in the multitude at the backe, drove them before him as deere into a buckesale: and when the miserable wretches came nere to the skale, the earle made a token, whereat a gun shot off for a signe. Therewith the lord Willoughbie set on them before, and the earle behind, shooting so fiercelie, that the poore catlines, wounded and galled with the shot of arrowes, threw awaie their harnesse, and cried out instantlie for mercie.

The earle of Arundell moued with compassion, caused his souldiers to staie from further slaughter, and apprehending those that were knownen to be stirrers and leaders of the rest, let the other returne home without further damage: but yet, per the souldiers could be brought backe under their standards, there were about a thousand of the rebels slaine. And this commotion thus appeased, upon inquirie of the principall offenders, such as were found guiltie were put to terrible executions; as they had well deserved. During which rebellion, Peter Wakeford and his companie gat by treason the towne of Diepe, and diuerse other holds thereto adioining. After the earle of Arundell had obtained so good successe in his enterprises (as partlie ye haue heard) he attempted another, which was the last tooke and small labour of his liuing daies. For the duke of Bedford, being informed that his aduersaries had gotten the towne of Rye, and therein put a garrison, which soze vered the countries of Panthien, Arthois, and Bolenois, sent word to the earle, that he without delay should besiege the said towne.

The earle obeleng his commandement assembled his people, and came to Courneie, where he heard tell how there was a castell nere to Beauuois called Gerberois, the which being fallen in decaye, Charles the French king had appointed sir Stephan de Wigmois, commonlie called the Hirc, to repaire and mende it to fortifie, because it stood commodiously to serue as a countergarrison against the English townes and fortresses on those frontiers. The earle aduertised hercof, and perceiving that this new building would be greatlie prejudiciall to the Englishmen, determined first to dispossesse his enemies of that place, supposing to find small resistance: but he

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Dom. 1477

Anno Reg. 12.

The lord Talbot.

Earle of Arundell.

Louiers besieged.

Saint Selerine taken by assault.

The lord of saint Pauls decalled.

Anno Reg. 12.

Prisoners killed.

1477

The lord Talbot was slain in France.

Barrages taken in Normandie.

was deceived. For there was the said Wyre, and three thousand men of warre with him. The erle comming thither, incamped himselfe with five hundred horsemen in a little close not farre from the castell.

The Frenchmen, perceiuing that the earle and his horses were wearie, and that his archers were not yet come, determined to set vpon him before the coming of his footmen, the which they knew to be little more than a mile behind. Wherefore for a policie, they set forth fiftie horsemen, as though there had bene no moe within the castell. The earle perceiuing this, sent forth sir Randolfe Standish to encounter them, hauing with him an hundred horses. The Frenchmen fought couragiously a while, and suddenly came out all the remnant, and due sir Randolfe Standish and all his companie, and boldly set on the earle and his band, which manfully resisted the Frenchmen, till at length the Wyre caused three culuerings to be shot off amongst the Englishmen, whereof one strake the earle on the ancle, and so brake his leg, that for paine he fell from his horse.

When the Frenchmen entered amongst the Englishmen, took the earle lieng on the ground, with sir Richard Woodville, and sir scoe more, and there were slaine almost two hundred. The residue saved themselves as well as they might. The earle was caried to Beaunois, where of his hurt he shortly died, & was buried in the frier priours. He was a man of singular vertue, constancie, and grauitie, whose death in so troublous a season did sore appall the hearts of the English people. Thus oftentimes varied the chance of doubtful warre, so that one time the Englishmen got by assault, and yielded diuerse strong townes, castels, and piles: and at another season the French people, sometime by bargaine, sometime by assault obtained the same againe, or other in their stead.

About the moneth of June in this twelfth yeare, John duke of Bourbon and Auvergne, taken prisoner at the battell of Agincourt eightene yeeres past (as before ye haue heard) now paying his ranfome, which was eightene thousand pounds sterling, was taken with a most sore and grievous feuer, the which made an end of his life in the citie of London, on the same daie that was appointed for his departure towards France, whose corpse was interred in the grate friers of the same citie. This yeare also about the latter end of Aprill, was a meeting appointed to be had at saint Omers betwixt the dukes of Bedford and Burgognie, for the qualifieng of certeine displeasures and grudges betwixt them kindled and maintained by some flattering tale-tellers, who raising matters of reproch touching their honors, bred such grudges, that all loue betwixt them ceased, all amitie reiected, and all old friendship forgotten; such enuie insuech where enmitie once hath princes hearts possessed.

These two dukes come into the towne of saint Omers, the duke of Bedford being then regent of France, some, brother, and uncle to kings, thought that the duke of Burgognie should haue come and visited him in his lodging. The duke of Burgognie on the other part, being lord and soueraigne of the towne, iudged it as much vniuersall for him to go to the regent where he was lodged. Whobeyt by intreatie of friends, to meet in a place indifferent betwixt them both their lodgings was appointed; which offer not accepted, both parties departed discontent, and neuer after saw no communed together. Thus by the proud disdain & enuious discord of these two high stomached princes, Bedford not minding to haue a nie pèere, and Burgognie not willing to abide a nie superiour, shortly after England much lost, and Burgognie greatlie gained not, as by the sequale may appeare.

The bastard of Orleans, called the earle of Dunois, the lord Rochford marshall of France, with others, in the beginning of this thirteenth yeare, took the towne of S. Denis by treason, furnished with them of Paris, and leauing behind them a great garrison, took the towne of Houdoune, and Pont saint Epreme by composition. And at the same time was the towne of Pont Aenian taken by the sudden scaling of two fisher men, who entered by at a common priuie standing in the wall. Thus warre continually lasted betwixt these two mightie nations, English and French, within the realme of France (than which therefore no countrie thought more miserable.) And though the poore people and inhabitants of the good townes and villages, sustained most losse in their substance, yet the men of warre oftentimes paid dearely for the bargaine, being daily slaine, wounded, and taken prisoners: for warre seldom beareth any other fruit.

[It may serue verie well here to recount, how somewhat before these dates, Martin the first, in the sixteenth yeare of his pope dome, An. 1431, agreeing vpon a generall councell to be holden at Basill the same yeare, did anon after decesse: whom Eugenie the fourth succeeding, and liking right well of the time and place, by his authoritie signified and sent with Julian Cesarine his legat, did confirme the choise. Whereupon as the councell the nineteenth of Iulie the same 1431 was there begun, and his holiness soon after aduertised how malapertlie his ghostlie children had imbusied themselves in deuiling at their holie fathers faults, and about reformation of his church at Rome; his sublimitie therat highlie offended (for great cause it had) commanded his legat by and by to dissolve that synod, and in his name to appoint a new at Ferrar, and so come his waie: vnder colour forsooth how that place was meetest for the prelats of the Graeke church, who had to confer with the Latine councell about points of religion, wherein they long had remained at square.

But these Basillien clerks, there still fastlie contending themselves, so smallie regarded this summons of Eugenie (who then with his prelats, as the time was run on, vpon propagation from Ferrar kept an other councell at Florence 1439) as by a confident countermand cited Eugenie & all his cardinals to come to them at their solemne set councell at Basill. Which his supremacie (for so best became it, notwithstanding sundrie citations) utterly contemning to do, they soon after like verie impious imps, first for contumacie accursed his holie fatherhood, then depriued him of his papacie, and out of hand chose another in his office, one Amedeus late duke of Savoye, who afore that time hauing giuen by his possessions & dignitie vnto his children, became an heremite in a monastrie of his owne building by mount Ceuenna in Savoye nigh the lake Aeman, where he by title of *Decanus militum Iesu Christi*, and ten more of nobilitie with him, had settled themselves to liue.

The vertuous minded man thus chosen pope by spirituall counsell inuigiled, lest the holie life (such as it was) that he had profest, take the papacie vpon him the same 1439, and called Felix the first, which promotion yet he not long inioied. For after, by his successeur Nicholas the firsts ambition, that had suborned emperor Frederike to be a toocher in the matter, this little Amedeus was confined of his popes golden crowne for a cardinals felt hat. Then (good man) at last could he find, whether were nearer to christen profession, the life of a vertuous prince ruling in iustice, of a solitarie heremite vertuously occupied, of an imperious pope that may know no pèere, or of a licentious cardinal to liue as he list. This poore prince had experience of all, & then knew the

The earle of
Arundell de-
ceased.

The duke of
Bourbon de-
ceaseth at Lon-
don.

W. P.

A councell
called by
the name of
a councell
was
not.

The French
warre.

A solemne
service of pe-
te in Stras.

W. P.
1434
Onaphical
Pantheon

An. 1431

An. Reg. 13.

the best: when well might he lament him, but too late repent him.

And in the fift yeare of this Basillen counsell that had a continuance of eleuen yeare (whereof an eight were run per Felix was chosen, in which Eugene remaining pope still, though of curst hart he neuer came at them) motion was made among Sigismund the emperour and other christen kings (who for appealing this schisme betwene the pope and his prelates, were all present by person or pporie) that sith such horroz of bloudshed betwene the two nations continuallie so lamentable raged in France, some mediation might be made for accord: whereof one thing seemed to minister occasion of the more hope, because the duke of Burgognie was willing (so that it were not of his owne late) to returne and reconcile himselfe with the French king his mortall enemye and ancient aduersarie.]

Whereupon by authoritie of this generall counsell, two graue prelates, the one Nicholas Albergat a Carthusian frier, intituled a preest cardinall of the holie crosse; the other Hugh Lusignan a Cyprian, Crake, bishop cardinall of Venece in Italie, came to the towne of Arras in Arthois, whither were sent from the king of England, Henrie Beauford cardinall of Winchester, Henrie archbishop of Yorke, William de la Pole earle of Suffolke, and John Holland earle of Huntingdon, with diuerse other knights and esquires. And for the French king were there present Charles duke of Bourbon, Letes erle of Wandosme, Arthur of Britaine constable of France, the archbishop of Reimes, and sir Phillip Harecourt. The duke of Burgognie was there in proper person, accompanied with the duke of Guelders, and the earles of Estampes, Lignie, S. Paule, Claudemont, Peures, and Daniell sonne to the prince of Orange, with a great gard and a gallant companie.

Upon the date of the first session, the cardinall of S. Crosse declared to the thre parties the innumerable mischaeses, that had followed to the whole state of the christian common-wealth by their continuall dissention and daileie discord, exhorting them for the honour of God, & for the loue which they ought to beare towards the aduancement of his faith and true religion, to conforme themselves to reason, and to late aside all rancor, malice and displeasure; so that in concluding a godlie peace, they might receive profit and quietnesse here in this world, and of God an euerslasting reward in heauen. After this admonition, and diuerse dates of communication, euerie partie brought in their demands, which were most contrarie, and farre from anie likelihood of coming to a god conclusion.

The Englishmen would that king Charles should haue nothing but what it pleased the king of England, and that not as dutie, but as a benefit by him of his more liberalitie giuen and distributed. The Frenchmen on the other part would that B. Charles should haue the kingdome franklie and frelie, and that the king of England should leave the name, armes, and title of the king of France, and to be content with the dukedomes of Aquitaine and Normandie, and to forsake Paris, and all the townes which they possessed in France, betwene the rivers of Some and Loire, being no parcell of the duchie of Normandie. To be bréfe, the demands of all parts were betwene them so farre out of square, as hope of concord there was none at all.

The cardinals seeing them so farre in sunder, minded not to dispute their titles, but offered them reasonable conditions of truce and peace for a season, which notwithstanding, either of stowardnesse, or of disdain on both parts, were openlie refused. And

much that the Englishmen in great displeasure, departed to Calis, and so into England. ¶ One writer affirmeth, that they being warned of a secret conspiracie moued against them, suddenly departed from Arras, and so returned into their countrie. But what cause so euer hindered their accord and bntie (sith this and that may be surmized) certene it is, that the onelie and principall cause was, for that the God of peace and loue was not among them, without whom no discord is quenched, no knot of concord fastened, no bond of peace confirmed, no distracted minds reconciled, no true friendship maintained: for had he bene among them, their dissenting and wastward willes had sounded the sweet harmonie of amiable peace, which of all things that God hath bestowed vpon man is the verie best, and more to be set by than manie triumphs, as the poet excellentlie well saith:

*pax optima rerum
Quas homini nouisse datum: pax una triumphis
Innumeris potior: pax custodire salutem
Et cines equare potens.*

Sil. Ital. lib. 11.

Now whiles this treatie of peace was in hand, the lord Talbot, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Scales, with the lord Lisle Adam, and five thousand men of warre, besieged the towne of saint Denis with a strong band. The earle of Dunois hearing hereof, accompanied with the lord Lohac, and the lord Bueil, with a great compante of horsemen halsted thitherwards to raise the siege, and by the waie encountered with sir Thomas Kirtell, and Mattheu Cough, riding also toward saint Denis, betwene whom was a great confliat. But suddenly came to the aid of the Frenchmen the garrison of Pont Auelan, which caused the Englishmen to returne without anie great harme or damage: saving that Mattheu Cough by foundering of his horse was taken, and carried to Pont Auelan.

* Or rather Goche.

* Or Goche.

In the meane time was the towne of saint Denis rendered to the Englishmen, the which raced the walles and fortifications, sauing the walles of the abbete, and of the towne called Wenin. Shortly after the towne of Pontois, where sir John Kuppelleie was capteine, rebelled; and by force the Englishmen were expelled, the inhabitants yielding themselves to the French king. This towne was small, but the losse was great, because it was the keie that opened the passage betwixt the cities of Paris and Rone. But now to returne to the communication at Arras, which after the departure of the English commissioners held betwixt the Frenchmen & Burgognians, at length a peace was concluded, accorded, and sworn betwixt king Charles and duke Philip of Burgognie, vpon certeine conditions, as in the French histories more plainlie appeareth.

A peace betwixt Charles of France and the duke of Burgognie.

And after, the duke of Burgognie, to set a vesse before the king of England, sent Wholson Dore his cheefe herald to king Henrie with letters, excusing the matter by way of information, that he was constrained to enter in this league with B. Charles, by the daileie outcries, complaints, and lamentations of his people; alledging against him, that he was the onlie cause of the long continuance of the wars, to the bitter impoverishing of his owne people, and the whole nation of France. Therefore sith he could not otherwise do, but partlie to content his owne people, and chéeflie to satisfie the request of the whole generall counsell, was in manner compelled for his part to growe vnto a peace and amitie with king Charles.

He likewise wished that king Henrie, vpon reasonable and honozable conditions of agreement offered, should in no wise refuse the same: whereby the long continued warre at length might cease and take end, to the pleasure of almighty God, which is

1434.
140 Reg. 13.

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A solemn
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at Arras.

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the authoꝝ of peace and unitie: & hereto he promised him his aid and furtherance, with manie gaie wordes, which I passe over. The superscription of this letter was thus. [To the high and mightie prince, Henrie by the grace of God king of England, his welbeloued couline.] Neither naming him king of France, noꝝ his soueraigne lord, according as (euer before that time) he was accustomed to doe. This letter was much maruelled at of the counsell, after they had thoghlie considered all the contents thereof, & they could not but be much disquieted, so far forth that diuerse of them offended so much with the vntrusty of the duke, that they could not temper their passions, but openlie called him traitoꝝ.

Spoile vpon
the Burgog-
nian people in
London.

W. P.

Anno Reg. 14.
The death of
the duke of
Bedford re-
gent of France

At Swythys sal-
ing of a wise
prince.

Henry sixth.

But when the rumoꝝ of the dukes revolting was published amongst the people, they left wordes, and fell to bestowing of stripes: for being pricked with these euill tidings, they ran in great outrage vpon all the Flemings, Hollanders, and Burgognions, which then inhabited within the citie of London, and the suburbs of the same, and slue and hurt a great number of them before they, by the kings proclamation, could be staied from such iniurious doing: for the king nothing more minded than to saue innocent blood, and to defend them that had not offended. The officer at armes was willed to tell his maister, that it stood not with his honoꝝ to be enemie to the English nation; and that his dutie had bene to keepe his ancient truth and allegiance, rather than to be occasion of new warre. And what a new reconciled enemie was in respect of an old tried friend, he might shortly find. [When the messenger with this answer was dispatched, and vpon consultation found, a matter standing both with good policie in forcing the proud subiect to know his obedience, and also with great equitie to twitche aquareller with such pinfars as where with afore he had nipt an other, so was it anon brought about, that sundrie of his good townes and citie rebelled against him, whereby (lesse to his liking than to his deseruing) he was verie well made to bite of a chokepeare of his owne grafting.]

This yeaere the fourteenth date of September died John duke of Bedford, regent of France, a man both politike in peace, and hardie in warre, and yet no more hardie than mercifull when he had the victorie, whose bodie was with all funerall solemnities buried in the cathedrall church of our ladie in Rone, on the north side of the high altar, vnder a sumptuous and costlie monument. Which some when king Edward the eleauenth, by certeine vndiscreet persons was counselled to deface, affirming that it was a great dishonour both to the king and to the realme, to see the enemie of his father and theirs to haue so solemne and rich a memorie: he answered saleng, What honour shall it be to vs, or to you, to breake this monument, and to pull out of the ground the dead bones of him, whome in his life neither my father noꝝ your progenitours, with all their power, puissance, and friends were once able to make flee one foot backward; but by his strength, wit, and policie, kept them all out of the principall dominions of the realme of France, and out of this noble and famous duchie of Normandie: Wherefore I saie, first, God haue his soule, and let his bodie now lie in rest, which when he was alive, would haue disquieted the proudest of vs all. And as for the tome, I assure you, it is not so decent noꝝ conuenient, as his honour and acts deserued, although it were much richer, and more beautiful.

The frost was so extreame this yeaere, beginning about the five and twentieth date of Nouember, and continuing till the tenth of February, that the ships with merchandize arriving at the Thames mouth, could not come by the riuer: so their lading there

saine to be discharged, was brought to the citie by land. After the death of that noble prince the duke of Bedford, the bright sunne in France toward Englishmen, began to be cloudie, and daile to darken, the Frenchmen began not onelie to withdraue their obedience by oth to the king of England, but also toke sword in hand & openlie rebelled. Notwith all these mishaps could not anie thing abate the valiant courages of the English people: for they hauing no mistrust in God and good fortune, set vp a new saile, began the warre afresh, and appointed for regent in France, Richard duke of Yorke, sonne to Richard earle of Cambridge.

Although the duke of Yorke was worthe (both for birth and courage) of this honoꝝ and preferment, yet so disdained of Edmund duke of Summerfet being couline to the king, that by all means possible he sought his hinderance, as one glad of his losse, and sozie of his well doing: by reason whereof, per the duke of Yorke could get his dispatch, Paris and diuerse other of the cheefest places in France were gotten by the French king. The duke of Yorke perceiving his euill will, openlie dissembled that which he inwardlie minded, either of them working things to the others displeasure, till through malice & diuision betweene them, at length by mortall warre they were both consumed, with almost all their whole lines and of spring.

The Normans of the countrie of Caen, being heartened by the death of the duke of Bedford, began a new rebellion, slue diuerse Englishmen, robbed manie townes that were under the English obedience, and toke the towne of Harfleur by assault, and diuerse other townes. But the lord regent being aduertised, sent forth the lord Scales, sir Thomas Ruffell, and the lord How, which so afflicted those rebels of Caen, that they slue aboue five thousand persons, and burnt all the townes and villages in the countrie, not being walled: so that in that part was neither habitation noꝝ tillage, for all the people fled into Britaine, and all the beasts of the countrie were brought to Caudebecke, where a good shepe was sold for an English penie, and a Cow for twelue pence. Daile was skirmishing and fighting in euerie part, in so much that the lord Scales at the Rie beside Rone, discomfited the hire, and fiftene hundred ballant Frenchmen, of the which, aboue three hundred were taken prisoners, beside the gaine of seauen faire countres.

Amongst other of the prisoners, were sir Richard Reginald de Fontaines, sir Alain Gerond, Alain Monlaie, and Gessie Grame, capteine of the Scots. But yet this victorie and others the like, staied not the Frenchmen from working treason daile, in so much that diuers townes turned to the part of R. Charles, and some were taken by practise, as Diepe, Bois, Vincennes, and others. So that here partlie was accomplished the prophesie of Henrie the sixt, giuen out in the ninth yeaere of his reigne when he laie at siege before Heaur, that Henrie of Windsoꝝ should lose all that Henrie of Monmouth had gotten (for so they are named according to the place of their natiuitie) and this prediction was complet and full by that time the yeaeres of his regiment were expired.

But here is one chiefe point to be noted, that either the disdaine amongst the cheefe peeres of the realme of England (as yee haue heard) or the negligence of the kings counsell (which did not foresee dangers to come) was the losse of the whole dominion of France, betweene the riuers of Sone and Marne, and in especiall, of the noble citie of Paris. For where before, there were sent ouer thousands for defense of the holds and fortresses, now were sent hundreds, yea and scores, some rascals, and some not able

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The duke of
York made
regent of
France.

1436

able to draw a bowe, or carrie a bill: for the lord Willoughbie, and the bishop of Terwine, which had the governance of the great cite of Paris, had in their companie not two thousand Englishmen.

Which weakenesse king Charles well perceived, and therefore by authoritie appointed the constable, Arthur of Britaine, the earle of Dunois, the lords de la Roch, and Lile Adam, with other valiant captains and men of warre, as well Burgognions as French, to go before Paris, trusting by favour of certaine citizens, with whome he had intelligence, thortlie to be lord of the cite, without great losse or battell. So these captains came before the cite of Paris. But perceiuing that all things succeeded not according to their expectation, they returned to Spont Party, and the next daie suddenlie set on the towne of Saint Denis, and constrained the Englishmen that kept it, to flee into the abbeie, and into the tower Menin. In this conflict two hundred Englishmen were slaine, the residue vpon reasonable composition rendered by the place, and departed to Paris.

Thomas lord Beaumont, who of late was come to Paris with eight hundred men, issued forth with six hundred souldiers, intending to view the doings and number of the French armie; but suddenlie compassed about, within a small space was discomfited and taken, with him fourescore prisoners, beside two hundred slaine in the field, the remnant chased to the verie gates of the cite. The Parisiens, and especiallie the maister of the halles, and some of the vniuersitie, and Michaell Lallier, and manie notable burgesses of the cite (who euer with an English countenance couered a French hart) perceiuing the weakenesse of the Englishmen, and force of the French; signified to the French captains their toward minds willing them with all diligence to come & receiue so rich a preie without anie difficultie, readie to be giuen and deliuered into their hands.

The constable delaing no time, came with his power, lodged by the charter house: and the lord Lile Adam, approaching to the walles, shewed to the citizens a charter, sealed with the great seale of king Charles, by the which he had pardoned them their offenses, and granted to them all their old liberties, and ancient priuileges, so that they would hereafter be to him true and obedient: which thing to them declared, they ran about the towne, crying; S. Denis, live king Charles. The Englishmen perceiuing this, determined to keepe the gate S. Denis, but they were deceived: for the cheines were drawne in euerie street, and women and children cast downe stones and scalding water on the Englishmens heads, and the citizens in armour fought with them and chased them from street to street, and from lane to lane, and slew and hurt diuerse and manie of them.

The bishop of Terwine, chancelor there for king Henrie, the lord Willoughbie, and sir Simon Moruier, toke great paine to appease the people: but when they saw that all auailed not, they withdrew into the basilie of saint Anthonie, which fortresse they had well vittelled, and furnished with men and munitions. Whilst this rumor was in the towne, the earle of Dunois and others scaled the walles, and some passed the riuer by botes, and opened the gate of saint James, by the which the constable with his banner displayed, entered, at whose entrie the Parisiens made great ioy. The bishop and the lord Willoughbie, with their small companie, defended their fortresse ten daies, looking for aid: but when they saw that no comfort appeared, they yelded their fortresse, so that they and theirs, with certaine baggage, might peaceably returne to Rone. Thus was the cite of Paris brought into the possession of Charles the

French king, through the vntrue demeanour of the citizens, who contrarie to their othe, and promised allegiance, like false and inconstant people, so reuolted from the English.

After this glorious gaine, the Frenchmen besieged the towne of Craill vpon Oise, wherof sir William Chamberlaine was capteine, the which with five hundred Englishmen issued out of the towne, and after long fight, discomfited his enemies, & slew two hundred, and toke a great number prisoners: the remnant not liking the market, departed to Campaigne, and other townes adioining. During which season, twelue burgesses of the towne of Gisors sold it for monie vnto Poiton de Vantrailes. But he had not the castell deliuered, & therefore with all his power, he besieged the same; wherof the lord Talbot being aduertised, sent for the lord Scales, and they both with eightene hundred men rescued the castell, toke the towne, and discomfited their enemies, and slew of them aboue foure hundred persons.

Now according to the old saieing (when the steed is stolen that the stable doze) the duke of Yorke appointed at the last parlement to be regent of France (after that Paris, Saint Denis, Saint Germans in Laie, and diuerse other townes in France were taken and betrayed for lacke of conuenient succours) was sent ouer into Normandie with eight thousand men, and in his companie, the earles of Salisburie, and Suffolke, and the lord Fauconbridge, and diuerse other valiant captains. When he was landed, the earle of Salisburie besieged the castell of Chambois, which thortlie was to him rendered. Then the duke removed to Rone, where he set good orders, and did great iustice to the countrie; wherefore the Normans in their chronicles highlie extoll him for that point. Whobest they saie, that he gat by long siege the towne and abbeie of Jfecampe, and did none other notable act, during the time of his rule and gouernment.

In this fourteenth yeare, the duke of Burgognie determined by the aduise of his counsell, to attempt the winning of Calis. The prouision was wondrous great which was made for the atchiuing of this enterpryse: wherof sir John Katcliffe, deputy of the towne of Calis, hauing perfect intelligence, aduertised king Henrie, and his counsell, who incontinently sent thither the earle of Poitaigne, sonne to the duke of Summerfet, and the lord Camois, with fiftene hundred men, and great foison of bittels, that issued out of Calis, and came before Crauelin, where they were encountered with a great number of Flemings, who were thortlie discomfited, foure hundred of them slaine, and six score taken prisoners. Within two daies after, the Englishmen droue by fine force the lords of Warren and Bado to the barriers of Ard, and discomfited their whole companie, to the number of fiftene hundred, slew seauen valiant captains, and toke manie gentlemen prisoners.

The duke of Burgognie, remaining still in his former purpose, assembled together, of Flemings, Picards, Hollanders, and Venelouers, a great armie, to the number of fortie thousand, so well armed, so well vittelled, so well furnished with ordnance, and garnished in all things, that they thought and blazed amongst themselves, that the Calissians would leaue their towne desolate, and flee for their safegard, hearing onelie of the dukes approach: but they reckoned without their host; and so paid a dearer shot than they looked for. Now when this mightie armie was past the water of Crauelin, the duke intending to begin his feats, assaulted the little poxe castell of Die, which hauing in it but fiftie souldiers, wherof twelue sold their liues deuelie; the remnant (compelled by necessitie) yelded themselves to the dukes mercie.

The duke set
into France
twelue.

The duke of
Burgonie pre-
pared an ar-
mie against
Calis.

The duke of
Burgonie
with fortie
thousand me.

Abr. Fl.
See before
pag. 581.

Paris paided
to French
king.

mercie. Which to please the Gantois (being of number most puissant in all the armie) liberrallie gaue to them, both the castell and prisoners, who (rude & cruell people) not onelie rased the castell, but also hanged nine and twentie of the captiues, and had so done with the residue, if the duke, offended at their cruelty, had not willed a staie.

Calis besieged by the duke of Burgogne.

After this feat done, the Picards besieged the castell of Marke, & gaue thre assaults to it. The Englishmen within, being in number two hundred and sir, under the gouernement of their capteine sir John Ceding, balliantlie defended the place; untill at length, despairing of succours, they yelbed themselves (their liues & lims saued.) The castell of Marke being thus deliuered, was rased to the ground. When the duke, accompanied with the duke of Clences, the earle of Stamper, the lord of Dantoing, Croie, Criquite, Humiers, and manie other barons and knights, with his great armie, came before Calis, & placed his siege about the same, most to his advantage: he gaue thre assaults, and gained nothing by them, but constrained to keepe them further off. At the first assault, the hire which was come to see the duke of Burgogne, was sore wounded and hurt. A coling card it was also vnto them, still to see ships arriued in the haven out of England, openlie before their faces, laden with vittels, munition and men.

The dukes enterprise to bar the haven.

The duke on a daie riding about to vieto the situation of the towne, to the intent to take his most advantage (either by assault or otherwise) was quickelie espied, and with the shot of a canon, a trumpet, which rode next before him, and thre horses in his companie were slaine out of hand. The lord of Croie, and a conuenient number with him, was appointed to besiege the castell of Guisnes, where he got little profit, and did lesse harme. Moreover, for the better aduancing of his enterprise, the duke minded to stop by the haven; so that no succours should enter there. Whereupon, he caused foure great hulkes to be fraught with great square stones, cemented and joined together with lead, to the intent they should lie still like a mount, and not seuer in sunder.

These ships, with the residue of the dukes nauie, were conueied into the mouth of Calis haven, and at a full sea, by craft and policie, were sonke downe to the ground. But whether God would not that the haven should be destroyed, either the conueiers of the hulkes knew not the verie chanell; these foure great ships, at the low water, late openlie vpon the sands, without hurting the rode or chanell. Which when the souldiers perceived, they issued out of the towne, brake the ships, and caried both the stones and timber into the towne. An other deuise the duke had, which was the building of a strong bassile vpon a little mountaine, which he furnished with foure hundred men, and much artillerie, that did impeach the Englishmen from issuing forth of the towne, to their great displeasure.

Whilist these things were adoming, there came to the duke an herald called Benbroke, belonging to the duke of Glocester, who declared to the duke of Burgogne, that the protector of England his master (if God would send him wind & weather) would giue him battell, either there, or in anie other place within his owne countrie, where he would appoint, and that with speed, if God vouchsafed him wind and weather. The duke answered the herald; Sir, saie to your master, that his challenge is both honorable and reasonable: howbeit, he shall not need to take the paines to seeke me in mine owne countrie, for (God willing) he shall find me here, till I haue my will of the towne, ready to abide him and all the power he can bring. After the herald had receiued this answer, he was highlie cheered, and had a cup and an hundred

guildens to him given in reward, and so he returned to Calis.

After whose departure, the duke called a council in the chiefe pavilion of the Gantois, about this message of the English herald, where it was determined with great courage, that they would abide the battell, if the duke of Glocester came to offer it. Whilist this great matter was in consultation, the Calisians, not well content with the bassile which the duke had newlie builded, issued out of the towne in great number, part on horsebacke and part on foot. The footmen ran to assault the bassile, and the horsemen went betwene the armie & the assailants, to stop the aid and succours that might come. Upon the sounding of the alarme, the duke himselfe in person was comming on foot, to releue his men: but being kept backe a space by the English horsemen, in that delay of time, the bassile was wone by fire force, and eight score persons of those that kept it slaine, beside the residue which were taken prisoners, and led to Calis, with all the ordinance and artillerie, to the high displeasure of the duke and his prudent council. The next daie after, there sprang a rumour in the armie (no man could tell how) that the duke of Glocester with a great puissance was already imbarcked, and would arriue at the next tide. The same night the duke fled awaie, and sent in all hast to the lord of Croie, to raise his siege before Guisnes, which tidings were to him verie iolous, for he neither got nor saued. So these two capteins departed, leauing behind them, both ordinance, vittels, & great riches.

The French writers (to saue the honor of the duke of Burgogne) saie, that there was a certeine discord and commotion amongst the Flemings and Dutch nation, affirming, that the great lords and the Picards (whome the Frenchmen greatly extoll) would betraye and sell the Flemings and their friends, and that for the same cause in a great furie they cried; Home, home: and would not carrie for anie request that the duke could make, and so by their misgouernance, the duke was inforced to raise his siege, and to depart. The Flemish authors affirme the contrarie, saing, that they were ready to abide the coming of the duke of Glocester: but the duke of Burgogne fearing to be intrapped betwene the English armie without, and the garrison within the towne of Calis, fled awaie in the night, giuing to them no warning thereof before, so that for lacke of time, and conuenient space to lade and carrie their stuffe, and being commanded vpon the sudden to dislodge with all speed, they left behind them their vittels, tents, and other things, to their great losse and detriment.

Howseuer the matter was, the truth is, that he fled the six and twentieth daie of Iulie, in the night. And the next daie in the morning, the duke of Glocester landed in Calis haven; & straight went into the campe, where his enemies the night before were lodged, and there he found manie faire peeces of ordinance, and speciallie one called Digeon: so named, after the chafe towne of Burgogne; beside pavilions, wine, beere, meale, and innumerable vittels. The duke of Glocester, seeing his enemies reueled, hauing in his companie five and twentie thousand men, entered into slanders, burning houses, killing such as made resistance, destroying the countrie on euerie part, setting fire in the townes of Popertind, Baillieu, and others. Also, they wasted the suburbs of diuerse closed townes, and after passed by Fleu castell, Aimefure, and Malon chapel: and then entering into Artois, they came to Arques and Blaydesques, setting fire in euerie part where they came. Thus they passed by saint Omers, and finally by Arde returned to Guisnes: and so to Calis at the six weeks end, with great booties of cattell and riches.

Island.

Important.

The duke of Burgogne.

The king of Scots fled in his siege of Rockingham.

Ano Reg. 15.

The duke of Burgogne besieged by the duke of Calis, and the duke of Arde.

Service taken by the king of England and the duke of Burgogne.

Hall.

The duke of Burgogne.

The duke of Burgogne.

1447

Catharine mother to King Henrie married Owen Tudor.

In all this their iournie, they had but small sto-
cks of bread, which caused much faintnesse and diuerse di-
scases in the armie, whereof a greater number died
than did of the enemies sword: and yet the Flemings
wrote, that they of Bruges distressed to the number
of two thousand Englishmen in this iournie. How-
beit, the French writers affirme, that the English-
men lost more of their companie in the marches a-
bout Ard, than they did in all other places where
they had bene before, hauing passed through the par-
ties of Flanders, without encounter, or any damage
done to them by the enemies. After that, the duke of
Glocester returned into England, where he was ad-
uertised, that James king of Scots had besieged the
castell of Rochesburgh with thirtie thousand men:
but the capitaine thereof, sir Rafe Greie defended it
so manfullie, for the space of twentie daies, that king
James being then aduertised, that the earle of Por-
tumberland was comming to fight with him, fled
with no lesse losse than dishonour, and enough of both.

Shoorte after that the duke of Burgognie had bene before Calis, at the desire of princes, a truce for a time was moued to be had betwene the king of England & the said duke. For which cause were sent to Grauelin for the king of England, Henrie Beauforde cardinall of Winchester, John lord Botvort duke of Northfolke, Humfreie earle of Stafford, and diuerse other well learned & honorable personages. And for the duke of Burgognie, there appeared the duchesse his wife, the bishop of Arras, the lord of Croie, and diuerse other. At this treatie, a truce was taken for a small time, and for a lesse obserued, which was concluded betwene the king of England, and the duchesse of Burgognie (interlacing the duke and his name.)

Some thinke, that the king of England would neuer enter in league with him, because he had broken his promise, and waxing sealed to him, and to his father. Other imagined this to be done of a cattell, to cast a mist before the French kings eyes, to the intent he should beleue that this feat was wrought by the duchesse, without assent or knowledge of the duke or his counsell; and so he was not bound to accomplish anie act or thing done in his twines treatie. Thus may you see, that princes sometime with such vaine glosses and scoznesfull expostitions will hide their doings, and cloke their purposes; to the intent they would not either be espied, or else that they may plucke their heads out of the collar at their pleasure. But (as the common opinion goeth) he which is a promise-breaker escapeth not alwaies with impunity. For it is well sene by daillie and vsuall euents both in princes and priuat persons, that for violating their faith, and breaking of promise, manie discomforts arise, and inconueniences not a few do follow. To the due keeping whereof the heathen bare such a religious confidence, that a prophane man in respect of others, preferreth it before sacrifice, the sentence is of great excellencie out of a pagans mouth:

Non boue mactato cœlestia numina gaudent,
Sed quæ præstanda est & sine teste fide.

About this season, queene Batharine mother to the king of England departed out of this life, and was buried by hir husband in the abbeye of Westminster. This woman, after the death of king Henrie the sixth hir husband, being young and lustie, following more hir owne wanton appetite than frendlie counsell, and regarding more private affection than princelike honour, toke to husband ysallie a galant gentleman and a right beautifull person, inducd with manye goodlie gifts both of bodie & mind, called Owen Teufler, a man descended of the noble lineage and ancient line of Cadwallader last king of the Britains. By this Owen he brought forth three goodlie

sonnes, Edmund, Jasper, and another that was a monke in Westminster, and liued a small time: also a daughter which in hir youth departed out of this transitorie life.

King Henrie, after the death of his mother, because, they were his brethren of one wombe, created Edmund earle of Richmund, and Jasper earle of Penbrooke: whiche Edmund of Margaret daughter and sole heire to John duke of Summerfet begat Henrie, who after was king of this realme, called Henrie the seuenth, of whome ye shall heare more in place conuenient. This Ewen, after the death of the quene his wife, was apprehended and committed to ward, because that (contrarie to the Statute made in the first yeare of this king) he presumptuously had married the quene, without the kings especiall assent, out of which prison he escaped, and let out other with him, but was againe apprehended, and after escaped againe. ¶ Polychronicon saith that he was a squier of low birth and like degree, the same author also reporteth that he was commanded to Heligate by the duke of Glocester then lord protector of the realme: out of which prison he brake by the helpe of a priest that was his chapline. Neuerthelesse he was apprehended afterwards by the lord Beaumont, & brought againe to Heligate, whence (when he had remanied there a while) he was deliuered and set at libertie.]

The duchesse of Bedford also, sister to Lewes erle of S. Paule, more for affection than increase of honour, without counsell of hir friends, married a lustie yong knight, called sir Richard-Module, to the great displeasure of hir uncle the bishop of Teruine, and the earle hir brother. This sir Richard was made baron of Alizers, and after earle, and had by this ladie manie noble sonnes, and saite daughters, of the which one was the ladie Elizabeth, after queene of England, by reason she was married vnto Edward the fourth. ¶ Whilste this marriage was a celebrating, Jane late queene of England, and before duchesse of Britaine, daughter to the king of Spaurre, and wiffe to king Henrie the fourth, died at the manor of Hauering, and was buried by hir husband at Canturbrie. ¶ About the same time, deceased also the countesse of Marworke, and Henrie archbishop of Yorke.

In this yeare also, the duke of Summerſet, accompanied with the lords of Fauconbridge, Talbot, ſir Francis Surien, the Arrogannois, Mattheo "Cough, Thomas Banlet, Thomas Harington, Walter Limbricke, John Gedding, William Watton eſquiers, and Thomas Hilton balliffe of Rorie, with a great companie of the Engliſh partie, beſieged the towne of Harfue (latelie before gotten by the Frenchmen) both by water and land: the capteine within the towne was one ſir John d'Efouteuille, hauing his brother Robert with him, and a ſir hundred good fighting men. The aſſailants caſt trenches, and ſo fortified themſelues in their campe and lodgings, that when the earles of Ew and Dunois, the valiant baſſard of Bourbon, the lord Calincourt, and other famous capteins, with a foure thousand men, ſent to the reſcuf of them within, came before the towne, they could not ſuccour their friends, nor annioe their enemies by anie means they could deu-; 1 ſo ſo; feare to loſe honour, they returned backe againe, with much trauell and little proſit.

The capitaine within the towne perceiving they could not be aided, did shortly after render the towne to the duke of Summerset; who after committed it to the keeping of Thomas Haule, William Limbyske, Christopher Barber, and George Saint George, which manie yeares (till the dissolun began in England) manfullie and valiantlie defended both the towne and the haven. But afterward, when this duke of Summerset was regent and governour of

Abr. Fl.

Queen Elizabeth.

* Or rather
Goche.

Harflue belieg
ged and won
by the Eng-
lishmen.

The duke of
Summerlee
unfortunately

An. Reg. 14, 15.

In all this their tourne, they had but small store of bread, which caused much faintnesse and diuerse diseases in the armie, whereof a greater number died than did of the enemies sword: and yet the Flemings write, that they of Burges distressed to the number of two thousand Englishmen in this tourne. Holbeitt, the French writers affirme, that the Englishmen lost more of their companie in the marches about Ard, than they did in all other places where they had bene before, hauing passed through the parties of flanders, without encounter, or any damage done to them by the enemies. After that, the duke of Glocester returned into England, where he was aduertised, that James king of Scots had besieged the castell of Rockeburgh with thirtie thousand men: but the captaine thereof, sir Rafe Greie defended it so manfully, for the space of twentie daies, that king James being then aduertised, that the earle of Northumberland was comming to fight with him, fled with no lesse losse than dishonour, and inough of both.

Shortly after that the duke of Burgogonie had bene before Calles, at the desire of princes, a truce for a time was moued to be had betwene the king of England & the said duke. For which cause were sent to Cranelin for the king of England, Henrie Beaupord cardinall of Winchester, John lord Spotsfoz duke of Northfolke, Humfrie earle of Stafford, and diuerse other well learned & honorable personages. And for the duke of Burgogonie, there appeared the duchesse his wife, the bishop of Arras, the lord of Croie, and diuerse other. At this treatie, a truce was taken for a small time, and for a lesse obserued, which was concluded betwene the king of England, and the duchesse of Burgogonie (interlacing the duke and his name.)

Some thinke, that the king of England would neuer enter in league with him, because he had broken his promise, oth, and writing sealed to him, and to his father. Other imagined this to be done of a cattell, to cast a mist before the French kings eyes, to the intent he should beleue that this feat was wrought by the duchesse, without assent or knowledge of the duke or his counsell; and so he was not bound to accomplish anie act or thing done in his wifes treatie. Thus may you see, that princes sometime with such vaine glosses and scornfull expositions will hide their doings, and cloke their purposes; to the intent they would not either be espied, or else that they may plucke their heads out of the collar at their pleasure. But (as the common opinion goeth) he which is a promise-breaker escapeth not alwaies with impunity. For it is well seene by daillie and vsuall enents both in princes and priuat persons, that for violating their faith, and breaking of promise, manie discomforts arise, and inconueniences not a few do follow. To the due keeping whereof the heathen bare such a religious conscience, that a prophane man in respect of others, preferreth it before sacrifice, the sentence is of great excellencie out of a pagans mouth:

*Non boue multato celestia numina gaudent,
sed que prastanda est sine ueste fide.*

About this season, queene Katharine mother to the king of England departed out of this life, and was buried by hir husband in the abbey of Westminster. This woman, after the death of king Henrie the sixt hir owne wanton appetite than frendlie counsell, and regarding more priuate affection than princelike honour, toke to husband priuillie a galant gentleman and a right beautifull person, indued with manie goodlie gifts both of bodie & mind, called Owen Tudor, a man descended of the noble lineage and ancient line of Cadwallader last king of the Britains. By this Owen she brought forth thre goodlie

sonnes, Edmund, Jasper, and another that was a monke in Westminster, and liued a small time: also a daughter which in hir youth departed out of this transitorie life.

King Henrie, after the death of his mother, because, they were his brethren of one wombe, created Edmund earle of Richmond, and Jasper earle of Penbroke: which Edmund of Margaret daughter and sole heire to John duke of Summerfet begat Henrie, who after was king of this realme, called Henrie the seuenth, of whome ye shall heare more in place conuenient. This Owen, after the death of the queene his wife, was apprehended and committed to ward, because that (contrarie to the statute made in the first yeare of this king) he presumptuously had married the queene, without the kings especiall assent, out of which prison he escaped, and let out other with him, but was againe apprehended, and after escaped againe. ¶ Polychronicon saith that he was a squire of low birth and like degre, the same author also reporteth that he was commanded to flee by the duke of Glocester then lord protectour of the realme: out of which prison he brake by the helpe of a priest that was his chapline. Nevertheless he was apprehended afterwards by the lord Beaumont, & brought againe to Newgate, whence (when he had remained there a while) he was deliuered and set at libertie.]

The duchesse of Bedford also, sister to Lewes erle of Saluile, more for affection than increase of honour, without counsell of hir friends, married a lustie young knight, called sir Richard Woodville, to the great displeasure of hir uncle the bishop of Exeter, and the earle hir brother. This sir Richard was made baron of Rivers, and after earle, and had by this ladie manie noble sonnes, and faire daughters, of the which one was the ladie Elizabeth, after queene of England, by reason she was married unto Edward the fourth. ¶ Whilest this marriage was a celebrating, Jane late queene of England, and before duchesse of Britaine, daughter to the king of Navarre, and wife to king Henrie the fourth, died at the manor of Haruering, and was buried by hir husband at Cantuarie. ¶ About the same time, deceased also the countesse of Marwarke, and Henrie archbishop of York.

In this yeare also, the duke of Summerfet, accompanied with the lords of Fauconbridge, Talbot, sir Francis Surten, the Arrogomnois, Patthetough, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Harington, Walter Limbrike, John Gedding, William Watton esquires, and Thomas Hilton balliffe of Kione, with a great companie of the English partie, besieged the towne of Harflue (latelie before gotten by the Frenchmen) both by water and land: the captaine within the towne was one sir John d'Esouteuille, hauing his brother Robert with him, and a hundred good fighting men. The assailants cast trenches, and so fortified themselves in their campe and lodgings, that when the earles of Glouc and Dunois, the valiant bastard of Bourbon, the lord Caluocourt, and other famous captains, with a four thousand men, sent to the rescue of them within, came before the towne, they could not succour their friends, nor annioie their enemies by anie means they could deuise; so for feare to lose honour, they returned backe againe, with much trauell and little profit.

The captains within the towne perceiving they could not be aided, did shortly after render the towne to the duke of Summerfet; who after committed it to the keeping of Thomas Paulet, William Limbrike, Christopher Barber, and George saint George, which manie yeares (till the diuision began in England) manfully and valiantlie defended both the towne and the haven. But afterward, when this duke of Summerfet was regent and gouernour of

Beland.

Enguerrant.

The duke of Burgie while he was in the siege of Rockeburgh.

The king of Scots fled from his siege at Rockeburgh.

Anno Reg. 15.

The duke of Burgogonie professeth by the siege before Calles, and shortly, the 5 of Iulie.

Truce taken betwene the king of England and the duchesse of Burgogonie. Hall.

I gun called pigeon.

The duke of Glocester solleth flanders.

Katharine mother to king Henrie the sixt.

Abt. Fl.

Queene Elizabeth.

* Or rather Coche.

Harflue besieged and won by the Englishmen.

The duke of Summerfets unfortunate.

James king
of Scots
murdered.
Abr. Fl. ex
Polychr.

po:mandie, he not onlie lost this towne of Harfluc, but also the cite of Rone, and the whole duchie of po:mandie, whereas now (being but a depatie) he got it to his high praise and glorie. In this peare was James king of Scots murdered by certeine traitors of his owne subiects: euen in his bedchamber by night, which king (saith Polychr.) had bene prisoner in England fiftene yeares, the murderers of whom being afterwards taken, were terrible executed.]

The lord Talbot besieged Tankersle, and after foure moneths had it simple to him rendered. This towne was no great gaine to the Englishmen, for in the meane season, the French king in his owne person besieged the strong towne of Pontreueault Vonne; whereof Thomas Gerard being capteine, more for desire of reward, than for feare of enemies, sold the towne to the French king, and had of him great gifts and intertainment, as afterwards was openlie known. This towne had bene rescued of the French king fought withall, if one chance had not happened. For the duke of Borke about that time was discharged of his office, and the earle of Warwicke preferred to the same, so that the duke of Borke, lieng as then at Rone, would haue gladlie rescued the towne, if his authoritie had not surceased; and the earle of Warwicke could not come in time, for the wind was contrarie to him.

The earle of
Warwicke
made regent
of France.

This present peare was a parlement holden at Westminster, in the which manie god and profitable acts for the preservation of concord at home, and defence against the enemies abroad, were ordeined and deuised. Arthur of Britaine constable of France, and John duke of Alanson, were sent by the French king into po:mandie, with a great armie, to besiege the towne of Auranches, standing vpon the knop of an hill: where after they had laien a certeine space without gaine, the lord Talbot with a valiant companie of men came thither, and offered the enemies battell. Which when they at all hands refused, the lord Talbot perceling their faint hearts, raised his field, and in the open sight of them all, entered into the towne, and the next daie issued out; and finding the Frenchmen riding abroad to destroye the plaine countrie, he compassed them about, and slue manie of them, and toke diuers prisoners. Although the Frenchmen got neither hono: nor profit by this iourne, yet they enterprised a greater matter, as the winning of Rone; in so much that Douton de Sanctreils, and the Bre, with manie other notable captains, hauing promise of certeine burgeses of that cite to haue entrie made them, secretlie in the night came forwarde to a towne called Kise or Kiz, not past foure leagues from Rone, and there lodged.

The lord Talbot, the lord Scales, and sir Thomas Biriell hearing of their approach, set out of Rone at midnight, & with great paine came to Kise so couertlie in the morning, that the French suddenlie surprised and set vpon, like men all amazed ran awaie and fled. In the chase were taken the lord of Fontaines, sir Aleine Geron, sir Lewes de Walle, and threescore knights, and esquires, beside others; and there were slaine two hundred and moze. The Bre escaped verie narrowlie, by swiftnesse of his horse, though not unwounded. The Englishmen returned to the towne of Kise, and found there great number of horses & other baggages, which they solowlie brought with them to Rone.

Anno Reg. 16.
The earle of
Warwicke re-
gent came in-
to France.

On the first daie of Nouember this present peare, the earle of Warwicke, as regent of France, passed the sea, after he had bene seuen times shipped and unshipped, and landed at Bomflue with a thousand fresh souldiers, and came to Rone, and then the duke of Borke returned into England. Betwene the change of these two captains, the duke of Burgognie (which

foze enuied the glorie of the Englishmen) besieged the towne of Crotoy, with ten thousand men and moze, hauing with him great plentie of guns and goodlie ordinance. The earle of Warwicke aduertised hereof, sent the lord Fauconbridge, sir Thomas Biriell, sir John Spantgoneric, Thomas Limbrike, Thomas Chandois, David Hall, and diuerse other knights and esquires, and an host of five thousand men, which passed the river of Some, beside the towne of saint Valerie, landing in the water by to the chin, so glad were they to rescue their felowes.

When the duke of Burgognie was informed of the approaching of the lord Talbot, he with all his power (sailing foure hundred, which were left in a baskille by him, were netwile buidged) fled to Abuille, the battell was none gained by the Englishmen, and those within either slaine or taken. After this, the lord Talbot sent to the duke of Burgognie, signifying that except he would come forth, and bide by a battell, he would bitterlie wast his countrie of Picardie. According whereunto (the duke of Burgognie spinning) he burnt townes, spoiled and slue manie people in Picardie. But for all those his doings, the duke of Burgognie appeared not, but got him from Abuille to Amiens, so that the lord Talbot abode twentie daies full in Picardie and Arthois, destroying all afore him, and after returned vntouched. In the meane season, sir Thomas Biriell had gotten all the dukes carriages and ordinance, and left as much bittell in the towne of Crotoy, as would serue sir hundred men a whole peare, and conueied the residue to the earle of Warwicke, who highlie praised them for their hardie doings.

After this, Henrie earle of Po:taigne, sonne to Edmund duke of Summerfet, arrived at Chierburgh with foure hundred archers, & three hundred speares, and passed through po:mandie, till he came into the countie of Paine, where he besieged a castell called saint Anian, in the which were three hundred Scots, besides Frenchmen. This castell he toke by assault, slue the Scots, and hanged the Frenchmen, because they were once sworn English. After this he got also another castell, two miles from saint Julians, called Alegerche, which was shortly after recovered; and the lord of Camelwis, which came to the rescue of the same, in the meane waie was intraped and taken. Thus flowed the victorie, some time on the one partie, and sometime on the other. For about the same time the townes of Odeur in Wyre, and saint Susan were sold and deliuered to the French part, by the vnt ruth of the burgeses and inhabitants of the same townes, about the latter end of this sixteenth peare.

This peare (by reason of great tempests) raging winds, and rain, there rose such scarlitie, that wheat was sold at three shillings foure pence the bushell, wine at twelue pence the gallon, bassalt at fourtene pence the bushell, and malt at thirtene shillings foure pence the quarter, and all other graines at ex cessiue prices above the old rate. Wherevpon Steven Wolone (saith Polychronicon) at the same season mai:or of London, tendering the state of the cite in this want of breadcorne, sent into Poulse certeine ships, which returned laden with plentie of rie: wherewith he did much good to the people in that hard time, speciallie to them of the cite, where the want of corne was not so extream as in some other places of the land, where the poze distressed people that were hungerbitten, made them bled of ferne rots, and by other hard shifts, till God provided remedie for their penurie by good successe of husbandrie.]

In the moneth of June, the earle of Huntingdon (as Steward of Guien) with two thousand archers, and foure hundred speares was sent into Gascoigne, as a supplie to the countrie and comons of the same:

Crotoy was
gnd by the
duke of Burg.
1479.

A seat of a pri-
orlike captein
a wife count-
cellos.

Thomas
perfuaderer.

1478

Anno Reg. 1

Dontholfe re-
covered by
the English.

Anno Reg. 15

Anno Reg. 16
Dearth of
wittell.
1479

Abr. Fl. ex
Polychr.

Enguerrant.

Byrd was
of ferre
rots.

Edw. Hall.

bastille. If he had tarried still at Hainboulton, the lord Talbot which had passed the river of Dife in two small leather botes, had either taken or slaine him the same night. The Englishmen the next daie in good order of battell came before the towne of Donthoife, thinking there to haue found the French king, but he was gone: and in his lodging they found great riches, and much stuffe which he could not haue space for to carrie awaie for feare of the sudden invasion.

Then the duke with his power entred into the towne, and sent for new vittels, and repaired the towers and bulwarks about the towne, & diuerse times assaulted the bastille of the Frenchmen, of the which he made no great accompt, because they were not of power either to assault or stop the vittels or succors from the towne. After this, the duke intending once againe to offer the French king battell, left behind him at Donthoife for capteine there, sir Geruais Clifton, sir Nicholas Burdet, Henrie Chandos, and a thousand soldiers, and therewith remouing with his whole armie, came before Poisse, where he set himselfe and his men in good order of battell readie to fight. There issued out some of the French gentlemen to skirmish with the Englishmen, but to their losse: for diuerse of them were slaine, and foure valiant horsemen taken prisoners. The duke perceiving the faint hearts of the Frenchmen, and that they durst not encounter in field with the English power, dislodged from Poisse, and came to Maunt, and some after to Rone.

Anno Reg. 20.

Donthoife
gotten by the
French.Enguerant.
Sir Nicho-
las Burdet
slaine.

When the regent and the lord Talbot were returned againe into Normandie, the French king considering how much it should rebound to his dishonour to let rest the towne of Donthoife in his enemies hands, sith he had bene at such charges and trauele about the winning thereof, he assembled all his puissance. And returning suddenlie vnto Donthoife, he first by assault got the church, and after the whole towne, took the capteine, and diuerse other Englishmen, and due to the number of foure hundred, which sold their liues dearelie: for one French writer affirmeth, that the French king lost there three thousand men; and the whole garrison of the Englishmen was but onelie a thousand. Among other that were slaine here of the defendants, was sir Nicholas Burdet knight, chiefe butler of Normandie. After this hot tempest, the weather began somewhat to wate more calme: for king Henrie and king Charles agreed to send ambassadors to comen of some good conclusion of peace: so that king Henrie sent the cardinall of Winchester, with diuerse other noble personages of his counsell to Calis, with whom was also sent Charles duke of Oyleance yet prisoner in England, to the intent that he might be both author of the peace, and also procurer of his owne deliuerance.

The French king sent the archbishop of Reimes, and the earle of Dunois; and the duke of Burgognie sent the lord de Creuecueur, and diuerse other. All these met at Calis, where the duke of Oyleance courtlesly receiued the earle of Dunois (his bastard brother) thanking him greatly for his paines taken in gouerning his lands & countrie, during the time of his captiuitie and absence. Diuerse communications were had, as well for the deliuerance of the duke as for a small peace; but nothing was concluded, saving that an other meeting was appointed, so that in the meane season the demands of either partie might be declared to their soueraigne lords and maisters: and hereupon the commissioners brake vp their assembly, and returned into their countries. The Englishmen (as the French writers record) required not onelie to possesse peaceable the two duchies of Aquit-

taine and Normandie, discharged of all resort, supererogitie, & soueraintie against the realme of France, the kings and gouernours of the same; but also to be restored to all the townes, cities, and places, which they within thirtie yeares next before gone and past, had conquered in the realme of France. Which request the Frenchmen thought verie unreasonable, and so both parties, minding rather to gaine or saue than to lose, departed for that time, as yet haue heard.

After this meeting thus prozaged, Philip duke of Burgognie, partly moued in conscience to make amends to Charles duke of Oyleance (as yet prisoner in England) for the death of duke Lewis his father, whome duke John, father to this duke Philip, cruelly murdered in the citie of Paris; and partly intending the aduancement of his nece, the ladie Marie, daughter to Adolfe duke of Cleue (by the which alliance, he trusted, that all old rancor should cease) continued wates to haue the said duke of Oyleance set at libertie, vpon promise by him made to take the said ladie Marie vnto wife. This duke had bene prisoner in England euer since the battell was fought at Agincourt, vpon the daie of Crispine and Crispinian, in the yeare 1415, and was set now at libertie in the moneth of Nouember, in the yeare 1440, caleng for his ransome foure hundred thousand crownes, though other saie but three hundred thousand.

The cause whie he was detained so long in captiuitie, was to pleasure thereby the duke of Burgognie: for so long as the duke of Burgognie continued faithfull to the king of England, it was not thought necessarie to suffer the duke of Oyleance to be ransomed, least vpon his deliuerance he would not cease to seeke meanes to be reuenged vpon the duke of Burgognie, for the old grudge and displeasure betwixt their two families, and therefore such ransome was demanded for him as he was neuer able to pay. But after the duke of Burgognie had broken his promise, and was turned to the French part, the counsell of the king of England deuided how to deliuer the duke of Oyleance, that thereby they might displeasure the duke of Burgognie. Which thing the duke of Burgognie perceiving, doubted what might follow if he were deliuered without his knowledge, and therefore to his great cost practised his deliuerance, paid his ransome, and ioined with him amitie and alliance by marriage of his nece.

This duke being now deliuered, and speaking better English than French, after his arriual in France, repaired to the duke of Burgognie, and according to his promise and conuention, married the ladie Marie of Cleue, in the towne of saint Omers, on whome he begat a sonne, which after was French king, and called Lewis the twelfth. [Fettered for Lewis the twelfth.] That ranke inward, as they may perchance be palliated by sleight of surgerie; so sildome come they to sound cure, but often do burst out againe to greater paine and perill of patient than euer afore: and so befall it betwixt these two noble houses of Oyleance and Burgognie, who for all this marriage and plausible peace (that continued a twentie yeares) still out yet after at square vnattainable: their children and cousins, to the great vniquieting of much part of christendome, speciallie in the times of king Francis the first, and his sonne Henrie the second, heires of the house of Oyleance. For John earle of Angoulesme, vncle to this duke Charles, begat Charles, father to the said king Francis: which earle John had bene as pledge in England for the debt of Lewis duke of Oyleance, from the last yeare of king Henrie the fourth; till that now his nephew being deliuered, made thist for monie, and ransomed him also, and at

Earle of saint
Omer friend
to English.This should
be an Engu-
erant north
two yeares
after this pre-
sent year 1440
An. An. 1440.The duke
of Oyleance
was de-
liuered.Lewis the
twelfth
W. R.These thow-
sent hath Ni-
cholas Giles.

at length refused him to his countrie.

In the beginning of this twentieth yeare, Richard duke of Poike, regent of France, and gouvernour of Normandie, determined to invade the territories of his enemies both by land and by sea, and in severall places, and thereupon without delay of time he sent the lord Willoughbie with a great cru of soldiers to destroye the countrie of Amiens, and John lord Talbot was appointed to besiege the towne of Diepe; and the regent himselfe accompanied with Edmund duke of Summerfet, set forward into the duchie of Anjou. The lord Willoughbie, according to his commission, entred into the countrie of his enemies in such wise upon the sudden, that a great number of people were taken yet they could withdraw into any place of safeguard.

The Frenchmen in the garrisons adjoining, assisted with the clamour and crye of the poore people, issued out in good order, and manfully fought with the Englishmen. But in the end, the Frenchmen seeing their fellows in the forefront slaine downe, and killed without mercie, turned their backs, and fled: the Englishmen followed, and slew manie in the chase; and such as escaped the sword, were robbed by the earle of saint Paule, who was comming to aid the Englishmen. In this conflict were slaine aboute six hundred men of armes, and a great number taken. The dukes of Poike and Summerfet likewise entered into Anjou and Maine, and there destroyed townes, and spoiled the people, and with great prizes and prisoners repaired againe into Normandie, whither also the lord Willoughbie withdrew, after his valiant enterpryse achieved (as before ye have heard) with rich spoiles and good prisoners.

The duke of Summerfet upon further valiance, entered into the marches of Britaine, and toke by force assault a towne named la Cerche, appertaining to the duke of Alanson, spoiling and burning the same. This done, he went to Bonzaie, where he sojourned two moneths, sending forth daile his men of war to destroye the countries of Anjou, Craonnois, and Chatraonnois. The French king sent the marshall Blach with foure thousand men to resist the invasions of the duke of Summerfet, which marshall intended to have set on the duke in his lodgings in the dead time of the night: but that (as by a wise and hardie captaine) well foresaw, he marched forward, and met the Frenchmen halfe the waie, and after long fight, discomfited them, slew an hundred of the marshalls men, and toke thre score and two prisoners, wherof the chiefe were the lord Dauphine, sir Letwes de Suell, all the other (almost) were knights and esquires.

After this encounter, the duke toke the towne of Beaumont le vicount, and manned all the fortresses on the frontiers of his enemies, and with rich booties and prisoners returned againe to the duke of Poike. In this meane time the lord Talbot, besieging the towne of Diepe, intrenched it with deepe trenches; building also upon the mount Paulet a strong and noisome bastille. But at length perceiving the towne to be strongly defended, and that he lacked such furniture of men, vittels, and ordnance, as was necessarie for the winning of it, he delivered the custody of the bastille, with the governance of the siege to his bassard sonne, a valiant young gentleman, and departed to Rone for aid, monie, and munition. The French king advertised hereof, sent his sonne the Dolphin of Vienne with the earle of Dunois, and sixtine thousand men to raise the siege from Diepe.

Three daies they assailed the bastille, in the which six hundred Englishmen were inclosed, and at length because powder and weapon failed them within, the Frenchmen won it, and toke the bassard Talbot pri-

soner, with sir William Betsford, and sir John Keyleie, which shortly after were redeemed. The other English soldiers, seeing the bastille wonne by the Frenchmen, stood all a daie in good order of battell, and in the night following, politickly saved themselves and returned to Rone, without losse or damage. In the assaulting of the bastille, the Frenchmen saie, they slew two hundred Englishmen; and denie not but that they lost five hundred of their owne men, beside those that were hurt. Whilste these things were a doing, Philip duke of Burgognie made sharpe warre against the earle of saint Paule, in taking from him his townes and castels, that made him to renounce his allegiance sworn and promised to the king of England, and returned to the French part.

The English captaine in Guen besieged the strong towne of Tartas, belonging to the lord Dalbryeth their old and ancient enemy. The towne perceiving that it was not able to resist the force of the Englishmen any long time, toke appointment, that the towne should remaine neuter. For assurance thereof, they delivered Cadet the sonne of the lord de la Bzeth in pledge, upon this condition; that if the said lord de la Bzeth would not assent to the agreement, then he should signifie his refusal to the English captaine within thre moneths next ensuing, and he to have his pledge, and they to do their best. The French king, at the request of the lords of Guen, caused the lord de la Bzeth to signifie his disagreement unto the earle of Huntington, as then lieutenant to the king of England in the duchie of Aquitaine. And therewith to gratifie the lords of Guen, he assembled an armie of threescore thousand men, & came to Tholouse, and so to Tartas, to whom the chiefeins of the towne, seeing no succours comming from the king of England, rendered the towne: and Cadet de la Bzeth, which was left there as a pledge, was also delivered.

The French king, after the yielding of Tartas, removed to saint Severine, which towne he toke by force, slew thre hundred persons, and toke sir Thomas Kampston prisoner. After this, he came to the citie of Arques, toke a bulwourke by force, and had the towne yielded to him by composition. The captaine, which was the lord of Montferant, departed with all the English cru to Burdeaur, where he found the earle of Longue, the Capdau de Beuse, and sir Thomas Kampston, which was a little before delivered. After this, the fortresses of the Kiell and Ghermandie were also yielded to the French king: who notwithstanding at length was constrained for lacke of vittels (which were cut off by the Englishmen, that laie abroad in diverse fortresses for the purpose) to breake up his armie, & to retire into France. And then after his departure, the Englishmen recovered againe the citie of Arques, & the other townes by the French king gained, and toke prisoner his lieutenant called Reginald Guillian the Burgognion, and manie other gentlemen, and all the meane soldiers were either slaine or hanged.

While the French king was in Guen, the lord Talbot toke the towne of Conchet, and after marched toward Gallardon, which was besieged by the bassard of Dileance, otherwile called the earle of Dunois: which earle hearing of the lord Talbots approach, raised his siege, and saved himselfe. The Frenchmen a little before this season, had taken the towne of Cureau by treason of a sisher. Sir Francis the Arragonois hearing of that chance, appareled six strong fellows like men of the countrie, with sacks and baskets, as carriers of corne and vittels, and sent them to the castell of Cornill, in the which diverse Englishmen were kept as prisoners, and he

The earle of saint Paule renounceth to the French.

1441
Tartas besieged.

The change in warre.

The lord Talbot.

The earle of Dunois. An excellent fine in warre.

Earle of saint Paule renounceth to the French.

The duke of Summerfet was Englishman, and was slain in the year 1440.

The duke of Dileance destroyed.

ewes the wells. W. P.

The duke of Dileance was slain in the year 1440.

with an ambush of Englishmen late in a ballie nigh to the fostrell.

The six counterfet husbandmen entered the castell unsuspected, and straight came to the chamber of the captiue, & laing hands on him, gaue knowledge to them that laie in ambush to come to their aid. The which suddenlie made forth, and entered the castell, slue and toke all the frenchmen, and set the Englishmen at libertie: which thing done, they set fire in the castell, and departed to Rome with their bootie and prisoners. This exploit they had not achieved peradventure by force (as happilie they mistrusted) and therefore by subtiltie and deceit sought to accomplish it, which meanes to vse in warre is tollerable, so the same warre be lawfull; though both fraud & bloudshed otherwise be forbidden euen by the instinct of nature to be put in practise and vse; and that doth the poet insinuat in a proper sententious verse, saing:

Frans albit, vacuus cadis habere manus.

Quid. 1. de art.

*I new breche
betweene the
duke of Glo-
cester, and the
bishop of win-
chester.*

But now to speake somewhat of the dowings in England in the meane time. Whilest the men of war were thus occupied in martiall feates, and daillie skirmishes, within the realme of France: ye shall vnderstand, that after the cardinall of Winchester, and the duke of Gloucester, were (as it seemed) reconciled either to other, yet the cardinall, and the archbishop of Poike ceased not to do manie things without the consent of the king or of the duke, being (during the minority of the king) gouernor and protector of the realme, whereas the duke (as good cause he had) greatlie offended, thereupon in writing declared to the king, wherein the cardinall and the archbishop had offended both his maiestie, and the lawes of the realme. This complaint of the duke of Gloucester was contained in foure and twentie articles, which chieflie rested, in that the cardinall had from time to time, through his ambitious desire to surmount all others in high degrees of honor and dignitie, sought to enrich himselfe, to the great and notorious hinderance of the king, as in defrauding him not onelie of his treasure, but also in doing and practising things greatlie preiudiciall to his affaires in France, and namelie by setting at libertie the king of Scots, vpon so easie conditions, as the kings maiestie greatlie lost thereby, as in particularities thus followeth.

A complaint made to king Henrie the sixt, by the duke of Gloucester, vpon the cardinall of Winchester.

*I
Ex Ed. Hall.
143, 144, 145,
146.*

These be in part, the points and articles, which I Humfre duke of Gloucester, for my truth & acquittal, said late, I would giue in writing (my right redoubted lord) vnto your highnesse, aduertising your excellencie, of such things in part, as haue bene done in your tender age, in derogation of your noble estate, and hurt of both your realmes, and yet be done and bled daillie.

2 First, the cardinall then being bishop of Winchester, toke vpon him the state of cardinall, which was naied and denaied him, by the king of most noble memorie, my lord your father (whome God assoile) saing that he had as lefe set his crowne beside him, as see him weare a cardinals hat, he being a cardinall. For he knew full well, the pride and ambition that was in his person, then being but a bishop, should haue so greatlie extolled him into more intollerable pride, when that he were a cardinall: and also he thought it against his freedom, of the chiefe church of this realme, which, that he worshipped, as bylle as euer did prince, that blessed be his soule. And

howbeit, that my said lord your father (whome God assoile) would haue agreed him to haue had certeine clearks of this land cardinals, and to haue no bishoprikes in England; yet his intent was neuer to do so great derogation to the church of Canturburie, to make them that were his suffragans, to sit above their ordinarie and metropolitan. But the cause was that in generall, and in all matters which might concerne the weale of him, and of his realme, he should haue protectors of his nation, as other kings Christen had, in the court of Rome, and not to abide in this land, nor to be in any part of his counsels, as bene all the spirituall and temporall, at parlements and other great counsels, when you list to call them. And therefore, though it please you to do him that worship, to set him in your priue counsell after your pleasure: yet in your parlement, where euerie lord both spirituall and temporall, hath his place, he ought to occupie but his place as a bishop.

3 Item, the said bishop, now being cardinall, was assoiled of his bishoprike of Winchester, whereupon he sued vnto our holie father, to haue a bull declaratorie, notwithstanding he was assumpt to the state of cardinall, that the see was not void, where in deed it stood void by a certeine time, yet the said bull were granted; and so he was exempt from his ordinarie, by the taking on him the state of cardinall, and the church bishoprike of Winchester, so standing void, he toke againe of the pope (you not learned thereof ne knowing whereby he was fallen into the case of prouision) so that all his good was lawfullie & cleerlie forfeited to you my right doubted lord, with more; as the statute declareth plainelie for your advantage.

4 Item, it is not vnknown to you (doubted lord) how thorough your lands it is noised, that the said cardinall and the archbishop of Poike had and haue the gouernance of you, and all your land, the which none of your true liege men ought to vsurpe nor take vpon them. And haue also estranged me your sole vnckle, my cosine of Poike, my cosine of Huntington, and manie other lords of your kin, to haue any knowledge of any great matter, that might touch your high estate, or either of your realmes. And of lords spirituall, of right, the archbishop of Canturburie should be your chiefe counsellor, the which is also estranged and set aside. And so be manie other right sad lords, and well aduised, as well spirituall as temporall, to the great hurt of you my right doubted lord, and of your realmes, like as the experience and workes shewen cleerlie and euidentlie, more harme it is.

5 Item, in the tender age of you, my right doubted lord, for the necessitie of an armie, the said cardinall lent you foure thousand pounds vpon certeine iewels, prised at two and twentie thousand markes, with a letter of sale, that and they were not quitted at a certeine date, you should leise them. The said cardinall seeing your monie readie to haue quitted your iewels, caused your treasurer of England, at that date being, to pade the same monie, in part of an other armie, in defrauding you my right doubted lord of your said iewels; keeping them yet alwaie to his owne vse, to your right great losse, and his singular profit and auaile.

6 Item, the said cardinall, then being bishop of Winchester, and chancellour of England, deliuered the king of Scots, vpon certeine appointments (as maie be the seed) presumptuouslie, and of his owne authoritie, contrarie to the act of parlement. I haue heard notable men of law say, that they neuer heard the like thing done among them: which was to great a defamacion to your highnesse, and also to wed his name to the said king, whom that my lord of

notable

notable memoire, your father, whome God assoile, would neuer haue so deliuered. And there as he should haue paid for his costs forty thousand pounds, the said cardinall, chancelour of England, caused you to pardon him thereof ten thousand marks, whereof the greater summe he paid you, right a little, what, I report me to your highnesse.

7 Item, where the said cardinall lent you, my redoubted lord, great and notable summes, he hath had and his assignes, the rule and profit of the port of Hampton, where the customers bene his seruants, where (by likelihood and as it is to be supposed) standing the chiefe merchant of the wools of your land, that you be greatlie defrauded, and vnder that rule, what wools and other merchandises haue bene shipped, and maie be from time to time, hard is to esteeme, to the great hurt and preiudice of you my right doubted lord, and of all your people.

8 Item, howbeit that the said cardinall hath diuerse times lent you great summes of monie, since the time of your reigne, yet his loane hath bene so deferred and delaied, that for the most part, the conuenient season of the imploing of the good lent was passed. So that little fruit or none came thereof, as by experience both your realmes haue sufficientlie in knowledge.

9 Item, where there was iewels and plate pressed at cleuen thousand pounds in weight, of the said cardinall, forfeited to you my right redoubted lord, he gat him a restorment thereof for a loane of a little parcell of the same: and so defrauded you wholie of them, to your great hurt, and his auaille, the which god might greatlie haue eased your highnesse, in sparing as much of the poore commons.

10 Item, the cardinall being seoff of my said lord your father (whome God assoile) against his intent, gaue Elizabeth Beauchampe, three hundred markes liuelihod, where that his will was, that and she were wedded within a yeare, then to haue it, or else not, where in deed it was two or three years after, to your great hurt, and diminishing of your inheritance.

11 Item, notwithstanding that the said cardinall hath no maner of authoritie nor interest in the crowne, nor none maie haue by any possibilitie, yet he presumeth and taketh vpon him in partie, your estate roiall, in calling before him, into great abusion of all your land, and derogation of your highnesse, which hath not bene seene nor vsed in no daies heretofore, in greater estate than he is, without your expresse ordinance and commandement.

12 Item, the said cardinall, nothing considering the necessitie of you my right doubted lord, hath sued a pardon of dismes, that he should paie for the church of Winchester, for terme of his life, giuing thereby occasion to all other lords spirituall, to draw their good will for any necessitie, to grant any disme: and so to laie all the charge vpon the tempozaltie, and the poore people.

13 Item, by the gouernance and labour of the said cardinall, and archbishop of Yorke, there hath bene lost and dispended much notable and great good, by diuerse ambassadoys sent out of this realme. First to Arras, for a feigned colourable peace, whereas by likelihood it was thought and supposed, that it should neuer turne to the effectuall auaille of you my right doubted lord, nor to your said realmes: but vnder colour thereof, was made the peace of your aduersarie, and the duke of Burgognie. For else your partie aduersie, & the said duke, might not well haue found meanes nor waies to haue communed together, nor to haue concluded with other their confederations and conspirations made and wrought there, then, at that time, against your highnesse, whereby

you might haue (right doubted lord) the greater partie of your obedience, as well in your realme of France, as in your duchie of Normandie, and much other thing gone greatlie, as through the said colourable treatie, & otherwaies, since the death of my brother of Bedford (whome God assoile.)

14 Item, now of late was sent an other ambassadour to Calis, by the labour and counsell of the said cardinall, and archbishop of Yorke, the cause why of the beginning, is to me your sole uncle, and other lords of your kin and counsell unknowen, to your great charge, and against the publike good of your realme; as it openlie appeareth. The which god if it be imploied for the defense of your lands, the merchandises of the same might haue had other course, and your said lands not to haue stand in so great mischance as they do.

15 Item, after that, to your great charge, and hurt of both your realmes, the said cardinall & archbishop of Yorke went to your said towne of Calis, and diuerse lords of your kin, and of your counsell in their fellowship, and there, as there was naturall warre betwene the duke of Aleance, and the duke of Burgognie, for murder of their fathers, a capitall enimitie like to haue indured for ever: the said cardinall and archbishop of Yorke licenced and suffered the said duke of Aleance, to intreat and common apart with the counsell of your said aduersaries, as well as with the duchies of Burgognie: by which meane the peace and alliance was made betwene the two dukes, to the greatest fortiffing of your said capitall aduersaries that could be thought, and consequentlie (my dere redoubted lord) to your greatest charge, and hurt to both your realmes. Under colour of which treatie, your said aduersaries in meane time wan your cite of Spear, and the countrie thereabout, and manie diuerse roades made into your duchie of Normandie, to the great noisance and destruction of your people, as it sheweth openlie.

16 Item, the said archbishop of Yorke, sent with other into this your realme from the said cardinall, after communication had with your aduersie partie, at your said towne of Calis, made at his coming into your notable presence at Windsor, all the traicsons and colour, all motions in the most apparent wise that he could, to induce your highnesse to your agrement, to the desires of your capitall aduersaries, as I saw there in your noble presence of his writing, at which time (as I vnderstood) it was his singular opinion, that is to saie: that you should leave your right, your title, and your honour of your crowne, and nomination of you king of France, during certeine yeares, & that you should utterlie absteine you and be content onelle in writing, with *Rex Anglia, &c.* to the great note of infamie that ever fell to you or any of your noble progenitours, since the taking of them first, the said title and right of your realme and crowne of France. To which matter in your presence there, after that it had liked your said highnesse, to aske mine aduise therevpon, with other of your blood and counsell; I answered and said, that I would neuer agre me thereto to die therefore, and of the same disposition I am yet, and will be while I live in conseruation of your honour, and of your oth made vnto your said crowne, in time of your coronation there.

17 Item, the said cardinall and archbishop of Yorke, haue so laboured vnto your highnesse, that you should intend to a new daie of convention, in March or Aprill next comming, where it is noised to be more against your worship than with it. And where it was euident to all the world, that the rupture and breaking of the said peace, should haue fallen heretofore, of your aduersie partie; because of

the great vntruths. Note by that meanes it is like peradventure to be laid vnto the verie great slander of you my righte lord, like to come to none of their purpose nor effect, than other conuersions haue done afore time: and so by subtilties and counsell of your said enemies, your land (they in hope and trust of the said treatie) not withstanding nor puissantlie purchased for) shall be like vnder the colour of the same treatie to be burnt up and destroyed, lost, and bitterlie turned from your seruance.

18 Item it is said, that the deliuerance of the said duke of Breance, is bitterlie appointed by the mediation, counsell, and stirring of the said cardinal and archbishop of Yorke; and for that cause diuerse persons haue come from your adversaries, into this your realme, and the said duke also brought to your citie of London, where as my lord your father (whom God assoile) perishing so greatlie the inconueniencies, and harme that might fall, onlie by his deliuerance, concluded, ordeined, and determined in his last will, bitterlie in his wisdome, his conquest in his realme of France. And yet then it is to be done, by as great deliberation, solemnitie and suertie, as may be deuised or thought. And seeing now the disposition of your realme of France, the puissance and might of your enemies, and what aid they haue gotten against you there, aswell vnder the colour of the said treatie, as otherwise; what may or ought to be thought or said, for that laboring the said duke (all things considered) by such particular persons, the lords of your blood not called thereunto, I reposit me vnto your noble grace and excellencie, and vnto the said wise true men of this your realme.

19 Item, where that euerie true counsellor, speciallie vnto anie king or prince, ought of truth and of dutie, to counsell, promote, increase, prefer, and aduance the weale and prosperitie of his lord: the said cardinal, being of your counsell (my right doubted lord) hath late purchased of your highnesse, certeine great lands and liuelode: as the castell and lordship of Chirke in Wales, and other lands in this your realme; vnto which I was called suddenly, and so in eschewing the breaking and losse of your armies then againe, seeing none other remedie, gaue thereunto mine assent, thinking that who that euer laboured moued or stirred the matter first vnto your lordship, counselled you neither for your worship nor profit.

20 More, the said cardinal hath you bound a part, to make him a sure estate of all the said lands, by Charter next comming, as could be deuised by anie learned counsell; or else that suertie not made, the said cardinal to haue and reioy to him, and his heirs for euermore, the lands of the duchie of Lancaster, in Dorsethe, to the value of seuen or eight hundred marks by yeare. Which thing seemeth right strange and vnsene, and vnhard waies of anie liege man, to seke vpon his soueraigne lord, both in his inheritance and in his iewels and goods. For it is thought, but if right and extreame necessitie caused it, there should, nor ought no such things to be done: from which necessitie God (for his mercie) euer preserue your noble person. Wherefore my redoubted lord, seeing that ye should be so counselled, or stirred to leaue your crowne and inheritance in England; and also by fraud and subtil meanes, as is afore rehearsed, so to lose your iewels: in my truth and in mine acquit all (as me seemeth) I may not nor ought not counsell so great an hurt to you and to all your land.

21 Item, it is not vnknown to you my right doubted lord how oftentimes I haue offered my seruice, to and for the defense of your realme of France, and duchie of Normandie, where I haue bene put thereto by the labour of the said cardinal, in prefer-

ring other after his singular affection: which hath caused a great part of the said duchie of Normandie, aswell as of your realme of France to be lost; as it is well known. And what good (my right doubted lord) was lost on that account as thus last sent thither, with the epistle of Pope Martin, your counsell of France, hath well & clarelie declared to your highnesse here before.

22 Item, my right doubted lord, it is not to be known, that it had not bene possible to the said cardinal, to haue come to his great riches, but by such meanes, for of his church it might not rise, and inheritance he had none. Wherefore my right doubted lord, sith there is great god behoouefull at this time, for the weale and safeguard of your realmes, the pouertie, necessitie, & indigence of your liege people; in highnesse vnderstand, like it vnto your noble grace, to consider the said lurre of the said cardinal, and the great receipts that you be receiued in by the labour of him & of the archbishop, aswell in this your realme as in your realme of France and duchie of Normandie, where neither office, liuelode, nor capteine may be had, without to great god given vnto him, whereby a great part of all the losse that is lost, they haue bene the causers of; for who that would giue most, his was the price, not considering the merits, seruice, nor sufficiency of persons. Furthermore, it is greatlie to be considered, how, when the said cardinal had forfeited all his goods, because of prouision, as the statute there vpon more plainelie declareth; by hauing the rule of you my right doubted lord, purchased himselfe in great defraudation of your highnesse, a charter of pardon, the which god and it had be well gouerned, might manie yeares haue suffeined your warres, without anie tallage of your poore people.

23 Item, my redoubted lord, whereas I wrote much thing for the weale of you and of your realmes, peradventure some will saie and vnderstand, that I would or haue written by waile of accusement of all your counsell, which God knoweth, I do not: for your highnesse may well see, that I name them that be causers of the said inordinate rule. Wherefore, considering that the said cardinal and archbishop of Yorke bene they, that pretend the gouernance of you, and of your realmes and lordships: please it vnto your highnesse, of your rightfulnessesse to estrange them of your counsell, to that intent, that men may be at their freedom, to say what they thinke of truth.

24 For truth, I dare speake of my truth, the poore dare not do so. And if the cardinal and the archbishop of Yorke, may afterward declare themselves, of that is, and shalbe said of them; you my right doubted lord may then restore them againe to your counsell, at your noble pleasure.

When the king had heard the accusations thus laid by the duke of Gloucester against the cardinal, he committed the examination thereof to his counsell, whereof the more part were spirituall persons; so that what for feare, and what for fauour, the matter was winked at, and nothing said to it: onelie faire countenance was made to the duke, as though no malice had bene conceived against him. But benem will breake out, & inward grudge will some appeare, which was this yeare to all men apparant: for diuers secret attempts were aduanced forward this season against this noble man Humfries duke of Gloucester a far off, which in conclusion came so nere, that they bereft him both of life and land; as shall hereafter more plainelie appeere.

For first this yeare, dame Eleanor Cobham, wife to the said duke, was accused of treason; for that she by sorcerie and inchantment intended to destroye the king, to the intent to aduance his husband vnto the crowne.

The earle of
Arminache
daughter affi-
ed unto king
Henrie.

The earle with
his ladie, his
sonne and two
daughters
taken.

Abr. Fl. ex
Fabian. 441.

A law against
buying and
selling on the
sundrie.

Abr. Fl. ex
Fabian. 441.
& Polychr.

Pauls stee-
ple burne.

Anno Reg. 22.

The diet at
Tours for a
peace to be
had betwene
England and
France.

buttillie kept, and wrongfullie withhelden them.

This offer seemed so profitable and also hono-
rable to king Henrie and the realme, that the ambassa-
dours were well heard, honourable received, and
with rewards sent home into their countie. After
whome were sent for the conclusion of the marriage
into Witen, sir Edward Hall, sir Robert Ros, and
John Grafton deane of S. Severines, the which (as
all the chronographers agree) both concluded the ma-
riage, and by protest affied the young ladie. The French
king not a little offended herewith, sent his eldest
sonne Lewis the Dolphin of Venne into Rouergue
with a puissant armie, which toke the earle and his
youngest sonne, with both his daughters, and by force
obtained the countie of Arminache, Louvergne,
Rouergue, and Spoulesonols, beside the cities So-
uerac & Caboc, chasing the bastard of Arminache
out of his countie, and so by reason hereof, the con-
cluded marriage was deferred, and that so long that
it neuer toke effect; as hereafter it may appeare.

In this yeare was an act made by authoritie of
the common counsell of London, that upon the sun-
daye no manner of thing within the franchises and li-
berties of the said citie should be bought or sold; nei-
ther vittels nor other thing. It was also enacted by
the same common counsell with full consent, and ra-
tified by the authoritie of the law-makers, that no
artificer or handicrafts man should bring his wares,
commodities, or woxke, unto any person or persons
to be woxne or occupied on that daye: because it was
tuged a foule profanation thereof. And peoples
minds given to countenellence, make no exception of
times or places in a case of advantage and gaine. In
consideration thereof, and for the suppressing of this
abuse, this law was ordeined and made: the force
whereof did principallie extend to tailors and sho-
makers (who as on that daye bring home their gar-
ments and shoes to the parties for whome they are
made) and likewise to all other occupations and
trades. But this ordinance (saith mine author) was
too good for so bad an age, and therefore died within a
short time after the magistrate had given it life.

On Candlemasse eue this yeare by lightning ma-
tempest that fell with claps of thunder at afternone,
Pauls steeple was set on fier in the midst of the
spere or that in the verie timber woxke; which was
quenched by the painfulnesse of diuerse persons, and
specialie by the diligent labour of a priest of Wote
in Cheape. Howbeit the same was thought impossi-
ble to be quenched, but that the grace of God was
cheefe worker in the same. This steeple hath diuerse
times bene ouerthrowne and defaced, partlie by
winds, and partlie by lightning, as may be obserued
in the reading of this volume: yea when the same
hath bene repaired by the choicest workemen, and
of the substantiallest stutte, and all meanes that stand
with the deepe deuile of man) used to make it so sure
that it might continue, as a monument of perpetui-
tie for posteritie to wonder at and admire. But to re-
turne to the historie.

Whilste England was vniquieted (as you haue
heard) and France by spoile, slaughter, and burning
force defaced (a mischefe in all places much lamen-
ted) therefore to agree the two puissant kings, all the
princes of christendome travelled so effectually by
their oratours and ambassadors, that a diet was
appointed to be kept at the citie of Tours in Lou-
raigne; where for the king of England appeared Wil-
liam de la Pole earle of Suffolke, doctor Adam Spo-
lins keeper of the kings priuie seale, also sir Robert
Ros, and diuers other. And for the French king were
appointed Charles duke of Orleans, Lewis de
Bourbon earle of Wandosme, great maister of the
French kings household, Piers de Baille steward

of Poulton, and Bertram Beaulieu lord of Poulton.

There were also sent other ambassadors from
the emper, from Spaine, from Denmarke, & from
Hungarie to be mediators betwixt the two prin-
ces. The assemblie was great, but the cost was much
greater, inasmuch that euery part for the honour of
themselves, as well in face as apparell, set forth
most. Spaine's meetings were had, and manie things
moued for a small peace; but in conclusion, by reason
of manie doubts which rose on both parties, no full
concord could be agreed upon; but in hope to come to
a peace, a certaine truce, as well by sea as by land,
was concluded by the commissioners for eightene
moneths, which afterward againe was prolonged to
the yeare of our Lord 1449.

In treating of this truce, the earle of Suffolke
adventuring somewhat upon his commission, with-
out the assent of his associates, imagined, that the next
waie to come to a perfect peace, was to contriue a
marriage betwene the French kings kinselooman,
the ladie Margaret daughter to Keiner duke of An-
iou, and his soveraigne lord king Henrie. This Kei-
ner duke of Anion named himselfe king of Sicill,
Naples, and Jerusalem, hauing onlie the name and
title of those realmes; without anye penie, profit, or
foot of possession. This marriage was made strange
to the earle at the first, and one thing seemed to be a
great hinderance to it; which was, because the king
of England occupied a great part of the duchie of
Anion, and the whole countie of Spaine, appertaining
(as was alledged) to king Keiner.

The earle of Suffolke (I cannot saie) either cor-
rupted with bribes, or too much affectioned to this un-
profitable marriage, condescended, that the duchie of
Anion and the countie of Spaine should be delivered
to the king the brides father, demanding for his mari-
age neither penie nor farthing: as who would saie,
that this new assentie passed all riches, and excelled
both gold and pretious stones. And to the intent that
of this truce might issue a small concord, a date of
enterdwelt was appointed betwene the two kings
in a place convenient betwene Chartres and Rome.
When these things were concluded, the earle of Sub-
folke with his companie returned into England,
where he forgot not to declare what an honourable
truce he had taken, out of the which there was a
great hope that a small peace might growe the sooner
for that honorable marriage, which he had concluded,
omitting nothing that might extoll and set forth
the personage of the ladie, or the nobilitie of his
kinred.

But although this marriage pleased the king and
diuerse of his counsell, yet Humfrie duke of Glou-
ster protector of the realme was much against it, al-
ledging that it should be both contrarie to the labors
of God, and dishonorable to the prince, if he should
breaks that promise and contract of marriage, made
by ambassadors sufficientlie thereto instructed,
with the daughter of the earle of Arminache, upon
conditions both to him and his realme, as much pro-
fitable as honorable. But the dukes words could not
be heard, for the earles doings were onelie liked and
allowed. So that for performance of the conclusions,
the French king sent the earle of Wandosme, great
maister of his house, and the archbishop of Keines
first peer of France, and diuerse other into Eng-
land, where they were honorable received; and after
that the instruments were once sealed and deliue-
red on both parts, the said ambassadors returned
againe into their countie with great gifts and re-
wards.

When these things were done, the king both for
honour

Anno Reg. 23.
1445

Margaret
daughter to
Keiner duke of
Sicill & Je-
rusalem mari-
ed to Henrie
the sixt.
Abr. Fl. ex
Polychron.

The protest
made by the
second countie
of the kings
marriage.

An ominous
marriage.

Creations of
dukes.

honour of his realme, and to assure to himselfe his friends, created John Holland earle of Huntington duke of Excester as his father was: Humfrie earle of Stafford was made duke of Buckingham: and Henrie earle of Warwike was cleated to the title of duke of Warwike, to whome the king also gaue the castell of Bristowe, with the Ile of Jerneiseie, and Carneseie. Also the earle of Suffolke was made marquesse of Suffolke, which marquesse with his wife and manie honorable personages of men and women richlie adozned both with apparell & iewels, hauing with them manie coslie chariots and gorgeous hazzlers, sailed into France for the conuenance of the nominated quene into the realme of England. For king Keiner hir father, for all his long stile had to short a purre to send his daughter honorable to the king hir spouse.

This noble companie came to the citie of Tours in Touraine, where they were honorable receiued both of the French king and of the king of Sicill. The marquesse of Suffolke as procurator to king Henrie, espoused the said ladie in the church of saint Spartins. At the which marriage were present the father and mother of the bzide; the French king himselfe, which was uncle to the husband; and the French quene also, which was aunt to the wife. There were also the dukes of Milance, of Calabze, of Alanson, and of Britaine, seauen earls, twelue barons, twentie bishops, beside knights and gentlemen. When the feast, triumph, bankets and iusts were ended, the ladie was deliuered to the marquesse, who in great estate conueied hir through Normandie vnto Diepe, and so transported hir into England, where she landed at Portemouth in the moneth of Aprill. This ladie excelled all other, as well in beautie and fauour, as in wit and policie, and was of stomach and courage more like to a man than a woman.

Margaret
daughter to
Henrie 6. of
Sicill & Je-
rusalem mar-
ried to Henrie
the sixt.
Ab. Pl. ex
Polychron.

Shortlie after hir arriuall, she was conueied to the towne of Southwike in Hamshire, where she with all nuptiall ceremonies was coupled in matrimonie to king Henrie the first of that name. ¶ On the eighteenth of Maie she came to London, all the lords of England in most sumptuous sort meeting and receiuing hir vpon the waie, and speciallie the duke of Gloucester with such honour as stood with the dignitie of his person. Now when she came to Blackheath, the maiors, aldermen, and men of occupations, in blew gownes imbodered with some deuise, expressing their art and trades whereby to be knowne, did all shew themselves, with congratulation of hir comming; from whence they attended hir to London, where with goodlie pageants and sundrie gallant historicall shewes in diuers places erected, she was verie magnificallie welcomed. The manner and order of which pompe in sundrie places exhibited to the high honour of the king, quene, & states, is verie ample set forth by Fabian, pag. 423, 424, 425, 426, 427. Upon the thirtieth of Maie next following, she was crowned quene of this realme of England at Westminster, with all the solemnities thereto appertaining.]

Continuation
of Henrie
the sixt.

This marriage seemed to manie both infortunate and vnprofitable to the realme of England, and that for manie causes. First, the king had not one penie left hir; and for the fetching of hir, the marquesse of Suffolke demanded a whole fifteenth in open parliament. And also there was deliuered for hir the duchie of Anion, the citie of Spans, and the whole countie of Spaine, which countries were the verie stales and backstays to the duchie of Normandie. And furthermore, the earle of Arminacke toke such displeasure with the king of England for this marriage, that he became bitter enimie to the crowne of England, and was the cheefe cause that the Englishmen were

expelled out of the whole duchie of Aquitaine.

But most of all it should seme, that God was displeased with this marriage: for after the confirmation thereof, the kings friends fell from him, both in England and in France, the lords of his realme fell at diuision, and the commons rebelled in such sort, that finally after manie fields foughten, and manie thousands of men slaine, the king at length was deposed, and his sonne killed, and this quene sent home againe, with as much miserie and sorow as she was receiued with pompe and triumph: such is the instabilitie of worldly felicitie, and so waucering is false flattering fortune. Which mutation and change of the better for the worse could not but nettle and sting hir with pensiuenesse, yea and anie other person whatsoeuer, that hauing bene in good estate, falleth into the contrarie: thereto the saying of the poet giueth credit, in these fewe wordes following;

*Quem res plus nimio delectauere secunde,
Mutata quatunt.*

Ouid. 2. de art.

This yeare, after the decesse of Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie, succeeded John Stafford in that see, being translated from Bath and Wells. He was the threescore and one archbishop, as Polydore noteth. During the time of the truce, Richard duke of Yorke and diuerse other capitains repaired into England, both to visit their wiues, children, and friends, and also to consult what should be done, if the truce ended. For the which cause a parlement was called, in the which it was especiallie concluded, that by good foresight Normandie might be so furnished for defense before the end of the truce, that the French king should take no aduantage through want of timelie prouision: for it was knowne, that if a peace were not concluded, the French king did prepare to imploie his whole puissance to make open warre. Whereupon monie was granted, an armie leuiued, and the duke of Summerfet appointed to be regent of Normandie, and the duke of Yorke thereof discharged.

Anno Reg. 24.

I 4 4 6

The duke of
Summerfet
made regent
of Normandie,
and the duke
of Yorke dis-
charged.

I haue seene in a register booke belonging sometime to the abbey of saint Albons, that the duke of Yorke was established regent of France, after the decesse of the duke of Bedford, to continue in that office for the tearme of five yeares; which being expired, he returned home, and was iustlie receiued of the king with thanks for his good seruice, as he had full well deserved in time of that his gouernment: and further, that now when a new regent was to be chosen and sent ouer, to abide vpon safeguard of the countries beyond the seas as yet subiect to the English dominion, the said duke of Yorke was estimes (as a man most meet to supplie that ronne) appointed to go ouer againe, as regent of France with all his former allowances.

The duke of
Yorke appoin-
ted to charge
again.

But the duke of Summerfet still maligning the duke of Yorkes aduancement, as he had sought to hinder his dispatch at the first when he was sent ouer to be regent, as before we haue heard: he likewise now wrought so, that the king reuoked his grant made to the duke of Yorke for enioieng of that office the terme of other five yerres, and with helpe of William marquesse of Suffolke obtained that grant for himselfe. Which malicious beling the duke of Yorke might so euill beare, that in the end the heate of displeasure burst out into such a flame, as consumed at length not onelie both those two noble personages, but also manie thousands of others, though in diuers times and seasons, as in places hereafter (as occasion serueth) it shall more euidentlie appeare. But now to returne to the parlement.

The appoint-
ment disap-
pointed, and poin-
ted to the mar-
quesse of
Suffolke.

The marques of Suffolke, supposing all men had as well liked his doings (during the time of his legation in France) as himselfe, the second daie of

The marques
of Suffolks
request.

June

use for
this.

444.

mentioned
in the
margin
of the
king's
text.

June in the first session of this parlement, in the higher house openlie, eloquentlie, and boldlie declared his paine, trauell, and diligence susteined in his said legation, as well for the taking and concluding an abstinence of warre, as in the making of the marriage; remembryng them also that the said truce expired the first of Aprill next, except a small peace, or a further truce were concluded in the meane season: and therefore he advised them to provide and foresee things necessarie for the warre (as though no concord should succeed) least happlie the Frenchmen perceiving them unprompted, would take their advantage, and agree neither to peace nor amitie; saying unto them further, that sith he had admonished the king and them according to his dutie, if any thing happened otherwise than well, he was thereof innocent and guiltlesse, and had acquitted himselfe like a true and loving subject, and a faithfull counsellour, praieng the lords to have it in remembrance.

Likewise on the morow after, he descended into the common house, accompanied with certeine lords, and there declared the same matter to the knights, citizens, and burgeses, praieng the commons for his discharge, that as well all his doings and proceedings in the kings affaires beyond the sea, as also his advertisement and counsell opened to the lords and commons now together assembled, might be by the king and them inacted and inrolled in the records of the parlement. Whereupon the next daie after, the speaker William Burghleie, and the companie of the lower house, repaired unto the kings presence, sitting amongst the lords of the upper house, & there humbly required that the request of the marquess might be granted. And so likewise the lords made the like petition kneeling on their knees, in somuch that the king condescended to their desires: and so the labours, demeanours, diligences, and declarations of the said marquess, together with the desires not onlie of the lords, but also of the commons, as well for the honour of him and his posteritie, as for his acquittal and discharge, were inacted and inrolled in the records of the parlement.

The marquess of Suffolk, cheifest in favour and authority with the king and quene.

By the quenes meanes shortly after also was the said marquess advanced so in authority, that he ruled the king at his pleasure, and to his high preferment obtained the wardships both of the bodie and lands of the countesse of Warwike, and of the ladie Margarete sole heire to John duke of Summerset, which ladie was afterward mother to king Henrie the seventh: and besides that, caused the king to create John de Foix, sonne unto Gaston de Foix, earle of Longue, and the Capdaun de Beuse earle of Kendall, which John had married his niece, and by his procurement the king elected to the order of the garter the said Gaston, and John his sonne, giving to the sonne towards the maintenance of his degree, lands and castles, amounting to the summe of one thousand pounds, which lands, name, and stile the issue and line of the said earle of Kendall at this daie have and enjoy.

These things being thus in doing, the French king, seeing that the towne of Mans was not delievered according to the appointment taken by force of the marriage, raised an armie for to recover the same. Whereof the king of England being advertised (least the breach of the truce should come by him) caused the towne to be delievered without any force.

A commotion in Norwich.

This yeare was a great commotion in Norwich against the prior of the place. At length the citizens opened the gates to the duke of Suffolke, who came thither to appeale the matter, though at the first they would not suffer him to enter. The cheefe offenders were (according to their demerits) greivously punished and executed, and the malor was discharged of

his office, and sir John Clifton was made governor there, untill the king had restored the citizens to their ancient liberties. This commotion was begun for certeine new exactions which the prior claimed and took of the citizens, contrarie to their ancient freedom. But herein a wrong taken for getting of right was worthilie corrected.

In the foure and twentieth yeare of this kings reigne, the prior of Allmaine appeached the earle of Diamond of treason. For triall whereof the place of combat was assigned in Smithfield, & the barriers for the same there readie pitcht. Howbeit, in the meane time a doctor of divinitie, named master Gilbert Worthington, parson of saint Andrews in Holborne, and other honest men, made such sute with diligent labour and paines-taking to the kings counsell, that when the daie of combat approached, the quarrell was taken into the kings hands, and there ended. In the same yeare also, a certeine armourer was appeached of treason by a servant of his owne. For proofe thereof a daie was given them to fight in Smithfield, in somuch that in conflict the said armourer was overcome and slaine; but yet by misgoverning of himselfe. For on the morow, when he should come to the field fresh and fasting, his neighbours came to him, and gaue him wine and strong drinke in such excessive sort, that he was therewith disempered, and reeled as he went, and so was slaine without guilt. As for the false servant, he lived not long unpunished, for being convicted of felonie in court of assise, he was iudged to be hanged, and so was at Tiburne.

Whilste the warres betwene the two nations of England & France ceased (by occasion of the truce) the minds of men were not so quiet, but that such as were bent to malicious reuenge, sought to compass their preperend purpose, not against foren foes and enemies of their countrie, but against their owne countrie men, and those that had deserved verie well of the common-wealth; and this speciallie for overmuch mildnesse in the king, who by his authority might have ruled both parts, and ordered all differences betwixt them, but that in deed he was thought to loost for gouernor of a kingdome. The quene contrariwise, a ladie of great wit, and no lesse courage, desirous of honour, and furnished with the gifts of reason, policie, and wisdom; but yet sometime according to hir kind when she had bene fullie bent on a matter, suddenlie like a weather cocke, mutable and turning.

This ladie disdaining that hir husband should be ruled rather than rule, could not abide that the duke of Gloucester should do all things concerning the order of weightie affaires, least it might be said, that she had neither wit nor stomach, which would permit and suffer hir husband being of most perfect age, like a yong pupill to be gouerned by the direction of an other man. Although this toy entered first into hir braine thorough hir owne imagination, yet was she pricked forward to the matter both by such of hir husbands counsell, as of long time had borne malice to the duke for his plainnesse used in declaring their vntruth (as parties ye haue heard) and also by counsell from king Keiner hir father, aduising that she and the king should take upon them the rule of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, as wards and mastered orphans.

What needeth manie words: The quene persuaded by these meanes, first of all excluded the duke of Gloucester from all rule and gouernance, not prohibiting such as she knew to be his mostall foes to invent and imagine causes and grieues against him and his, in somuch that by hir procurement, diuerse noble men conspired against him. Of the which diuerse workers

The liberte of Admiration seized in the things he had means to reforme sayings.

Ab. Pl. Ec. F. 1446. Polychron. Combatur cases of appeals touching treason.

Dunkin. nelle the oute throw of right and manly.

The duke Gloucester Henrie the sixth.

Edw. Hall

The description of the quene.

Parson of Spinch.

Duke of Gloucester

W. P.

The quene talcheth to hir the gouernment and better geth the best of Glouster.

The libertie
of the
seized into the
king's hands,
Innocent
measures
to reforme
the wrongs,

Abr. Fl. ex
Fabian. 343.
Polychron.
Combates in
cases of ap-
peales tou-
ching treason.

Dunkens-
nelle the ouer-
throw of right
and manhood.

Anno Reg. 25.

The descrip-
tion of the
queene.

London at
the death.

The death
of the bishop
of Winchester
and his
rescript.

The queene
fetched upon
the 10th
of November,
and dischar-
ged the duke
of Gloucester.

The saint
quell pased
to the duke of
Gloucester.

1447
A parliament
at Glou-
cester.

The duke of
Gloucester
died.

Ede. Hall.

London at
the death.

The death
of the bishop
of Winchester
and his
rescript.

ters affirme the marquess of Suffolke, and the duke of Buckingham to be the cheefe, not vnprocured by the cardinall of Winchester, and the archbishop of Yorke. Diuerse articles were laid against him in open counsell, and in especiall one; that he had caused men abridged to die, to be put to other execution, than the law of the land assigned. Where the duke herie well learned in the law ciuill, detesting malefactors, and punishing offences in severity of iustice, gat him hatred of such as feared condigne reward for their wicked doings. And although the duke sufficiently answered to all things against him objected: yet because his death was determined, his wisdom and innocencie nothing auailed.

But to auoid danger of tumult that might be raised, if a prince so well beloued of the people should be openly executed; his enemies determined to worke their feats in his destruction, yet he should haue anie warning. For effecting thereof, a parlement was summoned to be kept at Berrie, whither resorted all the peers of the realme, and amongst them the duke of Gloucester; which on the second daie of the session was by the lord Beaumont, then high constable of England, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and others, arrested, apprehended, and put in ward, and all his seruants sequestred from him, and thirtie two of the cheefe of his retinue were sent to diuerse prisons, to the great admiration of the people. The duke the night after he was thus committed to prison, being the foure and twentieth of february, was found dead in his bed, and his bodie shewed to the lords and commons, as though he had died of a palsey, or of an impossme.

But all indifferent persons (as saith Hall) might well vnderstand that he died of some violent death. Some iudged him to be strangled, some affirme that an hot spit was put in at his fundament, other write that he was smothered betwene two featherbeds, and some haue affirmed that he died of verie griefe, for that he might not come openlie to his answer. His dead corpe was conueyed to saint Albons, and there buried. After his death, none of his seruants suffered: although sue of them, to wit, sir Roger Chamberline knight, Middleton, Herbert, Arlesse equiers, and Richard Bedham gentleman, were arrested, condemned, and drawn to a booke, where they were hanged, let downe quicke, and striped to haue bene bowelled and quartered; but the marques of Suffolke comming at that instant brought their pardons, shewed the same openlie, and so their liues were saued.

Some thinke that the name and title of Gloucester hath bene vnluckie to diuerse, which for their honours haue bene erected by creation of princes to that title and dignitie, as Hugh Spenser, Thomas of Woodstocke, sonne to king Edward the third, and this duke Humfrey: which three persons by miserable death finished their daies; and after them king Richard the third also duke of Gloucester in ciuill warre laime. So that this name duke of Gloucester is taken for an vnhappy stile, as the proverbe speaketh of Spenser's horse, whose rider was euer vnholled, & whose possessor was euer brought to miserie. But sterlie, by the pitifull death of this noble duke and politike gouernour, the publick wealth of the realme came to great decay, as by sequels here may more at large appeare.

At times it hapneth that a man in quenching of smoke, burneth his fingers in the fire: so the queene in casting how to keepe hit husband in honour, and hir selfe in authoritie, in making auaice of this noble man, brought that to passe, which she had most cause to haue feared, which was the deposing of hir husband, & the decay of the house of Lancaster, which of

likelihood had not chanced if this duke had liued: for then durst not the duke of Yorke haue attempted to set forth his title to the crowne, as he afterwards did, to the great trouble of the realme, and destruction of king Henrie, and of manie other noble men beside. This is the opinion of men, but Gods iudgements are vnsearchable, against whose decree and ordinance preuaileth no humane counsell.

But to conclude of this noble duke: he was an bright and politike gouernour, bending all his indures to the advancement of the common wealth, verie loving to the poore commons, and so beloued of them againe; learned, wise, full of courtesie, void of pride and ambition (a vertue rare in personages of such high estate) but where it is most commendable. But sith the praise of this noble man deserueth a large discourse, and meet for such as haue cunning how to handle the same (sith the ornaments of his mind were both rare & admirable, the feats of chivalrie by him commended and atchieued, balliant and fortunate, his grauitie in counsell, and soundnesse of policie profound and singular, all which with a traine of other excellent properties linked together, requires a man of manifold gifts to aduance them according to their dignitie) I refer the readers vnto maister Foxes booke of Acts and Monuments. Onelie this I ad, that in respect of his noble indowments, and his demeanour full of decencie, which he daile bled, it seemeth he might well haue giuen this prettie poesie,

Virgine duce non sanguine nitor.

In this sixt and twentieth yeare of the reigne of this king, but in the first of the rule of the queene, I find nothing done worthy of reherfall within the realme of England; but that the marquess of Suffolke, by great fauour of the king, & more desire of the queene, was erected to the title and dignitie of duke of Suffolke, which he a short time intoted. For Richard duke of Yorke being greatly allied by his wife to the cheefe peeres and potentates of the realme, beside his owne progenie, perceiuing the king to be no ruler, but the whole burthen of the realme to rest in direction of the queene, & the duke of Suffolke, began secretlie to allure his friends of the nobilitie; and priuilie declared vnto them his title and right to the crowne, and likewise did he to certaine wise gouernours of diuerse citiees and townees. Which attempt was so politikelie handled, and so secretlie kept, that prouision to his purpose was ready, before his purpose was openlie published; and his friends opened themselves, yet the contrarie part could them espye: for in conclusion all hostlie in mischief burst out as ye may hereafter heare.

During these doings, Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester, and called the rich cardinall, departed out of this world, & buried at Westmister. He was son to John Duke of Lancaster, descended of an honorable linage, but borne in hast, more noble in blood than notable in learning, haucie in stomach, and high of countenance, rich aboue measure, but not verie liberall, disdainfull to his kin, and deadfull to his louers, preferring monie before friendship, manie things beginning and few performing, saning in malice and mischief; his insatiable countenance and hope of long life made him both to forget God, his prince, and himselfe. Of the getting of his goda both by power legantine, and spiritual byberie, I will not speake; but the keeping of them, which he chiefelie gathered for ambitious purpose, was both great losse to his naturall prince and native countrie: for his hidden riches might haue well holpen the king, and his secret treasure might haue relieved the communitie, when monie was scant and charges great.

[Of this catholike clerke such were the deeds, . W. P. that

Anno Reg. 26.

Marquess of
Suffolke
made duke.

The duke of
Yorke temper-
ing about his
title to the
crowne.

1448

The death of
the bishop of
Winchester
and his
rescript.

Lib. 23.

Lib. 23. that with king and ech estate else (saith Polydor) the
lighter was the losse, because as for his hat he was a
pycelate proud inough, so for a bishop was there a bet-
ter lone set in his rowne. One William Batin, son
and heire to Richard his father, and eldest brother to
John that decessed beane of Chichester, and to Ri-
chard that liued and died at Ballo in Derbeshire.
This William was a person by parentage bozne a
gentleman, for vertue and learning first conferrate
bishop of Winchester, then anon after for wiseboime
and integritie chosen lord chancelor of England:
therein his pudence made eminent, in warlike
tweluding the weight of that office at those daies,
which were so dangerous for all estates to liue in.

His vertuous disposition was right apparent, and it were but by this the godlie erection of that worthy worke, Spagdalene college in Wyford, a plot right aptlie chosen out for studie at first, with strength and worthemanlyp (one after builded according, in proportion beautifull outward, and for vse berie commodious within, fostered into a faire mansion for the president, seuerall and meet for a man to that office of worship and grauitie, and also into other comes for the fellowes, officers, and younger students. Not without a vertuous remembrance of the berie tenderlings, who might appeare to be towarde and ready; whereof part to be trained by in the diuine science of musike iustlie reposed in a distichon, that

Gaudia si superum res sit mortalibus ulla,

Integra quæ referat; musica sola refert:

the vse of it commendable seruing by sweet harmonie to praise God in church, and for delectable recreation to a gentlemanlie mind any where else : and part of these young ones to be taught the grammar in a faire schole well appointed therefore, out of which as out of a nurserie of it to come, for supplement certaine to keepe full the number, these budlings at need from time to time to be dulle destitute and dazle.

ſo ſomewhat in caſſing vpon this deuout man
 denſe and compaſſe; to conſider the companie of
 ſtudents there, that in ſeuerrall ſciences and ſundry
 profeſſions are not a ſeld; then their aſſigned ſtudie
 and exerciſes in them, their ſteps in riſing & reward
 for diligence, from the loweſt logician to the higheſt
 degrees of doctrine in ſchools, their officers in houſe,
 their orders for governance in maners, in ſafe-gard
 of health and helpe in ſickneſſe: and that chiefeſt is,
 the reuenues certaine for pouerſion & maintenance
 of all, it may be a queſtion not eaſie to answer; whe-
 ther at firſt in this founders meditation vpon ſuch a
 worke were a mind more magnifike, or a more am-
 plitude of abilitye after, in ſo absolute a forme to per-
 forme it, or elſe a profounder ſolledome for perpetu-
 itie into ſo perfect an order, in all points to haue firſt it

It was a fashion at those daies, long agoe, & since, from a learned spirituall man to take awaie the fathers surname (were it neuer so woorthipfull or ancient) and giue him for it the name of the towne he was borne in: and so was Richard Pottingham a learned frater minore in king Edward the seconds daies called of Pottingham where he was borne; John Clinie a learned monke in those daies also, named of an Iland where he was borne nie Gloucester; of Barton in Lincolnshire one William Barton in Richard the seconds reigne; for that time a famous doctor; and chancello; of Oxford; Walter Disse, of Disse in Suffolke a learned Carmelite frater, confessor to the duke and duchesse of Lancaster in king Henrie the fourths reigne; Richard Hampole of a towne in Yorkshire, a selous doctor; and after a ver-
tuous heremit in king Henrie the firsts daies.

And after this sort manie hundreds more that had their names so altered; as euen in like maner vnto this reuerend prelat in the prime of his towardnesse

was changed his fathers surname Paten to Wain-
fleet of the towne where hee was bozne in Lin-
colneshire: a matter right pꝛoueable aswell by the
records of the house there extant, as by a faire deed
maintaining among other his proper evidences, in the
hands of the worshipfull maister Thomas Fanshawe
esquter, the quenes maiesties remembrance in
the eschequer at Westminster. And as the names
of Germin, German, Germt, are but for; one name
though diuerselie twised, and all to remember Ger-
manie, the countrie their ancestoꝛs came from; and
also as Iute, Iud, and Chute, are all but for the
race of Iutes, one of the thre first German nations
that came in with Hozlus and Hengist; and Caltrap,
Caltrap and Calthroꝝ was all but for Calthroꝝ that
signifieth a cold towne; how euer it be otherwise twi-
sed: euen so Paten, Patin, Patten, or Patent, is but
a mention of the old Saron name, that trulie at first
was Patan; of Pate, the sole of the foot, and thereof
Patan to signifie flat footed, as among the Latines
they were called Plantus or Plancus: so Cicero of a
diche or tare; pafones, Labones and Labieni,
well nosed and light; & manie moze after that sort in
manie towns else fo deriued.

That right manie students skilfull in the profoundest sciences and learned tonges, manie venerable clerks, who in most weightie causes with singular wisdome, successe and faith, haue setued their prince and countrie this college hath brought forth: hereto that manie toward wits it still to haue, hath had the good hap (which happilie yet to it dooth reteine) may here withi moderate a litle be touched, neither to comparison that were contentious folle, no yet to seke glorie that cannot be but vaine, but onlie in stozie to mind, how vnto purposes vertuouslie deuised and iustelie pursued, Gods goodnesse alwaies giueth day uiuing and thurst accordinge.]

In this tenth and twentieth yeare of king Hen-
 ries reigne, as witnesse the English chronicles, a
 knight of France called Sir Lewes de Bueil chal-
 lenged an elquier of England, named Rafe Chal-
 lons, to triall of certeine feats of warre. Hereupon
 (as was thought conuenient) a date was appointed
 them to make paise thereof; the place also was as-
 signed to their meeting, to wit, at a towne in France
 called Gaunt or Gaunce, where the French king at
 the same time was personallie present. But fortune
 (saith mine author) was to Challons for fauourable,
 and leaniest to much to his side, that he ran the French
 knight thorough with the point of his fatall sweare:

Hunc illi finem lingua superba dedit.

The English helmer, seeing the unfortunate event of this trial, to fall to the shame of the challenger, was so far from reioicing at his overthrow, that he was touched with chriſtian compaſſion, & moored for his enemie, for whom alſo he kept an obſequie as if he had bene his owne naturall brother, and deſcended of the ſame parents. For which mercuriall motions of mind inwardlie working, and outwardlie appearing, he was of the king greatly commended. But doubtfull it is, whether the other, if he had lived, and got the upper hand, would haue had the like reuerend care of the Engliſhmans dead bodie, as to haue bought ſafed it a ſolemne interment.]

As the affaires in France now were neither well looked to, nor the governours there well abused, an English capitaine called sir Francis Surienne, named the Aragoniois, of the countie where he was borne, a man for his wit and activitie admitted into the order of the garter, took by scaling suddenlie in the night of the even of our ladie daie in Lent, a towne on the frontiers of Normandie, belonging to the duke of Brittain called Fougiers, spoiling the same, and killing the inhabitants. The duke of Brittain,

willia was
first built by
Winchcombe,
lord chamber-
lain of Eng-
land, founder
of Magdalen
college in
Oxford.

An.Dott. ed.
Malmberg:

Abr. Fl. et
Fabian 417

A combat between
an triall of
manhood be-
tween a
French and
an English
man.

The con-
tion of the
Englishmen
in his court.

anno Reg. 11.

dit fient
particulæ.

engines.

1

Pöt de Larch
taken by the
Fréchemen by
a subtil
deight.

11.14.47.

william was
first bishop of
Winchester,
lord chamber-
layn of Eng-
land, founder
of Wyndesore
college in
1213.

An.Dom. 44
Malmesbury.

Abr. Fl. ex
Fabian 417.

A combat by
on trial of
marriage be-
twene a
French and
an English
man.

The compar-
ison of the
Englishman
to his enemy.

Anno Reg. 11.

Sir Francis
Bourchier.

Fougere.

An. Reg. 27.

tainie, being hereof aduertised, sent word by the bi-
shop of Beines to the French king, beseeching him
of his aid and counsell in the matter.

The French king forthwith sent his caruer John
Hauart, and John Cointet one of the maisters of his
requests to the king of England: and to the duke of
Sommerfet he dispatched Peter de Fontaines the
maister of his house. To which messengers answer
was made aswell by the king as the duke, that the
fact was done without their knowledge. And for the
truce to be kept, and not onelie restitution, but also
amends to be made to the duke of Britaine, a daie of
diet was appointed to be kept at Louiers, where the
commissioners on both parts being assembled, the
frenchmen demanded amends, with no small re-
compense. The Englishmen answered, that without
offence, nothing by iustice ought to be satisfied; affir-
ming the doing of sir Francis Sureinnes to be one-
lie his act, without consent either of the king of Eng-
land, or of the duke of Sommerfet his lieutenant
and regent.

Philip Larch
taken by the
frenchmen by
a subtil
sight.

But whiles with long delate they talked of this
matter at Louiers, certeine Frenchmen by aduer-
tisement of a waggoner of Louiers, vnderstanding
that the towne of Pont de Larch was but slenderlie
manned; the waggoner laded his wagon and passed
for ward, hauing in his companie two strong barlets
clad like carpentars, with great ares on their shoul-
ders. And hereto ie seigneur de Bessie with a chosen
companie of men of armes, lodged himselfe in am-
bushment nere to the gate of S. Andreu, and cap-
taine Floquet, accompanied with sir James de Cle-
remont, and another great companie priuilie lurked
vnder a wood toward Louiers. When all things
were appointed for the purpose, earlie in a morning
about the beginning of October, the waggoner came
to the gate, and called the porter by name, praiesing
him to open the gate, that he might passe to Rone,
and returne againe the same night.

The porter (which well knew the voice of his custo-
mer) toke little heed to the other two companions,
and so opened the one gate, and sent another fellow
of his to open the foremost gate. When the chariot
was on the draw-bridge betwene both the gates, the
chariot-maister gaue the porter monie, and for the
nonce let one peece fall on the ground: and while the
porter stooped to take it vp, the waggoner with his
dagger stroke him in at his throat, so that he cried
for no helpe, and the two great lubbers slue the other
porters, and with their ares cut the aretre of the
wagon, so that the draw-bridge could not be shortly
drawn vp. This done they made a signe to capitaine
Floquet, which with all speed entered the towne, slue
and toke all the Englishmen: and amongst other, the
lord Fauconbridge capitaine of the said towne was
taken prisoner. The losse of this place was of no
small importance, being the verie heie and passage
ouer the riuer of Seine, from France into Nor-
mandie, being distant from Rone onelie foure lea-
gues.

When request was made to haue it restored a-
gaine to the Englishmen, answer was made, that if
they restord, to the duke of Britaine, the towne
of Fougieres with condigne amends for the dama-
ges done there, the towne of Pont de Larch should
then be againe deliuered, or else not. And shortly af-
ter, in hope of like successe the French king assem-
bled an armie, and diuiding the same in three parts,
got by surrender (after sundrie assaults, and losse of
diuerse of his men) the townes of Louiers, & Ger-
bois, whereof William Harper was capitaine. Also
the towne, castell, and great tower of Verneuill in
Perche were rendered into the French kings hands,
after twentie daies of respite granted, to let if rescues

would haue come. The French writers affirme the
towne to be taken by assault.

Thus was the warre renewed before the terme of
truce fullie expired, & the English captains brought
to their wiits end, what with appeasing daile romors
within the townes; and what with studie how to re-
couer castels lost and taken: for while they studied
how to keepe and defend one place, foure or fise other
turned to the French part. The chiefe cause of which
renolting was, for that it was blowen abroad tho-
rough France, how the realme of England, after the
death of the duke of Glocester by the seuerall facti-
ons of princes was diuided in two parts; and that
William de la Pole latelie created duke of Sub-
folke, and diuerse other, which were the occasion of the
said duke of Glocesters death, vered and oppressed the
poore people, so that mens minds were not intente
to outward affaires: but all their studie giuen to
keepe off wrongs offered at home.

The king little regarding the matter, & the queene
led by enill counsell, rather furthered such mischiefes
as daile began to grow by ciuill discords, than sought
to reforme them: so that the Normans and Gas-
coignes vnderstanding in what state things stood
here, turned to the French part, as hereafter it may
appeare. About the same time also, began a new re-
bellion in Ireland; but Richard duke of Yorke being
sent thither to appease the same, so alluaged the furte
of the wild and sauage people there, that he wan him
such fauour amongst them, as could neuer be separa-
ted from him and his linage, which in the sequele of
this historie may more plainelie appeare.

The Frenchmen, hauing perfect vnderstanding
of the vncreadinelle of the realme of England, dis-
played their banners, and set forth their armies, and
in short space got (by yeelding) Constance, Cisors, ca-
stell Galliard, Pontean de Here, saint Lo, Je-
stampe, Petucastell, Tonque, Pauleon, Argenton,
Lisseur, and diuerse other townes and places within
the countrie of Normandie. Likewise in Guien
was the towne of Paulillon rendered to the earle
of Fois. These townes were not yeilded voluntari-
lie by the English souldiers: but they were compe-
led thereto by the inhabitants of the townes, which
hauing intelligence of the feeble estate of the realme
of England, rose against the captains, opened the
gates to the enemies, or constrained them to render
upon composition. By which inforcement was the
rich citie of Rone deliuered: for suerlie the duke of
Sommerfet and the earle of Shrewsburie had well
kept that citie, if they had bene no more vered with
the citizens, than they were with their enemies.

For after that the French king had giuen sum-
mons to the citie, the inhabitants streightwaies
did not onelie denie which waie they might betraie
the citie, but also put on armor, and rebelled openlie
against their captains: who perceiuing the vnt ruth of
them, and their owne danger, retired into the castell
or palace, where (for a certeine space) with arrowes
& handguns they fore molested the vnt true citizens.
But at length, vnderstanding the great puissance of
the French king at hand, and despairing of all aid
and succour, they yeilded upon condition; that with
all their goods and armour they should safelie depart
to Caen, and that certeine townes should be deliue-
red by a day. And till the same townes were rendred,
the earle of Shrewsburie and the lord Butler, sonne
to the earle of Ormond, were left behind as pledges,
which were sent to the castell of Cursur, because they
fore feared the malice of the citizens of Rone.

The Frenchmen, following the successe in hand,
came to Harfue, and fiercelie assaulted the walles:
but by the high prowesse and vndanted valiance of
the capitaine, sir Thomas Curson, they were to their
D. o. f. great

The warres
renewed before
the end of the
truce.

A rebellion in
Ireland.

The English
lost all in
France.

Rone yeilded
to the French
men.

Harfue be-
sieged.
Sir Thomas
Curson.

Warlike paid
to the
French.

Anno Reg. 28.

1450

Sir Thomas
Kiriell with a
new band in-
to France.

The English
men over-
threwen at
Fozmignie.

*Or rather
Gough.

Caen besieged
and yielded
to the French.

great losse manfullie by him repelled, and beaten. The frenchmen learning wit by this great perill, lest their scaling, and deuised daile how to batter the walles, & make the breaches reasonable for them to enter. This siege long continued to the great losse of both parties. When sir Thomas Curslon saw no likelihood of gaine, but great apperance of present losse, he fell at composition with the enemies, and so departed with all his goods. After which towne rendered, the fortreffe of Hundine was vpon like composition yielded. And beside these townes surrendered in Normandie, the duke of Britaine recovered a gaine fougiers, saint James de Beuron, and diuerse other.

In the meane season the king of England sent into Normandie (with a new supplie of a thousand five hundred men) a right valiant capitaine called sir Thomas Kiriell, who joining himselfe with other English captains recovered the townes of Lisieux and Falongnes, and hauing with him power sufficient (as he took it) to keepe the fields, he departed the twelue of Aprill from Falongnes, meaning to passe towards Baieur, and after to Caen. But the eighteenth daile of the same moneth, he was incountered at a place called Fozmignie betwixt Caranten and Baieur, by the earle of Cleremont, & other frenchmen with Scots. At the first onset, the Englishmen receiued their enemies with such manhood, that the frenchmen were driuen backe, and the Englishmen took from them two culuerings.

But yet in the end, by the comming of the constable of France, Arthur de Britaine earle of Richmond, who brought with him two hundred or twelue score men of armes, and an eight hundred archers or demilances, the Englishmen were discomfited, put to flight, and slaine, to the number of three thousand, seauen hundred, three score and thirtene, as Enguerrant noteth, beside prisoners, of whome there were diuerse personages of accompt, as the said sir Thomas Kiriell himselfe, sir Henrie Bozberie, sir Thomas Deyn, sir Thomas Kirklie, Christopher Auberton, Arpell, Helice, Alengour, Jennerquin, Macquiter, Gohart, Calcuille, and sundrie other. Sir Robert Wier, and sir Gough that valiant Welshman, and manie other escaped so well as they might, some to Baieur, some to Caen, and other to other places as best they could.

After this overthrow obtained, the french king assembled an armie roiall, and comming before Caen, besieged it on all sides: and after making his approaches, fiercelie assailed the walles. But the duke of Summerfet, and the other captains within the towne, manfullie withstood their enemies, shewing both force and great policie in defending and beating backe the assailants. The french king, perceiuing he could not preuaile that waie, sent for all his great ordinance to Paris, which being brought, he daile shot at the wals, and did some hurt: but to the castell which stood on a rocke, and in it a dungeon vnable to be beaten downe, he did no harme at all.

Though the duke of Summerfet was the kings lieutenant, yet sir David Hall, as capitaine of this towne for his maister the duke of Poike owner thereof, took vpon him the chiefe charge. Sir Robert Wier was capitaine of the castell, and sir Henrie Radford capitaine of the dungeon. Daile the shot was great, but more terrible than hurtfull: sauing on a daie a stone shot into the towne, fell betwene the chiefe of Summerfet, and his children, which being amazed with this chance, besought his husband kneeling on his knees, to haue mercie and compassion of his small infants, and that they might be deliuered out of the towne in safegard. Which intretie made with teares and submission, that eare could but listen to,

that heart but yerne at; vntlesse both eare and heart were made of flint or marble, or betwen out of a hard rocke, and so void of all passions, of all remors, of all affections belonging to humanitie.

The duke pitifull, moued with the sorow of his wife, and loue of his children, rendered the towne against the mind of sir David Hall, whose counsell and faithfull diligence (in acquitting himselfe to answer the trust committed to him by his maister) if others had followed; the french had sustained more trauell and losse, yet they should haue so easilie attained their purpose. The conditions of the surrender were, that the duke of Summerfet and his might depart in safegard with all their goods and substance. Sir David Hall with diuerse of his trustie friends departed to Chierburgh, and from thence sailed into Ireland to the duke of Poike, making relation to him of all these doings, which thing kindled so great a rancoz in the dukes heart and stomach, that he neuer left persecuting the duke of Summerfet, until he had brought him to his fatall end & confusion. Such is the nature of rancoz and malice, of wrath and anger, which furthereth the hands euen of weaklings, on them to weake their teene, with whom they are offended & pricked to reuengment, as the poet saith:

Quaslibet infirmas adiuuat ira manus.

After the obtaining of Caen, the earle of Cleremont besieged the citie of Lisieux, whereof was capitaine Gough with three hundred Englishmen, who in the end deliuered that towne, vpon condition, that he and his people might depart to Chierburgh. Then was Falais besieged, whereof were captains for the earle of Shrewsburie (that was the owner) Andrew Trollop, and Thomas Cotton esquires, who being in despair of all succors, agreed to deliuer it vpon two conditions. The one was, that the earle their maister, which remained in pledge for the performance of certeine appointments, concluded at the deliuerie of Rone (as ye haue hard) should be set at libertie. The other, that if they were not rescued within twelue daies, that then they and theirs should depart with armes, and all their goods moneable, whither it pleased them.

At the daie appointed, the towne was rendered, and so likewise was the towne of Dampfront vpon the semblable agreement. Now rested onlie English the towne of Chierburgh, whereof was capitaine one Thomas Conuille, which merlie as long as vitels and munition serued, defended the towne right manfullie: but without hope of repaire, consumed, and he els destitute of all comfort and aid, vpon a reasonable composition, yielded the towne, and went to Calis, where the duke of Summerfet and manie other Englishmen then sojourned. Thus was Normandie lost clarelie out of the Englishmens hands, which after it had continued in their possession the space of thirtie yeares by the conquest of Henrie the sixt.

In this duchie were an hundred strong townes and fortresses, able to be kept and holden, beside them which were destroyed by the warres; and in the same is one archbishoppe, and six bishopps. Some saie that the Englishmen were not of puissance either to man the townes, as they should haue bene; or to inhabit the countrie, which was the cause they could not keepe it. Other saie, that the duke of Summerfet for his owne peculiar lucre, kept not halfe the number of soldiers for which he was appointed and allowed, but put the wages in his purse. But the chiefe and onlie cause vndoubtedlie, was the diuision within the realme, euerie great man desiring rather to be reuenged on his foe at home, than on the common enemy abroad, as by that which followeth you may plainelie perceiue.

[For whilest the french thus triumphed in Normandie,

The earle of
Suffolke
betweene the
two dukes.

The common
exclamation
of the duke
of Suffolke.

The parliament
admonished
London to
receiue, and
from thence
to Westminster.

Edw. Hall.

The duke
of the
offit.

The countess
of the
offit.

The countess
of the
offit.

Anno Reg. 28.
W. R.

mandie, three cruell enemies among manie (as by ci-
uill warre and sedition insuing appeared) for byged
the bitter ruine of this reame at home. One was pre-
sumption in gouernance, by some that were most in-
met to rule, as the queene with hir priuie counsel-
lois and minions; then the deable malice and pride,
with insatiable couetise in the states both spirituall
and tempozall: and lastlie the generall grudge of the
people, for the vniuersall smart that through misgo-
uernment euerie where they suffered; who thus for-
ueried with the pisse of burthens too heauie for them
anie longer to beare.]

Here with perceiving how (through want of pro-
udent wisdom in the gouernour) all things went
to wacke, as well within the realme as without;
they began to make exclamation against the duke of
Suffolke, charging him to be the onelie cause of the
deliuerie of Anjou, and Paine, the chiefe procuroz
of the duke of Gloucesters death, the verie occasion
of the losse of Normandie, the swallower vp of the
kings treasure, the remouer of god and vertuous
councillours from about the prince, and the aduan-
cer of vicious persons, and of such as by their doings
shewed themselves apparant aduersaries to the com-
mon-wealth.

The queene hereat doubting not onelie the dukes
destruction, but also hir owne confusion, caused the
parlement before begun at the Blackfriars, to be ad-
iourned to Leicester, thinking there, by force and ri-
go: of law, to suppress and subdue all the malice and
euill will conceiued against the duke & hir. At which
place few of the nobilitie would appeare: wherefore
it was againe adiourned to Westminster, where
was a full appearance. In the which session the com-
mons of the nether house put vp to the king and the
lords manie articles of treason, misprision, and euill
demerito: against the duke of Suffolke: the effect
whereof with his answers here insue.

Articles proponed by the commons against the duke of Suffolke.



First they alleged that he had trait-
tozouslie excited, prouoked, and
counsellid John earle of Dunois
bastard of France, Bertram lord
Presigne, William Cusinet, en-
mies to the king, and frends and
ambassadors to Charles, calling himselfe French
king, to enter into this realme; and to leaue warre
against the king and his people, to the intent to de-
stroye the king and his frends, and to make John
his sonne king of this realme, marieng him to Ma-
garet, sole heire to John duke of Summerfet, pre-
tending and declaring hir to be next heire inherita-
ble to the crowne, for lacke of issue, of the kings bo-
die lawfullie begotten.

Item, the said duke, being of the kings priuie
and nere counsell, allured by great rewards and
false promises, made by the said earle of Dunois,
caused the king to deliuer and set at libertie, Charles
duke of Orleans, enemye to the king, and the kings
noble father: which deliuerance was prohibited by ex-
presse words, in the last will of the kings most victo-
rious father.

Item, that before the departing of the said duke
of Orleans, the aforesaid duke of Suffolke trait-
tozouslie fast cleauing to Charles called the French
king, counsellid, prouoked, and intised the said duke
of Orleans, to moue the same king to make warre
against England, both in France and Normandie.
According to which procurement & counsell, the said
French king hath recovered the whole realme of

France, and all the duchie of Normandie, and taken
prisoners the earle of Arkelburie, the lord Fau-
conbridge, and manie other valiant captiues. These
three articles aforesaid he denied, either for fact or
thought.]

Further it was alleged, that he being am-
bassador for the king of England, to Charles cal-
ling himselfe the French king, promised to Kether
king of Sicill, and to Charles d'Angiers his bro-
ther, enemies to the king, the release of Anjou, with
the deliuerance of the countie of Paine, and the citie
of Gaunt or Spans, without the knowledge of the
other ambassadors with him accompanied. Which
promise, after his returne, he caused to be performed,
to the kings disinheritaunce and losse irrecoverable,
and to the strength of his enemies, and sablissement
of the duchie of Normandie. To this article he an-
swered, that his commission was to conclude, and do
all things according to his discretion, for the obtai-
ning of a peace: & because without deliuerie of those
countries, he perceiued that the truce could not be
obtained, he agreed to the release and deliuerance of
them.]

Also they had great cause to iudge by the se-
quels, that the said duke being in France in the
kings seruice, and one of the priuie of his counsell
there, traitozouslie declared and opened to the cap-
teins and conductors of warre, appertaining to the
kings enemies, the kings counsell, puruance of
his armies, furniture of his towne, & all other ordi-
nances, whereby the kings enemies (instructed afore-
hand by his traitozous information) haue gotten
townes and fortresses, and the king by that meanes
deprived of his inheritance.

Item, the said duke declared to the earle of
Dunois, to the lord Presigne, and William Cos-
net ambassadors for the French king lieng in Lon-
don, the priuies of the kings counsell, both for the
prouision of further warre, and also for the defense
of the duchie of Normandie: by the disclosing where-
of, the Frenchmen knowing the king secrets, defea-
ted the kings appointments, and they obtained their
purpose.

Item, that the said duke, at such time as the
king sent ambassadors to the French king, for the
intreating of peace, traitozouslie before their com-
ming to the French court, certified king Charles of
their commission, authoritie, and instructions: by rea-
son thereof, neither peace nor amitie succeded, and
the kings inheritance lost, and by his enemies pos-
sessed.

Item, the same duke said openlie in the Star-
chamber before the lords of the counsell, that he had
as high a place in the counsell-house of the French
king, as he had there: and was as well trusted there
as here, and could reioyne from the French king the
priuies of his counsell, if he would.

Item, when armies haue bene prepared, and
souldiers readie to passe ouer the sea, to deale
with the kings enemies: the said duke, corrupted by
rewards of the French king, hath refferred & staied
the said armies to passe anie further.

Item, the said duke being ambassador for
the king, compisled not in the league (as the kings
alies) neither the king of Aragon, neither the duke
of Britaine: but suffered them to be compisled on
the contrarie part. By reason thereof, the old amitie
of the king of Aragon is estranged from this realme,
and the duke of Britaine became enemye to the
same: Ciles his brother, the kings sure friend, cast in
strong prison, and there like to end his daies.]

All these objections he bitterlie denied; or faintlie
auoided: but none fullie excused. Diuerse other
crimes

The commons
renewed a-
gainst the duke
of Suffolke.

The parliament
adourned frō
London to
Leicester, and
from thence to
Westminster.

Edw. Hall.

crimes were laid to his charge, as enriching himselfe with the kings goods and lands, gathering together and making a monopolie of offices, fees, wards, and farmes, by reason whereof, the kings estate was greatlie diminished and decayed, and he and his kin highlie exalted & enriched: with manie other points, which because they be not notable nor of great force or strength, I omit and ouerpasse.

The duke of
Suffolke com-
mitted to the
Tower.

Blewebeard
capitaine of
the rebels.

The quene, which intierlie loued the duke, doubting some commotion and trouble to arise, if he were let go unpunished, caused him for a colour to be committed to the Tower: where he remained not past a moneth, but was againe deliuered and restored to the kings fauour, as much as euer he was before. This doing so much displeased the people, that if politike prouision had not bene, great mischefe had immediatlie ensued. For the commons in sundrie places of the realme assembled together in great companies, and chose to them a capteine, whome they called Blewebeard: but yet they had attempted anie enterprise, their leaders were apprehended; & so the matter pacified without anie hurt committed.

After this outrage thus alluaged, the parlement was adiourned to Leicester, whither came the king and quene in great estate, and with them the duke of Suffolke as chiefe counsellour. The commons of the lower house, not forgetting their old grudge, besought the king, that such persons as assented to the release of Anson, and deliuerance of Haine, might be duly punished. And to be proue to that fact, they accused as principall, the duke of Suffolke, with John bishop of Saltsburie, and sir James fines, lord Saie, and diuerse others. When the king perceived that there was no remedie to appease the peoples furie by anie colourable waies, shortlie to pacifie so long an hatred, he first sequestred the lord Saie being treasurer of England, and other the dukes adherents from their offices and homes, and after banished the duke of Suffolke, as the abhorred robe and common noiance of the whole realme, for tearme of sixe yeares, meaning by this exile to appease the malice of the people for the time, and after (when the matter should be forgotten) to reuoke him home againe.

But Gods iustice would not that so ingracious a person should so escape: for when he shipped in Suffolke, intending to transport himselfe over into France, he was encountered with a ship of warre, appertaining to the duke of Cresser, constable of the Tower, of London, called the Nicholas of the Tower. The capteine of that barke with small fight entered into the dukes ship, and perceiving his person present, brought him to Dover road, and there on the one side of a cocke hote caused his head to be stricken off, and left his bodie with the head lying there on the sands. Wherby corps being there found by a chapleine of his, was conuied to Wingham colledge in Suffolke, and there buried. This end had William de la Pole duke of Suffolke, as men iudge by Gods prouidence; for that he had procured the death of that good duke of Gloucester, as before is partly touched.

The fore-
told death of
the duke of
Suffolke.

Jacke Cade
rebellion in
Kent.

Some after an other disquiet befell here. Those that favoured the duke of Suffolke, and wished the crowne upon his head, for that (as they iudged) he had more right thereto than he that waied it, procured a commotion in Kent on this manner. A certeine yong man of a goodlie stature and right pregnant of wit, was intitled to take upon him the name of John Mortimer captain to the duke of York (although his name was John Cade, or (of some) John Spend-all) [an Irishman as Polychronicon saith] and not for a small policie, thinking by that surname, that those which favoured the house of the earle of March would

be assistant to him. And so in deed it came to passe (as in such cases there is no breeder of a boile but he shall find adherents enow), no lesse forward to further his pernicious enterprise by their foolishhardnes, than himselfe was in the plot of his deuise (though in fine (as it is the unluckie lot of such tumults) their attempts were withstood, and their offense duly rewarded, as in proceesse of the storie shall more at large appeare; according to the wisemens sentence;

Sape in magistrum scelera redeunt sua.

This capteine assembling a great companie of tall personages, assured them, that the enterprise which he toke in hand, was both honourable to God and the king, and profitable to the whole realme. For if either by force or policie they might get the king and quene into their hands, he would cause them to be honourable vied, and take such order for the punishing and reforming of the misdeemeanours of their bad counsellours, that neither sickness should hereafter be demanded, nor once anie impositions or taxes be spoken of. The Kentish people moued at these persuasions & other faire promises of reformation, in good order of battell (though not in great number) came with their capteine vnto the plaine of Blackheath, betwene Eltham and Grænelwich, and there kept the field more than a month, pilling the cuntry about; to whome the citie of London at that time was verie fauourable. And the said capteine (as I find recorded saith Iohn Stow) sent for such citizens of London as it pleased him to command to repaire vnto him, vnder letters of safe conduct, as followeth.

The safegard and signe manuell of the
capteine of Kent, sent to Thomas Cocke draper
of London, by the capteine of the great
assemble in Kent.

By this our writing insealed, we grant & will permit trulie, that Thomas Cocke of London draper, shall come in good suertie and in safegard to our presence, without anie hurt of his person, and so auoid from vs againe at his pleasure, with all other persons assigned at his denomination with him comming in likewise.

The commandement by the capteine
of Kent, sent vnto Thomas Cocke
aboue said.

Ever your instruction, first ye shall charge all Lumbards and strangers, being merchants, Genowais, Venetians, Florentines, and others, this daie to draw them together, and to ordaine for vs the capteine, twelue hatnesses complet of the best fashion, foure & twentie brigandins, twelue battell axes, twelue glaues, six hoes with sable and bridle completlie harnessed, and a thousand markes of readie monie. And if this our demand be not obserued & done, we shall haue the heads of as manie as we can get of them.

And to the intent the cause of this glorious capteins comming together, might be shadowed vnder a cloke of good meaning (though his intent nothing so) he sent vnto the king an humble supplication, affirming that his comming was not against his grace, but

Abt. Fl. ex
1. 614, 615,
616, 617, &c.

Abt. Fl. ex
1. 617.

but against such of his counsellours, as were louers of themselves, and oppressors of the poore commonal-
tie; flatterers of the king, and enemies to his hono-
r; suckers of his purse, and robbers of his subjects;
partiall to their friends, and extreme to their en-
emies: thorough bribes corrupted, and for indifferen-
cie doing nothing. ¶ Here, because a full report of
this insurrection maie passe to the knowledge of the
readers; it is necessarie to set downe the articles of
the commons complaints touching the premisses,
whereof a copie was sent to the parlement then hold-
den at Westminster, with their bill of requests con-
cerning abuses to be reformed.

The complaint of the commons of
Kent, and causes of their assemblie
on the Blackheath.

Ipprimis, it is openlie noised that Kent
should be destroyed with a roiall power,
made a wild forrest, for the death of the
duke of Suffolke, of which the commons
in ment thereof were neuer gilty.

2 Item, the king is stirred to lye onelie on his
commons, and other men to haue the reuenues of
the crowne, the which hath caused pouertie in his ex-
cellencie, and great painments of the people, now
late to the king granted in his parlement.

3 Item, that the lords of his roiall blood bene
put from his daile presence, and other meane per-
sons of lower nature exalted and made chiefe of his
pryncie counsell, the which stoppeth matters of wrongs
done in the realme from his excellent audience, and
maie not be redressed as law will; but if bybes and
gifts be messengers to the hands of the said coun-
cell.

4 Item, the people of this realme be not paid of
debts owing for stufte and puruiance taken to the
use of the kings household, in vndoing of the said peo-
ple, and the poore commons of the realme.

5 Item, the kings mentall seruants of household,
and other persons, asken daile goods and lands, of
impeached or indicted of treason, the which the king
granteth anon, yer they so indangered be consuted.
The which causeth the receiuers thereof to inforce la-
bours and meanes applied to the death of such people,
so approached or indicted, by subtil meanes, for coue-
tise of the said grants: and the people so impeached or
indicted, though it be vnttrue, maie not be committed
to the law for their deliuerance, but held still in pri-
son, to their vttermost vndoing & destruction, for coue-
tise of goods.

6 Item, though diuerse of the poore people and
commons of the realme, haue neuer so great right,
truth, and perfect title to their land: yet by vnttrue
claime of infeofment made vnto diuerse states,
gentles, and the kings mentall seruants in mainte-
nances against the right, the true owners dare not
hold, claime, nor pursue their right.

7 Item, it is noised by common voices, that the
kings lands in France bene aliened and put awaie
from the crowne, and his lords and people there de-
stroyed with vnttrue meanes of treason; of which it is
desired, inquiries thorough all the realme to be made
how and by whome; & if such traitors maie be found
gilty, them to haue execution of law without ante
pardon, in example of others.

8 Item, collectors of the fifteenth penie in
Kent be greatlie vexed and hurt, in payeing great
summes of monie in the exchequer, to sue out a writ
called *Quorum nomina*, for the allowance of the barons
of the ports, which now is desired, that hereafter in
the lieu of the collectors, the barons aforesaid maie

sue it out for their ease at their owne costs.

9 Item, the thiriffes and vnderthiriffes let to
farme their offices and bailiwikes, taking great
suertie therefore, the which causeth extorsions done by
them and by their bailiffes to the people.

10 Item, simple and poore people that vse not
hunting, be greatlie oppressed by indictments feined
& done by the said thiriffes, vnderthiriffes, bailiffes,
and other of their assent, to cause their increase for
payeing of their said farme.

11 Item, they retorne in names of inquests in
writing into diuerse courts of the king not summa-
ned nor warned, where through the people daile lese
great summes of monie, well nigh to the vttermost
of their vndoing: and make leuie of amercedments
called the greene war, more in summes of monie
than can be found due of record in the kings books.

12 Item, the ministers of the court of Dover in
Kent ber and arrest diuerse people thorough all the
shire out of Castle ward, passing their bounds and li-
bertie used of old time, by diuerse subtil and vnttrue
meanes and actions falselie feined, taking great fees
at their lust in great hurt of the people on all the
shire of Kent.

13 Item, the people of the said shire of Kent,
maie not haue their free election in the choosing of
knights of the shire: but letters bene sent from di-
uerse estates to the great rulers of all the countrie,
the which imbrace their tenants and other people by
force to chose other persons than the commons will is.

14 Item, whereas knights of the shire should
chose the kings collectors indifferentlie without any
bybe taking, they haue sent now late to diuerse per-
sons, notifieng them to be collectors; whereupon gifts
and bybes be taken, & to the collectors office is bought
and sold extortionoullie at the knights last.

15 Item, the people be sore vexed in costs and
labour, called to the sessions of peace in the said
shire, appearing from the furthest and vttermost part
of the west vnto the east; the which causeth to some
men, sue dates iourne: whereupon they desire the
said appearance to be diuided into two parts; the
which one part, to appeare in one place; an other part,
in an other place; in releuing of the grieuances and
intollerable labours & verations of the said people.

The requests by the capteine of the
great assemblie in Kent.

Ipprimis, desireth the capteine of the
commons, the welfare of our soueraigne
our king, and all his true lords spiri-
tuall and temporall, desiring of our said
soueraigne lord, and of all the true lords of his coun-
cell, he to take in all his demaines, that he maie
reigne like a king roiall, according as he is borne
our true and christian king annointed: and who so
will saie the contrarie, we all will liue and die in the
quarell as his true liege men.

Item, desireth the said capteine, that he will auoid
all the false progenie and assintie of the duke of Suff-
folke, the which bene openlie knowne, and they to be
punished after the custome and law of this land, and
to take about his noble person the true lords of his
roiall blood of this his realme, that is to saie, the high
and mightie prince the duke of Poike, late exiled
from our said soueraigne lords presence (by the mo-
tion and stirring of the traitorous and false disposed
the duke of Suffolke and his assintie) and the mightie
princes & dukes of Excester, Buckingham, and
Dorset, and all the earles and barons of this land:
and then shall he be the richest king christian.

Item, desireth the said capteine and commons
punishment vnto the false traitors, the which contri-
ued

ued and imagined the death of the high, mightfull and excellent pynce the duke of Glocester, the which is too much to rehearse; the which duke was proclaimed as traitor. Upon the which quarrell, we purpose all to live and die upon that that it is false.

Item, the duke of Cresser, our holie father the cardinall, the noble pynce the duke of Warwike, and also the realme of France, the duchie of Normandie, Gascoigne, and Calson, Anjou, and Spaine, were deliuered and lost by the meanes of the said traitors; and our true lords, knights, and esquires, and manie a good peoman lost and sold per they went, the which is grea t pite to heare, of the great and grievous losse to our soueraigne lord and his realme.

Item, desireth the said capteine and commons, that all extorsions plded daillie among the common people, might be laid downe, that is to saie, the greene war, the which is falselie bled, to the perpetuall destruction of the kings true commons of Kent. Also the kings Bench, the which is too greifefull to the thire of Kent, without pouision of our soueraigne lord and his true counsell. And also in taking of wheat and other graines, beefe, mutton, & all other vittels, the which is impossible to the said commons, without the breafe pouision of our said soueraigne lord and his true counsell, they maie no longer beare it. And also unto the statute of labourers, and the great extorsioners, the which is to saie the false traitors, Sleg, Cromer, Ale, and Robert Ck.

These billes when the counsell had well perused, they did not onelie disallow and condemne them and the authors, as proud and presumptuous; but also persuaded the king rather to suppress those rebels by force, than by faire promises. Whereupon the king remoued from Westminster unto Cheneuich, from whence he would haue sent certeine lords with a ppyer to haue distressed the Kentishmen, but the men said to their lords they would not fight against them that laboured to amend the common-weale: wherefore the lords were driuen to leaue their purpose. And because the Kentishmen cried out against the lord Saie the kings chamberline, he was by the king committed to the Tower of London. Then went the king againe to London, & within two daies after went against the Kentishmen with sixtene thousand men well prepared for the war: but the said Kentishmen fled the night before his comming into the wood countrie nere unto Senocke. Whereupon the king returned againe to London.

The quene (that bare rule) being of his retraits aduertised, sent sir Humfreie Stafford knight, and William his brother, with manie other gentlemen, to follow the Kentishmen, thinking that they had fled: but they were deceived, for at the first skirmish both the Staffords were slaine, & all their companie discomfited. The kings armie by this time comen to Blackheath, hearing of this discomfiture, began to murmur amongst themselves: some wishing the duke of York to come to aid the capteine his cousin: some vndisfultie coueting the ouerthrow of the king and his counsell: other openlie crying out on the quene and hir complices.

This rumoz published abroad, caused the king and certeine of his counsell (for the appealing thereof) to commit the lord Saie treasuroz of England to the Tower of London; and if other (against whome like displeasure was borne) had bene present, they had bene likewise committed. Jacke Cade upon vicorie against the Staffords, apparelled himselfe in sir Humfries bigarbaine set full of guilt nailes, and so in some glorie returned againe toward London; suruenticid and vagarant persons out of Suffre, Surrie and other places, still increasing his number.

Thus this glorious capteine, garded with a multitude of rusticall people, came againe to the plaine of Blackheath, & there stronglie incamped himselfe: to whome were sent from the king, the archbishop of Canturburie, and Humfreie duke of Buckingham, to common with him of his graces and requests.

These lords found him sober in talke, wise in reasoning, arrogant in hart, and stiffe in opinion; as who that by no means would grant to dissolue his armie, except the king in person would come to him, and assent to the things he would requere. The 14. upon the presumptuous answers & requests of this villanous rebell, beginning alinuch to doubt his done menial servants, as his vnknotwen subiects (which spared not to speake, that the capteins cause was profitable for the common-weale) departed in all hast to the castell of Killingworth in Warwicksheire, leauing onlie behind him the lord Scales to keepe the Tower of London. The Kentish capteine being aduertised of the kings absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the white hart, prohibiting to all his retinue, murder, rape, and robbery; by which colour of well meaning, he the more allured to him the harts of the common people.

After that, he entred into London, cut the ropes of the draw bridge, & strooke his sword on London stone; saing, Now is Mortimer lord of this citie. And after a glossing declaration made to the maior touching the cause of his thither comming, he departed againe into Southwarke, and upon the thirde daie of Julie he caused sir James Fines, lord Saie, and treasuroz of England, to be brought to the Guildhall, and there to be arraigned: who being before the kings iustices put to answer, desired to be tried by his peres, for the longer delate of his life. The capteine perceiving his dilatorie pla, by force toke him from the officers, and brought him to the standard in Cheape, and there (before his confession ended) caused his head to be stricken off, and pitched it upon an high pole, which was openlie borne before him thorough the streets.

And not content herewith, he went to Spile end, and there apprehended sir James Cromer then thirffe of Kent, and sonne in law to the said lord Saie, causing him likewise (without confession or excuse heard) to be beheaded, and his head to be fixed on a pole: and with these two heads this bloudie wretch entred into the citie againe, and as it were in a spite caused them in euerie street to kisse together, to the great detestation of all the beholders. After this succeeded open rapine, and manifest robbery in diuerse houses within the citie, and speciallie in the house of Philip Palpas alderman of London, and diuerse other; ouer and beside ransoming and fining of diuers notable merchants, for the suertie of their liues and goods; as Robert Hoyme alderman, which paid five hundred marks. He also put to execution in Southwarke diuerse persons, some for breaking his obedience, and other being of his old acquaintance, lest they should betraie his base linage, disparaging him for his blarped furnayne of Mortimer.

The maior and other the magistrates of London, perceiving themselves neither to be sure of gods, nor of life well warranted, determined to repell and keepe out of their citie such a mischieuous caiffe and his wicked companie. And to be the better able so to do, they made the lord Scales, and that renowned capteine Mattheu Gough priute both of their intent and enterprise, beseeching them of their helpe and furtherance therein. The lord Scales promised them his aid, with shooting off the artillerie in the Tower; and Mattheu Gough was by him appointed to assist the maior and Londoners in all that he might, and so he and other capteins, appointed for defence

King Henrie went against the Kentishmen with a great power.

The Staffords slaine at Senocke by Jacke Cade.

Or rather Roche. The thirteenth of June the citizens and rebels by London bridge.

Matthew Gough for his acts abroad now slaine on London bridge.

The lord Saie beheaded at the drawbridge in Cheape.

A state by assent.

Proclamation of pardon dispersed the rebels.

Abt. Fl. ex I. S. p. 661, 662. in Quart.

Or rather Gough.

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Matthew
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The lord
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While by
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Proclamation
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Ab. Fle. I. S.
p. 161. c. 1.
Qu.

Matthew
Cade.

sense of the citie, took upon them in the night to kepe the bridge, and would not suffer the Kentishmen once to approach. The rebels, who neuer foundlie slept for feare of sudden assaults, hearing that the bridge was thus kept, ran with great hast to open that passage, where betwene both parties was a fierce and cruell fight.

Matthew Cough, perceiuing the rebels to stand to their tackling more manfullie than he thought they would haue done, aduised his companie not to aduance anie further toward Southwarke, till the daie appeared; that they might see where the place of leoparde rested, and so to prouide for the same: but this litle auailed. For the rebels with their multitude draue backe the citizens from the steepe at the bridge foot to the draw bridge, & began to set fire in diuerse houses. Great ruth it was to behold the miserable state, wherein some desiring to eschew the fire died vpon their enemies weapon; women with children in their armes leapt for feare into the riuer, other in a deadlie care how to saue themselves, betwene fire water, and sword, were in their houses choked and smothered. Yet the capitaine not sparing, fought on the bridge all the night valiantlie: but in conclusion, the rebels gat the draw bridge, and drowned manie, and slue John Sutton alderman, and Robert Weiland, a hardie citizen, with manie other, beside Matthew Cough, a man of great wit and much experience in feats of chualrie, the which in continuall warres had spent his time in seruice of the king and his father.

This fore conflict indured in doubtfull wise on the bridge, till nine of the clocke in the morning: for sometime, the Londoners were beaten backe to saint Margins corner: and suddenly againe, the rebels were repelled to the steepe in Southwarke, so that both parts being faint and wearie, agreed to leaue off from fighting till the next daie; vpon condition, that neither Londoners should passe into Southwarke, nor Kentishmen into London. Vpon this abstinence, this rakehell capitaine for making him more friends, brake vp the gales of the kings Bench and Marshalse, and so were manie mates set at libertie verie meet for his matters in hand.

The archbishop of Canturburie being chancellor of England, and as then for his suertie lieng within the Tower, called to him the bishop of Winchester, who for some safegard laie then at Haleswell. These two prelates, seeing the furie of the Kentish people, by their late repulse, to be somewhat asswaged, passed by the riuer of Thames from the Tower into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kings great scale, a general pardon vnto all the offenders, and caused the same to be openlie published. The poore people were so glad of this pardon, and so readie to receiue it, that without bidding farewell to their capitaine, they withdrew themselves the same night euerie man towards his home.

But Jacke Cade despairing of succours, and fearing the reward of his lewd dealings, put all his pilage and goods that he had robbed, into a barge, and sent it to Rochester by water, and himselfe went by land, and would haue entred into the castle of Quinborough with a few men that were left about him; but he was there let of his purpose: wherefore he disguised in strange attire, priuillie fled into the wood country beside Lewes in Sussex, hoping so to scape. The capitaine & his people being thus departed, not long after proclamations were made in diuerse places of Kent, Sussex, and Southerie, that whosoever could take the foresaid capitaine alie or dead, should haue a thousand markes for his trauell. A copie of which proclamation, touching the apprehension of the said Cade and his complices, hereafter followeth.

A copie of the said writ and proclamation by the king, for the taking of the said Cade and his fellowship.



Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglia & Francie, & dominus Hibernie, vniuersis & singulis custodibus, &c. For so much as one John Cade boine in Ireland, which calleth himselfe John Portimer

in some writing calleth himselfe capitaine of Kent, the which John Cade the last yeare tofore his dwelling in Sussex with a knight, called sir Thomas Dagre, slue there a woman with child, and for that cause took the greeth of the church, and after for that cause forswore the kings land: the which John Cade also after this, was swozie to the French part, and dwelled with them; which hath now of late time (to the intent to enrich himselfe by robbing and despoiling of the kings liegemen, as it is now openlie knowne, to bring himselfe to great and high estate) falslie and vntruelie deceiued manie of the kings people, and vnder colour of holie and god intents made them to assemble with him against the kings regaltie & his lawes, & nought setting by the kings grace and pardons, granted nor onelle to him but to all the kings subiects, the which by his decret haue assembled with him, the which he with great reuerence receiued on mondaie last passed, and so did all that were assembled with him. Notwithstanding all this, he labourerth now of new to assemble the kings people againe, and to that intent beareth them on hand, that the kings letters of pardon granted to him and them, be not auailable, nor of none effect, without authoritie of parlement: whereas the contrarie is true, as it is openlie knowne by that, that the king granteth from time to time his charters of pardon to such as him list, of all manner of crimes and offences both generall and speciall.

The king therefore willet and commandeth, that none of his subiects giue faith nor credence to the said falsie informations of the said falsie traitor, nor accompanie with him in anie wise, nor comfort nor susteine him nor his with vittels, nor with anie other things: but will, whosoever of the kings subiects may take him, shall take him; and that who so ever taketh him, and bringeth him quicke or dead to the king or to his counsell, shall haue a thousand markes for his labour trulie paid him, without faile or delate by the prouision of the kings counsell. And who so euer taketh anie of those that from this daie forth accompanie with him, shall haue five markes for his reward, trulie to be paid in maner and forme aboue said. And ouer this, commanding all constables, ministers, and officers of the said shire, that none of them (on paine of death) take vpon them to execute anie commandement by word or writing sent or made vnto them by the said Cade, calling himselfe Portimer and capitaine, be it to reare any people, or to any other intent: that to arrest and make so be arrested such, as take vpon them to bring anie such commandement by writing or by word. Et hoc nullatenus omitatis. Teste me ipso apud Westm. 10 die Iulij, anno regni 28.]

After which proclamation thus published, a gentle man of Kent named Alexander Eden awaited so his time, that he took the said Cade in a garden in Sussex: so that there he was slain at Hothfield, and brought to London in a cart, where he was quartered; his head set on London bridge, and his quarters sent to diuers places to be set vp in the shire of Kent. After this, the king himselfe came into Kent, and there sat in iudgement vpon the offenders: and if he had not mingled his iustice with mercie, more than five hundred by rigor of law had bene iustlie put to execution,

Captaine of
Kent taken &
beheaded.

Abt. Fl. ex
I. St. 663,
664.

The bishop of
Salisbury
murdered.

A fray in Lon-
don against
the maiors.

execution. Yet he punishing onelie the stubborn heads, & disordered ringleaders, pardoned the ignorant and simple persons, to the great reioicing of all his subiects. ¶ But saith another, the king sent his commissioners into Kent, and caused inquirie to be made of this riot in Canturburie, where for the same eight men were iudged and executed, and in other townes of Kent and Suffe was done the like execution.

This yeare the commons also in diuerse parts of England, as in Suffe, Salisbury, Wiltshire, and other places, did much harme to manie persons, among the which, on the nine and twentieth of June, William Alcock bishop of Salisbury (after he had said masse at Edington) was by his owne tenants beaten from the altar, in his albe with his stole about his necke to the top of an hill, and there by them shamefullie murdered, and after spoiled to the naked skin: they renting his bloudie shirt, toke euerie man a peece, and made boast of their wickednesse. The daie before, his chariot was robbed, to the value of ten thousand markes. Soldiours made a fraye against the maior of London the same daie he toke his charge at Westminster, at night comming from saint Thomas of Acres, after he had bene at Pauls.]

The French king vnderstanding all the ciuill discord and rebellious sturs in England, made thereof his foundation, hoping to get into his hands and possession the duchie of Aquitaine: and thereupon sent the earles of Bonthieu and Perigot to laie siege to the towne of Bergerat, situate vpon the riuier of Douedon, of which towne was capteine John Gedding, who vpon reasonable conditions rendered the towne. But yet the lord Camois, sir George Selmo, and sir John Arundell, with diuers other valiant capteins, hauing gouernance of the countrie, manied townes, gathered people, and recomforted the fainting hartes of the Gascoignes in all that they could, and withall sent letters ouer into England, certifieng to the kings maiestie, that without speeie aid, and readie succours, the whole countrie was like to be conquered and woone out of the Englishmens possession.

Manie letters were sent, and manie faire answers were brought; but relæse neither appeared, nor one man of warre was thither shipped: by reason whereof, the Frenchmen pursuing the victorie, got the fortresses of Janfacke, and S. Foie, with diuerse other peeces of importance thereabouts. Also, about the same time, the lord Doznall, third sonne to the lord de la Biech, with a great number of men, as well on horsebacke as on foot, departed from Basas, to conquer and deströie the Isle of Medoc. Whereupon the maior of Burdeaur issuing out, and incountring with his enemies, was vanquished, losing sir hundred Englishmen and Gascoignes: albeit the Frenchmen gained not this victorie with clære hands, for there were slaine of them to the number of eight hundred persons.

After this, the barbard of Dylance, with his brother John earle of Angoiesme, which had bene long prisoner in England, and manie other valiant capteins, besieged the castell of Montgion, which to them was rendered. Afterwards, they besieged the towne of Blaie, standing on the riuier of Garonne, the which in conclusion by verie force was conquered and woone. The barbard of Kendall, capteine of the castell, seeing the towne lost, vpon certeine reasonable conditions deliuered his fortress to the barbard of Dylance, the French kings lieutenant. After this, the townes of Burgh and Liborne after fure weekes siege, were likewise yelded to the Frenchmen. Then was the citie of Acques besieged by the

erle of Foies, and the vicount de Labotrec his brother, and other noble men. So likewise was the strong towne of Kion by the earle of Arminacke, extreme enemy to the realme of England, for breach of the marriage concluded betwene king Henrie and his daughter. The earle of Bonthieu laid siege to Chatillon in Perigot, and the earle of Dunois environned with great puissance the towne of Fronsacke.

The Englishmen perceiuing in what state they stood within the towne, couenanted with the said earle, that if the towne were not succoured, and the Frenchmen fought with before the feast of the natiuitie of saint John Baptist next insuing; that then the towne of Fronsacke should be yelded to them, which was the strongest fortress in all that countrie, and the herie keie of Guien. Whereof were pledges deliuered, and writings made & sealed. Which agreement once blowne through the countrie, the citie of Burdeaur, and all other townes (except Baion) made the like agreement. So did all the noble men and gentlemen which were subiects and vassals to the crowne of England. Querie daie was looking for aid, but none came.

And whie: Then because the diuelish diuision that reigned in England, so incombred the heads of the noble men there, that the honor of the realme was clærelie forgotten, so that (to conclude) the daie appointed came, but succour looked for came not. By reason whereof, all the townes of Aquitaine (except Baion) deliuered their heirs, and became vassals to the French nation; yet the citizens of Burdeaur, in hope of rescue, required a longer daie of battell, which was granted. But at the daie appointed, when no relæse came, they rendered themselves and the citie to their aduersaries, their liues and goods saued, with licence and safe conduct to all persons which would depart and saile into England. Then finally was the citie of Baion besieged, and with mines and batterie constrained to yeld it selfe into the Frenchmens hands.

Beside the agreements taken and made with the townes, diuerse noble men made severall compositions, as Gasson de Foies, & Capdaw de Buel, whome king Henrie the sixt made earle of Longewille, and knight of the garter; whose ancestors were euer true to England. Which agreed, that he and his sonne John de Foies, whome king Henrie the sixt made earle of Kendale, and also knight of the garter, should enjoy all their lands in Aquitaine, giuen to them by the kings of England, or by the dukes of Aquitaine. And first, their intent was still to serue the king of England, they agreed to deliuer into the custodie of the earle of Foies, the sonne and heire of the said earle of Kendale, being of the age of thre yeares; to the intent that if he at his full age denied to become subiect to the French king, or before that time deceased; that then (after the death of his father and grandfather) all the said lands should whole remaine to the next heire of their blood, either male or female, being vnder the obestance of the French king or his heires.

Manie other noble men, whose hearts were good English, made like compositions, and some came into England, and others went to Calis, and bare great offices there: as the lord Duras, which was marshall of that towne; and monsieur Mauciere, which was deputie there vnder the earle of Warwick. Thus were the Englishmen clærelie displaced and lost the possession of all the countries, townes, castles, and places within the realme of France; so that onelie Calis, Hammes and Guines, with the marches thereof remained in their hands, of all those their dominions and seigniozies which they sometime held

The earle of Arminacke
extreme enemy
to the realme of
England.

Abt. Fl. ex
I. St. 663,
664.

Anno Reg. 30.
John Hooker,
alias Vowell.
The king re-
turned into
Exeter.

Through the
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aboard.

The bishop of
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against the
and the duke
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ecclesiasticall
privilege.

The duke of
York maketh
claim to the
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John Stow.

John Stow.

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Ann. Fl. ex
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The king re-
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The bishop
his charge
against the
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fence of their
ecclesiastical
privilege.

The duke of
York maketh
claim to the
crown.

All lost in
France.

held in the parties beyond the seas. Whereby Eng-
land suffered a partile but not a totall eclipse of hir
glozie, in continuall loosing & nothing gaining of the
enemie. Which recouerie was of great facilitie
to the French, for that where they came, they found
little or no resistance, but rather a voluntarie submis-
sion & yielding as it were with holding bp of hands,
per they came to handstroks. So that in such victories
and conquests consisted small renowne, with without
slaughter & bloodshed hardie enterprizes are not at-
tained. Forable therefore speaketh *Anglorum prelia*
of their bloodlesse and sweatlesse victories, saying :

*Delpius totos (nullo prohibente) per agros
Francorum transiit: prius expugnata receptans
Oppida: perfacile est populum domuisse volentem;
Tendentemq; manus ultro; nec clarior ornat
Gloria Vincentem fusa sine sanguine regna.*

[This yeare the king made a generall progresse
and came to the cite of Excester, on mondaie the
firste of Julie at after none, being the feast daie
of saint Ikenelme; and was receiued from place to
place verie honorable through the whole countie.
Before he came to this cite, he was met by all the
cleargie in their degrees, some three miles, some two
miles, and some at the cite, all in their copes, censing
all the waies as they went. As soon as he came to
this cite, he was first conduced to the cathedraill
church in all most honourable order. When he had
done his oblations, he was conueied and lodged in
the bishops house. During his abode here, there was
a sessions kept before the duke of Summerfet, and
certaine men complained to die for treason, and had
iudgement to be executed to death.

The bishop and his clergie understanding hereof,
with open mouth complained unto the king, that he
caused a sessions to be kept within his sanctuarie,
contrarie to the priuilege of his church: and that all
their doings (being done against law) were of no
effect. And notwithstanding the king and his coun-
cell had discouered unto them the iust and orderlie
proceeding, the painfullnesse of the offenders, and the
necessitie of their punishment: yet all could not a-
uaile, for holie church nor the sanctuarie might be pro-
phaned (as they said) with the deciding of temporall
matters. Whereupon the king in the end yielding to
their exclaimes, released a couple of arrant traitors,
and remersed all his former lawfull proceedings, and
so upon the wednesdaye he departed and returned to
wards London.]

The duke of Yorke pretending (as yee haue heard)
a right to the crowne, as heire to Lionel duke of
Clarence, came this yeare out of Ireland unto Lon-
don, in the parlement time, there to consult with his
speciall friends: as John duke of Northfolke, Ric-
hard earle of Salisburie, and the lord Richard his
sonne, which after was earle of Warwicke; Thomas
Contraie earle of Deuonshire, & Edward Broke
lord Cobham. After long deliberation and aduise ta-
ken, it was thought expedient, to kepe their chiefe
purpose secret; and that the duke should raise an ar-
mie of men, under a pretext to remove diuerse coin-
cellos about the king, and to reuenge the manifest
injuries done to the common-wealth by the same
rulers. Of the which as principall, the duke of Sum-
merfet was nameilie accused, both for that he was
greatlie hated of the commons for the losse of Por-
mandie: and for that it was well knowen, that he
would be altogether against the duke of Yorke in his
challenge to be made (when time serued) to the crowne;
inasmuch that his goods by the commons were four-
tie despoiled and bozne awaie from the Blacke Fri-
ers. After which riot, on the next morrow, proclama-
tion was made through the cite, that no man should
spoil or rob, on paine of death. But on the same daie

at the standard in Cheape was a man beheaded for
doing contrarie to the proclamation.

Therefore, when the duke of Yorke had thus, by
aduise of his speciall friends, framed the foundation
of his long intended enterprize, he assembled a great
hoast, to the number of ten thousand able men, in the
marches of Wales; publishing openlie, that the cause
of this his gathering of people, was for the publike
wealth of the realme. The king much affonied at the
matter, by aduise of his counsell raised a great pow-
er, and marched forward toward the duke. But he be-
ing thereof aduertised, turned out of that way, which
by espials he understood that the king held, and made
streight toward London: and hauing knowledge
that he might not be suffered to passe through the ci-
tie, he crossed ouer the Thames at Kingston hydge,
and so kept on towards Kent, where he knew that he
had both friends & well-willers, and there on Burnt
heath, a mile from Wotford, and twelue miles from
London, he imbatelled, and incamped himselfe verie
stronglie, inuironing his field with artillerie and
trenches. The king hereof aduertised, brought his
armie with all diligence vnto Blackheath, and
there pight his tents.

Whilist both these armies laie thus imbatelled,
the king sent the bishop of Winchester, and Thomas
Bourchier, bishop of Ebie, Richard Woodville, lord
Riuers, & Richard Ansolet, the keeper of his priuie
seale, to the duke: both to know the cause of so great
a commotion, and also to make a concord; if the re-
quests of the duke and his companie seemed conso-
nant to reason. The duke hearing the message of the
bishops, answered; that his coming was neither
to damasse the king in honour, nor in person, neither
yet anie good man: but his intent was, to remoue
from him certaine euill disposed persons of his coun-
cell, blood-succours of the nobilitie, pollers of the
cleargie, and oppressours of the poore people.

Amongst these, he chiefe named Edmund duke
of Summerfet, vpon whom if the king would commit to
ward, to answer such articles as against him in open
parlement should be both proponed and proued, he
promised not onelie to dissolue his armie; but also of-
fered himselfe (like an obedient subiect) to come to the
kings presence, and to do him true and faithfull ser-
uice, according to his lotall and bounden dutie. But
a further understanding of the dukes meaning by
this his forceable entering of the realme (as him-
selfe pretended) made appeare by certaine letters by
him writtten to the king, and also the kings answers
vnto the same: both which I thinke good here to set
downe, as I find them recorded.

Richard duke of Yorke his letter to king Henrie.

Reade it your highnesse to conserue, that
since my departing out of this your
realme, by your commandement, and be-
ing in your seruice in your land of Ire-
land, I haue bene informed, that diuerse language
hath bene said of me to your most excellent estate,
which should sound to my dishonour and reproch, and
charge of my person: howbeit, that I haue bene,
and euer will be, your true liegeman and seruant.
And if there be anie man that will or dare saie the
contrarie, or charge me otherwise; I beseech your
rightwisenesse to call him before your high presence,
and I will declare me for my discharge as a true
knight ought to do. And if I do not, as I doubt not
but I shall, I beseech you to punish me as the worst
man of your land. And if he be found untrue in his
suggestion and information, I beseech you of your
highnesse

Wherhailed.
The duke of
Yorke raiseth
a power, for
recouerie of
his right to
the crowne.

Wherhamsted

The dukes
answer to the
kings message

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 666, 667.
in Quart.

highnesse that he be punished after his desert, in example of all other.

Please it your excellencie to know, that as well before my departing out of this your realme, for to go into your land of Ireland, in your full noble service, as since, certeine persons have lien in wait for to hearken vpon me, as sir John Talbot knight at the castell of Holt; sir Thomas Standele knight in Cheshire; Bulford at Chester; Elton at Worcester; Woke at Gloucester; and Richard, grome of your chamber at Beaumaris: which had in charge (as I am informed) to take me and put me into your castell of Contwaie, and to strike off the head of sir William Dobball knight, and to haue put in prison sir William Deuereux knight, & sir Edmund Salso knight, withouten enlarging, vntill the time that your highnesse had appointed their deliuerance.

Item, at such time as I was purposed for to haue arrived at your haue of Beaumaris, for to haue come to your noble presence to declare me your true man and subiect, as my dutie is, my landing was stopped and forbearred by Henrie Poize, Thomas Poize, William Buckleie, William Crust, and Bartholomew Woul, your officers in Northwales, that I should not land there, nor haue vittels nor refreshing for me & my fellowship, as I haue written to your excellencie here before. So farre forth that Henrie Poize, deputie to the chamberlaine of Northwales, said vnto me, that he had in commandement that I should in no wise haue landing, refreshing, nor lodging, for went nor horse, nor other thing that might turne to my worship or ease: putting the blame vpon William Sate vsher of your chamber, saying and affirming that I am against your intent, and as a traitor, as I am informed. And moreover, certeine letters were made and deliuered vnto Chester, Shrewsburie, and to other places for to let mine entrie into the same.

Item, about all wrongs and injuries about said done vnto me of malice, without anie cause, I being in your land of Ireland, in your honourable service, certeine commissions were made and directed vnto diuerse persons; which for the execution of the same, sat in certeine places; and the iuries impanelled and charged: vnto the which iuries certeine persons laboured instantlie to haue me indicted of treason, to the intent for to haue vndone me and mine issue, and corrupted my blood, as it is openlie published. Beseeching your maiestie to call, of your righteousnesse, to doe examine these matters, and therevpon to doe such iustice in his behalfe as the cause requirith: for mine intent is fullie to pursue to your highnesse for the conclusion of these matters.

The answer of king Henrie to the duke of Yorke.

Godfrie, we haue seene the bill that ye wrote vs late, and also vnderstand the godd humble obedience that ye in your selfe shew vnto vs, as well in word as in deed: wherefore our intent is, the more hartlie to ease you of such things as were in your said bill. Notobest, that at our more leasure we might answer you to your said bill; yet we let you wit, that for the causes aforesaid, we will declare you now our intent in these matters: sith it is that a long time among the people hath bene vpon you many strange language, and in especiall anon after your disordinate and lawfull slaying of the bishop of Chester; diuerse and manie of the vntrue shipmen and other said (in their maner) words against our estate, making manace to our owne person by your sayings, that ye should be fetched with manie thousands, and ye should take

vpon you that, which ye neither ought, nor as we doubt not, ye will not attempt: so farre forth that it was said to our person by diuerse, & especiallie we remember of one Malnes, which had like words to vs.

And also there were diuerse of such false people, that went on and had like language in diuerse of our townes of our land, which by our subiects were taken and duly executed. Wherefore we sent to diuerse of our courts and places, to hearken and to take heed if anie such manner comming were; and if there had bene, for to resist it: but comming into our land our true subiect as ye did, our intent was not that ye, nor lesse of estate of our subiects, nor none of your seruants should not haue bene letted nor warned, but in goodlie wise receiued: notobest that peradventure your sudden comming, without certeine warning, caused our seruants to doe as they did, considering the causes about said. And as to the indictment that ye spoke of, we thinke verelie, and hold for certeine warning, caused our seruants to doe as they did, considering the causes about said. And as to the indictment that ye spoke of, we thinke verelie and hold for certeine, that there was none such. And if ye may trulie proue that anie person was thereabouts, the matter shall be demeaned as the case shall requite: so that he shall know it is to our great displeasure. Vpon this, for the easing of your heart in all such matters, we declare, repute, and admit you as our true and faithfull subiect, and as our faithfull cosine.

Richard duke of Yorke to king Henrie againe.

Please it your highnesse tenderlie to consider, that great murmur and grudging is vniuersallie in this your realme, in that iustice is not duly ministred to such as trespass and offend against your lawes, and in especiall of them that be indicted of treason, and other being openlie noised of the same; whereby great inconueniences haue fallen, and great is like to fall hereafter in your said realme, which God defend: but if by your highnesse prouision conuenable be made for due reformation and punishment in this behalfe. Wherefore I your humble subiect and true liegeman, Richard duke of Yorke, willing as effectualle as I can, and desiring the suertie and prosperitie of your most roiall person, and the welfare of this your noble realme, counsell and aduertise your excellencie, for the conseruation of godd tranquillitie and peaceable rule among all other subiects, for to ordeine and prouide, that true iustice be had, against all such that so be indicted, or openlie named: wherein I offer my selfe, and will put my endeavour for to execute your commandement in the premisses, for the punishing of such offenders, and redresse of the said miscarries, to my might and power. And for the hastie execution hereof, like it your highnesse, to addresse these letters of priuile seal and writs to your officers and ministers, to take, and arrest, all such persons so noised and indicted, of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer they be, and them to commit to the Tower of London, and to other of your prisons, there to abide without bail or mainprie, vntill the time they be utterly tried, and determined after the course of your lawes.

The answer of king Henrie to the duke of Yorke.

Godfrie, as touching your bill last put by to us, we vnderstand well that ye of godd hearty counsell and aduertise us to the setting on of iustice,

Which said

The duke of
Yorke re-
canted
to
the king.

The duke of
Yorke ac-
cused the duke
of
Somerset.

A mutual
charge be-
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Somerset
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the duke of
Yorke.

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office, and to the speedie punishing of some persons indicted or noised, offering your service to be readie at commandement in the same, sith it is that for manie causes moving vs to haue determined in our soule, to stablish a sad, and a substantiall counsell, giuing them more ample authoritie and power than euer we did before this, in the which we haue appointed you to be one. But sith it is not accustomed, sure, nor expedient, to take a conclusion & conduct by aduise or counsell of one person by himselfe for the conseruation, it is obserued that the greatest and the best, the rich and the poore, in libertie, vertue, and effect of your voices be equall. We haue therefore determined within our selfe to send for our chancellour of England, and for other lordes of our counsell, yea and all other, together within short time ripelie to common of these and other our great matters. In which communication, such conclusion (by the grace of God) shall be taken, as shall sound to his pleasure, the weale of vs and our land, as well in these matters as in anie other.

When humbled

The duke of Yorks recon-
ciliation to
the king.

The duke of
Yorks accus-
eth the duke
of Summerzet.

A mutual
charge be-
tweene y two
dukes, Yorke
& Summerzet
of treason.

After all this aduise, it was so agreed vpon by aduise, for the auoiding of bloudshed, and pacifying of the duke and his people, that the duke of Summerzet was committed to ward, as some say; or else commanded to keepe himselfe priuie in his owne house for a tyme. But it should seme by that which some haue written, that the duke of Yorke was deceiued of the hope which he had, to be aided of the Kentish men; inasmuch that when he saw himselfe overmatche by the king in number of people, who had got together thence as manie men as the duke had there with him, the duke was the more easie to be dealt with. And so comming to the king, and submitting himselfe by mediation of certeine of the nobilitie, he obtained pardon of that his former presumptuous enterprise. And within a fewe daies after his comming to London with the king, he openlie in the church of St. Pauls (the king being present) recused a solemn oath, that from thenceforth, he should no more commit any such offense, nor attempt anie thing, either against the king, or any other of his liege people, contrarie to the order of law and iustice.

Howsoever the matter went, truth it is, that the duke of Yorke, the first of March, dissolued his armie, brake by his campe, & came to the kings tent, where contrarie to his expectation, & against promise made by the king (as other write) he found the duke of Summerzet going at large and set at libertie, whome the duke of Yorke boldlie accused of treason, byiberie, oppression, and manie other crimes. The duke of Summerzet not onelie made answer to the dukes obiections, but also accused him of high treason, affirming, that he with his fautors and complises had consulted together, how to come by the scepter and regall crowne of this realme. By means of which words the king remoued straight to London, and the duke of Yorke (as prisoner) rode before him, and so was kept a while.

The king assembled together a great counsell at Westminster, to heare the accusations of the two dukes, the one obiecting to the other manie heinous and greuous crimes. But the duke of Summerzet, which now conceiued in his mind the thing that shortly followed, incessantlie exhorted the counsell, that the duke of Yorke, by compulsion or otherwise, might be dyluen to confesse his offense, that so being attained of treason, he might suffer execution, and his children to be taken as aduersaries to their native countrie; to the intent that by the extinction of him and his sequela, all ciuill warre and inward diuision might cease and be repressed: beseeching almighty God, that so great an enemie to the king and

his blood, might neuer escape punishment, nor continue long in life.

The duke of Summerzet set forth this matter the more vehementlie, because he knew perfectly, that the duke of Yorke dallie imagined with himselfe, how to get the crowne, and to depose and destroy both the king and him. But desinie cannot by anie mans deuise be letted, and manie things (to apperance) declared the duke of Yorkes innocencie in this case. First, his free and voluntarie comming to the king, without constraint, when he was partlie of puissance able to haue incountred with the kings whole power. Secondlie, his humble submission, and reasonable requests, as well on his owne behalfe, as for the poore commons: which might argue that he sought for no soueraintie.

Whilist the counsell treated of sauing or dispatching of this duke of Yorke, a rumour sprang through London, that Edward earle of March, sonne and heire apparant to the said duke, with a great armie of Marchmen, was comming toward London: which tidings fore appalled the quene and the whole counsell. Beside this, the verie same daie came ambassadors from the cheefe citizens and magistrats of the cite of Burdeaur, whereof the cheefe were, the earle of Kendale, and the lord de Leparre; which signified to the counsell, that if they would send an armie into Gascoigne, the people of the countrie would revolt from the French part, and eithones become English. These two things fore troubled the heads of the counsell, which, least inward sedition might hinder outward conquests, set the duke of Yorke at libertie, and permitted him to go to his castell of Wigmore, in the marches of Wales, by whose absence the duke of Summerzet rose in such high fauour, both with the king and quene, that his word onelie ruled, and his voice alone was heard.

¶ Neuertheless the said duke of Yorke had first made his submission, and toke his oath to be true, faithfull, and obedient subiect to king Henrie the first king of England, in saint Pauls church at London, there being present the king, and most of his nobilitie, that is to saie, the dukes of Buckingham, Northampton, and Summerzet; the earls of Warwicke, Arundell, Salisburie, Shropshire, Devonshire, Wiltshire, Northumberland, Stafford and Dorset, vicounts of Beaumont and Welles; barons, Fitz Warren, Sainmound, Cobham, Mowglas, and others: bishops, the cardinal, archbishop of Yorke and Canturburie, Winchester, Ebie, and London, in these words following.

The tenor of the duke of Yorks submission to king Henrie, under his oath.

Richard duke of Yorke confesse and beknow, that I am & ought to be humble subiect and liege-man to you my soueraigne lord king Henrie the first, and owe therefore to beate you faith and truth, as to my soueraigne liege lord, and shall do all daies vnto my liues end; and shall not at anie time will or assent, that any thing attempted or done against your most noble person: but where so euer I shall haue knowledge of anie such thing imagined or purposed, I shall with all speed and diligence possible to me, make that your highnesse shall haue knowledge thereof: and ouer that, to all that shall be possible to me, to the withstanding and let thereof, to the uttermost of my

Desinie cannot be avoided

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Occasion that set the duke of York free.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 671, 672. in Quart.

my life. I shall not anie thing take vpon me against your roiall estate or obeisance that is due thereto, nor suffer anie other man to doo, as farre forth as it shall be in my power to let it: and also shall come at your commandement when so euer I shall be called by the same, in humble and obedient wise: but if I be letted by anie sickness or impotence of my person, or by such other cause as shall be thought by you my soueraigne lord reasonable. I shall neuer hereafter take vpon me to gather anie rout, nor to make anie assemble of your people, without your commandement or licence, or in my lawfull defense. In interpretation or declaration of the which my lawfull defense, I shall report me at all times to your highnesse, and if the case require, to my peres; nor any thing attempt against anie of your subiects, of what estate, degree, or condition that they be. But when so euer I find my selfe wronged and agrieved, I shall sue humble for remedie to your highnesse: and proceed after the course of your lawes, and in none other wise: sauing in mine owne lawfull defense in maner aboue said, and otherwise haue to your highnesse as an humble and true subiect ought to haue him to his soueraigne lord.

All these things aboue said I promise you trulie to obserue and keepe, by the holie euangelists contained in the booke that I laie my hand herebpon, and by the holie crosse I here touch, and by the blessed sacrament of our Lords bodie, that I shall now with his mercie receiue. And ouer I agræ me and will, that if I anie time hereafter, as by the grace of our Lord God I neuer shall, anie thing attempt by waie of feat or other wise against your roiall maiestie, and obeisance that I owe thereto, or anie thing take vpon me otherwise than is aboue expessed, I from that time forth be bnailed, held, and taken as an vntrue and openlie forsworne man, and bnaile to all maner of worshipping, estate, and degree, be it such as I now occupie, or anie other that might in anie wise grow vnto me hereafter. And this I haue here promised and sworn, proceedeth of mine owne desire and free voluntæ, and by no constraining or coaction. In witnesse of all the which things aboue written, I Richard duke of Yorke (aboue nauded) subscribe with mine owne hand and seale.

Anno Reg. 31.
1453

The counsell not forgetting the offer of the Calcoignas, and that they might now haue the citie of Burdeaur, with the countrie round about, by request of the inhabitants, appointed the valiant capteine John lord Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, to go thither with an armie, who arriuing in the Ile of Gaze, passed forth with his power, being scant three thousand men, and toke the strong towne of Fromsacke, and diuerse other townes & fortresses. The inhabitants of Burdeaur, hearing of the earles arrival, sent to him messengers in the darke night, requiring him with all speed to come and receiue the citie. The earle lost not one houre, but hastened forth, & came

before that citie, per the Frenchmen within vnder stood anie thing of the citizens purpose. When they were aduertised that there was a gate set open for the Englishmen to enter, they thought to haue escaped secretlie by a posterne: but they were pursued, slaine, and taken by the lord de Lescar, and other of the English armie.

After the regaining of Burdeaur, there arriued at Blaie the bastard of Summerfet, sir John Talbot, lord Lisle by his wife, sonne to the said erle of Shrewesburie, the lord Polins, the lord Harington, the lord Camois, sir John Howard, sir John Montgomerie, sir John Wernon, with two & twentie hundred men, with vittells and munitions. When the earle was thus (according to his intent) of all things furnished, first he fortified Burdeaur with Englishmen, and store of vittells; and after that he rode into the countrie abroad, where he obtained cities, and got townes without stroke or dint of sword, for the people already wearied of the French seruitude, and longing soe to returne to the English libertie, seemed to desire nothing more than to haue the earle to receiue them into the English obedience. Amongst other townes, the towne and castell of Chastillon in Perigord was to him deliuered, the which he fortified with men and ordinance verie stronglie.

In the meane time, the French king, being aduertised of all these doings, raised an armie to resist this inuasion made by the erle of Shrewesburie. And first he appointed his capteins to besiege the towne of Chastillon, to the rescue whereof the earle hastened forward, hauing in his companie eight hundred horsemen, vnder the leading of his sonne the lord Lisle, the lord Polins, the lord Camois, sir Edward Hull, sir John Howard, and sir John Wernon. He appointed also five thousand footmen, vnder the conduct of the earle of Kendall, and the lord de Lescar, to follow him with all speed. In his waie, he toke by fine force a tower which the Frenchmen had taken, and due all that he found within it. And after by the waie, he met five hundred Frenchmen going a foraging, of whom he slue the more part, and chased the other to the campe.

The Frenchmen that laie at the siege, perceiving by those good runners away that the earle approached, left the siege, and retired in good order into the place which they had trenched, ditched, and fortified with ordinance. The earle aduertised how the siege was removed, hastened forward towards his enemies, doubting most, least they would haue bene quite fled and gone before his comming. But they fearing the displeasure of the French king (who was not far off) if they should haue fled, abode the earles comming, and so receiued him: who though he first with manfull courage, and soe fighting wan the entrie of their campe; yet at length they compassed him about, and shooting him through the thigh with an handgun, slue his horse, and finally killed him lieng on the ground, whom they durst neuer looke in the face, while he stood on his feet.

It was said, that after he perceived there was no remedie, but present losse of the battell, he counselled his sonne the lord Lisle, to saue himselfe by flight, which the same could not rebound to anie great reproch in him, this being the first fourtie in which he had bene present. Anie words he vsed to persuaade him to haue saued his life: but nature so wrought in the son, that neither desire of life, nor feare of death, could either cause him to shrink, or conueie himselfe out of the danger, and so there manfullie ended his life with his said father. There died also the earles bastard sonne Henrie Talbot, and sir Edward Hull elect to the order of the garter, and thirtie other men of name and right valiant personages of the English nation.

An. Dom. 1453

An. Reg. 31. 33

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Abt. Fl. ex
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Swesburie and
his son marie
fullie slain.

Ab. Fi. ex
157 p. 673.

The lord apollins was taken prisoner with these oth-
ers. The residue of the English people fled to
Bordeaux and other places, of whom in the flight
were slain above a thousand persons.

Thus at this battell of Chatillon, fought the thir-
teenth daie of Julie in this yeare, ended his life John
lord Albot, and of his progenie the first earle of
Shrewesburie: after that he with much fame and
most victorie, had valiantlie made warre, and serued
his prince and countrie by the space of foure and
twentie yeares, in the parties of beyond the seas,
whose corps was left on ground, and after was found
by his friends, and conueied to Whitchurch in Shrop-
shire where it was interred. After this discomfite
diuerse lordes fled to Bordeaux, but the earle of Car-
dall, the lordes of Pontferrant, of Rosaine, & of Dan-
gladas entered into the castell of Chatillon, which by
the space of ten daies they defended: but in the end
despairing of all succours, they rendred the fortresse,
and came safe to Bordeaux.

After this, the towncs of saint Millson, L. bozne,
and all other, which the erle of Shrewesburie had con-
quered, rendred themselves to the Frenchmen, Bur-
deaur onlie excepted. Which citie, being the last re-
fuge of the English people, the French king in per-
son besieged with all his puissance; and in conclusion
constrained both the garrisons and inhabitants to
yeld, so that the Englishmen & Gascoignes might
safely depart into England or into Calis, with all
their substance; and that the lordes de Leparre, Du-
ras, and thirtie others, should neuer (upon paine of
death) be found within anie of the French kings do-
minions, which lord de Leparre being after taken
in Gascoigne disguised, was made thorter by the
head. When this composition was agreed and sealed,
the Englishmen were thortlie transported ouer into
England, in the moneth of October this present
yeare.

Thus was the duchie of Aquitaine, which had con-
tinued in the English possession, from the yeare of
our Lord 1155, unto this present yeare, which is nere
hand thre hundred yeares, by the marriage of Glenc
daughter and heire to William duke of Aquitaine,
wife to king Henrie the second, finally reduced and
brought againe to the French obedience and seru-
tude. Within that onlie duchie be foure archbishops,
four and twentie bishops, fixt ene earledomes, two
hundred and two baronies, and above a thousand cap-
teinships and balliwickes: whereby ye may consi-
der, what a losse this was to the realme of England.
On the thirtenth daie of October this yeare, was the
quene deliuered at Westminster of a faire sonne,
who was christened, and named Edward.

His mother sustained not a little slander and oblo-
quie of the common people, who had an opinion that
the king was not able to get a child; and therefore
sicked not to saie, that this was not his sonne, with
manie slanderous words, greatlie sounding to the
queens dishonour; much part perchance vntrue.
After the birth of this child, he highlie advanced his
brethren on his mothers side: for Edmund he made
earle of Richmond, which was father to king Henrie
the seventh, and Jasper he created erle of Penbroke,
which died without issue. This yeare, John Stafford
archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, and
John Kempe archbishop of Yorke was removed
from that see, to succeed in place of the said Stafford,
being the thre score and second archbishop there, &
John Bath bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield was
translated to Yorke, being the one and fiftie arch-
bishop of that church.

On Bartholomew daie at the wedding here be-
to Clerkenwell, a gentleman belonging to the pri-
or of saint John, made a rumour; tumult, for the which

(by the commandment of the maior) he was arrested
by Richard Allie one of the shiriffes, and deliuered to
Paris a sergeant. But such resistance was made by
parts taking, that the shiriffe was faine to craue
helpe of the maior, who with his brethren the alder-
men arose from the game, and strengthened the shir-
riffes. And for the rescue of the said gentleman, one
named Calis, came out of saint Johns with a great
strength of archers, to resist the maior, in the which
fraie a yeoman of saint Johns was slain, and ma-
nie other sore hurt. The maior himselfe escaped hard-
lie, for his cap was smitten from his head with an
arrows: but the maior with his citizens put the other
to flight, sent the principall of them to Newgate, and
then took his place againe till the games were en-
ded: by which time the citizens had gathered them-
selues in great number, and fetched him home, neuer
maior so stronglie nor so honozable.]

This yeare was Thomas Bourchier bishop of
Ely (sonne to the countesse of Stafford, and brother
to Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex) removed to the
see of Canturburie; who in the yeare after the tooz
became fleshy and appeared in humane shape 1443,
first obtained the see of Ely (although once before he
was by the king put backe from thence after his
election of the couent thereunto, and confirmation
of the pope) being translated from Worcester to the
said see of Ely, the twelfth daie of March in the said
yeare 1443. This man (after that he had remained
at Ely ten yeares, thre and twentie weekes, and
sue daies) was (as is before said) in this yeare 1454
removed to Canturburie by Nicholas the fift then
bishop of Rome. After this he was made chancelor,
which office he obtained the seauenth of March, in the
yeare 1455, being the thre and thirtith yeare of king
Henrie the sixts reigne. Lastlie he was advanced to
the dignitie of cardinall by pope Paul the second,
in the yeare of our Lord 1465, of whom is made a
more liberall discourse in a treatise of the liues of the
chancelors of England: a place of no small authori-
tie and reputation.]

After the warres foule ended in foren parties, ci-
uill dissention began againe at home, diuided speci-
allie into two factions. As R. Henrie descended of
the house of Lancaster possessed the crowne from his
grandfather king Henrie the fourth (first author of
that title) so Richard duke of Yorke, as heire to Ed-
ward duke of Clarence, thirde sonne to king Edward
the thirde, enforced. By reason thereof, the nobles as
well as the common people were into parts diui-
ded, to the vtter destruction of manie a man, and to
the great ruine and decaye of this region: for while
the one partie fought to destroye the other, all care of
the common-wealth was set aside, and iustice and e-
quitie clearelie extolled.

The duke of Yorke (above all things) first sought
means how to stir by the malice of the people against
the duke of Summerfet, imagining that he being
made awaie, his purpose should the sooner take effect.
He also practised to bring the king into the hatred
of the people, as that he should not be a man apt to the
government of a realme, wanting both wit and sta-
mach sufficient to supplie such a rourne. Manie of the
high estates, not liking the tooz, and disallowing the
doings both of the king and his counsell, were faine
inough of some alteration. Which thing the duke well
vnderstanding, chiefelie sought the fauour of the two
peuils, both named Richard, one earle of Salisburie,
the other earle of Marthwike, the first being the
father, and the second the sonne.

This earle of Salisburie was second son to Kate
Beuill earle of Westmerland, whose daughter the
duke of Yorke had married, and the said Richard was
espoused to ladie Alice, the onelie child and sole heire
of Salisburie.

The maior,
shiriffes and
aldermen, res-
isted and as-
sisted in a
fraie nere
Clerkenwell.

Fr. Thin,
Anno Reg. 32,
1454

In a treatise
hereafter folo-
wowing.

The duke of
Yorke seeks
the destructio
of the duke of
Summerfet.

The banded
himselfe with
the Beuills.

The issue of
Richard earle
of Salisburie.

W.P.

of Thomas Montacute earle of Salisburie, slain at the siege of Mleance (as before is declared) of which woman he begat Richard, John, and George: Richard the eldest sonne espoused Anne, the sister and heire of the entire blood to lord Henrie Beauchamp earle and after duke of Warwicke, in whose right and title he was created and named earle of Warwicke. [Full fraught was this noble man with good qualities right excellent and manie, all which a certaine naturall grace did unto all estates so farforth recomend, that with high and low he was in singular favour and good liking, so as (unfought for) it seemed, in authoritie among them, he grew able to command all alone.]

Anno Reg. 33.

The duke of Summerfet arrested.

1455

The king sick.

Whichehamsted.

The duke of Summerfet at libertie.

Made deputie of Calis.

The duke of York assembled an armie.

Whichehamsted.

The king with three thousand.

The duke with three thousand.

When the duke of Yorke had fastened his chaine betwene these two strong pillars, he with his friends wrought so effectuously, and handled his businesse so politicklie, that the duke of Summerfet was arrested in the quenes great chamber, and sent to the Tower of London, where he kept his Christmasse without great solemnitie. Against whom, some after in open parlement were laid diuerse and heinous articles of high treason, as well for the losse of Normandie, as for the late mischance which happened in Guen. The king at that time was sicke at Clarendon, and conueied to London, by reason whereof no small determination proceeded in this weightie cause; but all was put in suspence, till the next assemble of the high court of parlement. Some do write, that whilst the king was sicke, the duke of Yorke bare all the rule, and gouerned as regent or viceroy, by authoritie committed to him by the lords of the realme, then assembled in counsell; he to see to the preservation and good gouernement of the common-wealth, during the kings sicknesse, which was so greivous (as it was said) that he late fenselle, and was not able for a time either to go or stand.

The duke of Yorke hauing aforehand obtained an absolution of the pope, in discharge of his oth before taken, did now discover his stomach against the duke of Summerfet. But when the king was amended againe, and resumed to him his former gouernement, either of his owne mind, or by the quenes procurement, the duke of Summerfet was set at libertie; by which doing, great enuie and displeasure grew. That notwithstanding, the quene (which then bare the chiefe rule) caused the duke of Summerfet to be preferred to the captainship of Calis, wherewith not onlie the commons, but also manie of the nobilitie were greatly greiued and offended, saying, that he had lost Normandie, and so would he doe Calis.

The duke of Yorke and his adherents, persecuting that neither exhortation nor charging him with his crimes prevailed against the duke of Summerfet, they meant to mend the matter by open war: & some after he being in the marches of Wales, accompanied with his speciall friends, the earles of Salisburie, and Warwicke, the lord Cobham, and others, assembled a power, and in warlike manner marched toward London. The king informed herof, assembled likewise a great host, and meaning to meet with the duke, rather in the north parts than about London, where it was thought he had too manie friends, he accompanied with the dukes of Summerfet and Buckingham, the earles of Denbroke, Stafford, Northumberland, Devonshire, Dorset, and Wilshire, the lords Clifford, Sudlie, Berneis, Ross, and others, being in all about two thousand men of warre, departed from Westminster the twentieth, or (as some haue) the one and twentieth of Maie, and late the first night at Wadford.

Of whose doings the duke of Yorke by espials hauing full aduertisement, with all his power, being not past three thousand men (as some write) caused

the countrie, and came to saint Albons the third daie next ensuing. The king there had pight his standard in a place called Goselow, otherwife Sandisford, in saint Peters street: the lord Clifford kept the barriers of the towne, to stop, that the duke being assembled in his field, should not enter the towne. & The duke of Yorke (saith one moderne Chronographer) knowing the strength made against him, abiding in the field aforesaid, from seuen of the clocke in the morning untill it was almost ten of the clocke without anie stroke smitten on either part, by the aduise of his counsell sent unto the king vnder these words following.

Words in writing by the duke of Yorke to the king.

Lease it unto your excellent grace, Richard duke of Yorke, to take him as your true liege man and humble subiect; and to consider and tender at the reuerence of God, and in the waie of charitie, the true intent of my comming, and to be good and gracious soueraine unto me, & all other your true liege men, which, that with all their power and might will be ready to live and die with you in your right, and to do all things as shall like your maiestie roiall to command us, if it be to the worship of the crowne of England, and the welfare of this your noble realme. Forcuer, gracious lord, please it unto your maiestie roiall, of your great godnesse and rightwisenesse, to incline your will to heare & see the rightwile part of vs your true subiects and liege men. First, praising and beseeching to our soueraine, Christ Iesus, of his high and mightie power, to giue you vertue of prudence, and that through the praier of the glorious martyr S. Albion giue you verie knowledge of our truths, and to know the intent of our assembling at this time: for God that is in heauen knoweth, our intent is rightfull and true. And therefore we praise vnto that mightie Lord in these words: *Domine, si dispens defensionis nostrae.* Wherefore gracious lord, please it your maiestie roiall, to deliuer such as we will accuse, and they to haue like as they haue deserved: and this done, you to be honozable worshipped as most rightfull king and our true gouernour. And if we should now at this time be promised, as afore this time (is not unknowne) haue bene promissed broken which haue bene full faithfullie promised, and thereupon great othes sware, we will not now cease for no such promissed, nor oth, till we haue them which haue deserved death, or else we to die therefore.

The answer by the king to the duke of Yorke.

I King Henrie charge and command, that no manner person, of what degree, estate or what condition soeuer he be, abide not; but that they auoid the field, and not be so hardie to make resistance against me in my owne realme. For I shall know what traitour dare be so bold to raise anie people in mine owne land, where though I am in great disease and heauines. By the faith I owe vnto S. Edward, and vnto the crowne of England, I shall destroye them euerie mothers sonne, and eke they to be hanged, byawne, and quartered, that may be taken afterward of them, in example to make all such traitors to beware for: to make anie rising of people within mine owne land, and so traitorously to abide their king and gouernour. And for a conclusion, rather than they shall haue anie lord, that here is with me at this time, I shall this day for their sake in this quarell my selfe live and die.

The

Whichehamsted. The duke of Buckingham sent to the duke of Yorke.

The duke of Summerfet burdened with all things that had happened since.

The first battle of saint Albons. Whichehamsted.

The words of the duke of Yorke
to all gentlemen and other assem-
bled with him.

Sirs, the king our soueraigne lord will
not be reformed at our beseeching ne prai-
er, nor will not in no wise vnderstand the
intent wherfore we be here assembled and
gathered at this time, but onelie is in full purpose to
destroie vs all. And therupon a great oth hath made,
that there is none other waie, but that he with all his
power will pursue vs; and if we be taken, to giue vs
a shamefull death, leeing our liuelod and goods, and
also our heires shamed for ever. Therefore sirs, now
sith it will none other wise be, but that we shall vtter-
lie die; better it is for vs to die in the field, than co-
wardlie to be put to an vtter rebuke and shamefull
death, for the right of England standeth in vs. Con-
sidering also in what perill it standeth at this time,
and for to redreffe the mischæse thereof, let euerie
man helpe to his power this daie, and in that quarell
to quite vs like men, to the crowne of England; prai-
sing and beseeching vnto that Lord, the which is eter-
nall, th it reigneth in the glorious kingdome celesti-
all, to keepe and saue vs this daie in our right, and
through the gifts of his holie grace we may be made
strong to withstand the great, abhominable, and hor-
rible malice of them that purpose to destroie vs and
the realme of England, and put vs to a shamefull
death. Prate we therefore to the Lord to be our com-
fort and our defendour, saying these words, *Domine
supremus defensoris nostræ.*

But another historie-writer saith, that the king,
when first he heard of the duke of Yorke's approach,
sent to him messengers, the duke of Buckingham
and others, to vnderstand what he meant by his
comming thus in maner of warre. The duke of Buc-
kingham to his message was answered by the duke
of Yorke and his complices, that they were all of
them the kings faithfull liege subiects, and intended
no harme to him at all: but the cause of our com-
ming (saie they) is not in meaning aint hurt to his
person. But let that wicked and naughtie man the
duke of Summerfet be deliuered vnto vs, who hath
lost Normandie, and taken no regard to the preser-
uation of Gascoigne; and furthermore, hath brought
the realme vnto this miserable estate; that where it
was the floure of nations, and the princesse of pro-
uinces (now is it baled into desolation & spoile, not
so dreadfull by malice of foren enemie, that indeed
vtterlie (as yee know) seeketh our ruine, as by the in-
tolerable outrages of him that so long ago & euen
still appeares to haue sworne the confusion of our
king and realme.] If it therefore please the king to
deliuer that bad man into our hands, we are readie
without trouble or breach of peace, to returne into
our countrie. But if the king be not minded so to do,
because he cannot misse him; let him vnderstand, that
we will rather die in the field, than suffer such a mi-
schæse vtterdressed.

The king aduertised of this answer, more wilfull
than tollerable, appointed him rather to trie battell,
than deliuer the duke of Summerfet to his enemies.
Whereof they ascertained made no longer staie, but
straightwaie sounded the trumpet to battell: or ra-
ther (as Hall saith) while king Henrie sent forth his
ambassadors to treat of peace at the one end of the
towne, the earle of Marlowe with his Marchmen
entered at the other end, and fiercelie setting on the
kings foreward, within a small time discomfited the
same. The place where they first brake into the towne,
was about the middle of saint Peters street. The
fight for a time was right sharpe and cruell, for the

duke of Summerfet, with the other lords, comming
to the succours of their companions that were put to
the worse, did what they could to beat backe the eni-
mies: but the duke of Yorke sent euer fresh men to
succour the wearie, and to supplie the places of them
that were hurt, whereby the kings armie was final-
lie brought low, and all the chiefeins of the field
slaine and beaten downe.

For there died vnder the signe of the castell, Ed-
mund duke of Summerfet, who (as hath bene repo-
ted) was warned long before to auoid all castles: and
beside him laie Henrie the second of that name earle
of Northumberland, Humfre earle of Stafford
sonne to the duke of Buckingham, John lord Clif-
ford, sir Barthram Antwile knight, a Norman
barone (who forsaking his native countrie to continue
in his loiall obedience to king Henrie, came ouer to
dwell here in England when Normandie was lost)
William Zouch, John Bontreux, Rafe Bapthorp,
with his sonne William Corwin, William Cotton,
Gilbert Faldinger, Reginald Griffon, John
Daues, Elice Wood, John Cith, Rafe Woodward,
Gilbert Sharlock, and Rafe Willoughbie esquires,
with manie other, in all to the number of eight thou-
sand, as Edward Hall saith in his chronicle: if there
escaped not a fault in the impression, as 8000 for
800, sith hundreds in verie deed would better agree
with the number of the kings whole power, which he
brought with him to that battell, being not manie a-
bout two thousand, as by writers appeareth.

Humfreie duke of Buckingham, being wound-
ded, and James Butler earle of Ormond and Wil-
shire, and Thomas Chorp lord chiefe baron of the ex-
chequer, seeing fortune thus against them, lest the king
alone, and with a number fled awaie. Those that thus
fled, made the best thist they could to get awaie
through gardens and backesides, through thubs, hed-
ges and woods, seeking places where to hide them-
selues, vntill that dangerous tempest of the battell
were overblowne. Diuerse of the kings boule also
that could better skill to plaie the courtiers than war-
riors, fled with the first; and those of the east parts of
the realme were likewise noted of too much lacke of
courage, for their speedie withdrawing themselves,
and leauing the king in danger of his aduersaries:
who persecuting his men thus fled from him, with-
drew into a poore mans house to saue himselfe from
the shot of arrowes, that flue about him as thicke as
snow.

¶ This done, saith one historie, the duke of Yorke,
the earles of Marlowe, and Salisbury, came vnto
the king where he was, and besought him on their
knees of grace and forgiveness for that they had
done in his presence, and besought him of his high-
nesse to take them to grace, and as his true liege
men. The king desiring them to cease their people,
that there should be no more hurt done, and to obeie
his commandement, did cause to be proclaimed in
the kings name, that all manner of people should
cease off their malice, and not to smite one stroke
more, and so ceased the battell. And vpon the day next
after, the king and the duke of Yorke, the earles of
Marlowe & Salisbury, came all to London; and
were lodged in the bishops palace of London, where
they kept their Whitsuntide with great ioy and so-
lemnitie, concluding there to hold a parlement, the
same to begin on the ninth daie of Julie next follow-
ing.]

Another historie saith, that the duke of Yorke, ad-
uertised of the place into the which the king was
withdrawne for the safetie of himselfe, and taking
him into his power, comforted him in the best wise
he could; assuring him, that now that the common
enemie of the realme was dispatched, to wit, the duke
of

Edw. Hall.

The duke of
Summerfet
slaine.Thomas lord
Clifford, saith
Whethamsted.The kings
part banquis-
hed.Abr. Fl. ex I.S.
pag. 678, 679.
in Quart.The duke of
Summerfet
burned with
all things that
had happened
amie.
w. P.The first bat-
tle of saint
Peters.

of Summerfet, he had cause rather to reioisse, than to be sorie, with his destruction was the kings preservation. And for himselfe and all his adherents he undertooke, that they were and would remaine, during life, his most faithfull liege people, ready in all points to serue him, as his trustie and obedient subjects. After he had vsed such words, as wherewith best to comfort him, he brought the king forth of that simple house with all due reuerence thewed toward him first to the chyrine, and after to his chamber.

¶ While the duke of Yorke was about thus to comfort the king, the soldiers that had the victorie now in their hands, applied the spoile, namely, the poothermen, stripping not onelie those that had borne armour against the m, but also the townsmen and other, with whom they might meet. So that it was thought, if the king had taken by his lodging at his first coming thither, within the abbey, as he did not (but in the midst of the towne, to provide the better to resist his enemies) the abbey had bene spoiled also. This was the end of the first battell at saint Albons, which was fought vpon the thursdaie next before the feast of Penthecost, being the thre and twentieth day of Maie, in this thre and thirtieth yere of the kings reigne. The bodies of the noble men were buried in the monasterie in our ladies chappell, and the meane people in other places. This Edmund duke of Summerfet left behind him thre sonnes, Henrie, Edmund and John, which to the extremitie of death took part with the line of king Henrie.

[There was this yere a great fight & fraie vpon Clift heath, distant about two miles from Excester, betwene Thomas Courtenie earle of Denonshire, against William lord Bonuile of Shute, and sundrie men of both parts were slaine. But yet the lord Bonuile prevailed & had the victorie, who forthwith came to this citie, and the gates before being shut, were opened and he receiued; which thing so grieved the earle, that he continually sought thenceforth to be reuenged. But not long after in the quarell between king Henrie the sixt, and king Edward the fourth, he ended his daies, and was beheaded at Yorke, and was the last of that line.]

The duke of Yorke, hauing gotten the victorie, remembered well, that he had published abroad how the onelie cause of this warre was, for the advancement of the common-wealth, and therefore vsing all courtesie, would not touch the kings person after a nie violent sort; but with all honour and due reuerence conuied him to London, and so to Westminster. To which place was summoned a parlement, which began the ninth daie of Iulie, in the which session, the late duke of Gloucester was openly declared a true subject, both to the king and to the realme. Beside this, it was enacted, that no person should either iudge or report anie point of vntruth of the duke of Yorke, the earles of Salisburie and Warwicke, or of anie knight, esquier, archer, or other, for coming in warlike arate against the king, at saint Albons; considering their enterpryse was onelie to see the kings person in safegard.

But all the blame was put vpon the duke of Summerfet, Thomas Chorp, baron of the eschequer, and William Iosep esquier, the kings collaterall companion; because that they, vpon malicious purpose, kept a certaine letter from the kings knowledge, and would in no wise suffer it to be deliuered vnto him, notwithstanding the same made to the advancement of some good peace, had it bene throughlie and aduisebly read, weied & considered. In which letter they declared, that as faithfull and humble subjects, they required onelie, that it would please the king (whose honor, health, suertie, and preservation, they chiefly wished) not to giue credence to their ad-

uersaries malicious suggestions, till their coming to his presence, vnto the which they humbly besought him that they might be admitted as his faithfull liege people, to shew the intent and purpose of their commings; which was to none other end, than to declare their fidelitie and allegiance towards his most roiall person, intending to put themselves with as much diligence and trauell in all things that might aduance his honour, health, and safegard, as any subject he had liuing.

The keeping backe of this letter from the kings sight and knowledge, did minister matter sufficient vnto the parlement, to colour and iustifie for well done all transgressions committed in the late battell and chase at saint Albons. In this parlement also, the duke of Yorke was made protectour of the realme, and the earle of Salisburie was appointed to be lord chancellor, and had the great seale to him deliuered, and the earle of Warwicke was elected to the office of the capteinship of Calis, and the territories of the same; and thus the rule of the realme rested in the orders of the duke and chancellor, and all warlike affaires remained principallie in the earle of Warwicke. And so amongst them it was agreed, that king Henrie should reigne still in name and dignitie, but neither in deed nor in authoritie; not minding to destroye him, least they might suddenlie prouoke the furie of the common people against them, because that of the simple sort of people he was for his holiness of life, and abundant clemencie, much fanowed and highlie esteemed.

In this parlement also it was enacted, that the king should resume, take into his hands againe, haue and retaine into his possession, all honours, castles, lordships, townes, villages, manours, lands, tenements, waists, forests, chases, rents, reuerfions, fees, farmes, seruices, issues, profits, counties, aduoufons of priories, churches, hospitals, and free chapels, and all other reuenues with their appurtenances, the which had passed from him since the first daie of his reigne vnto that present; either by his letters patents, or authoritie of parlement, and manie other meanes, whether by grant, confirmation, or release from him made in fee simple, or fee taile, for tearme of life or yeres, to anie maner of person and persons in England, Wales, Scotland, or the marches; in Ireland, or in the townes of Calis, & Guisnes, & the marches there. And likewise all grants made of such things as are aboue mentioned, being parcel of the duchie of Lancaster; and further all grants of offices, rannes, fees, wages, or commodities, not accustomed to belong to anie office or charge before the said first daie of the kings reigne, were likewise renoked.

Diuerse other things were also contained within this renocation and generall resumption; with certaine exceptions yet and prouisoies had, as were thought conuenient, and as by the same act it doth appeare. Moreover, now that the duke of Yorke and his adherents had wrested the whole rule & gouernment into their hands; all such persons as the king either loued, or the quene favoured, were put beside the priue counsell; and such put in their places, as were knowne to fauour the house of Yorke. Also the officers were changed throughout the realme, at the will and disposition of the protectour, chancellor, and capteine of Calis; so that they constituted as it were a triumvirat, ruling all things at discretion of these thre. And yet in all their rule I find not that anie mention is made of their deferring of iustice, or of anie polling or byberie; as was openly proued by such as gouerned before their time. Vnto they were noted of diuerse spiritual persons, and namely of the abbat of Westminster and his monks, for a

Battell of St. Albons on thursday the 23 of Maie. Anno Reg. 33.

Four of the to wit, the duke of Summerfet, the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, were buried in our ladie chappell. Whetherhamsted John Hooker, alias Vowell.

A parlement.

Whetherhamsted Collaterall. A letter kept from the king of purpose.

The duke of Yorke coming against the king vnto the battell.

The duke of Yorke being the first of his order.

1456

Whetherhamsted. In as for the king, he reuokes certain grants.

In by the way the king of London.

A foule distemper.

A common council called.

great offense: because they took out of the sanctuary at Westminster, John Holland duke of Excester, all against the order taken in the last parliament, and sent him to the castell of Pomfret.

Henrie duke
of Summerville

But now the lord Henrie Beauford, netolue duke of Summerville by the death of duke Edmund his father, slaine at the battell of Saint Albons (as above is rehearsed) and Humfrie duke of Buckingham (who then & there lost his sonne and heire) and other of estate taking the part of king Henrie, whose case they did much bewaile & doubt, as perceiving where to the courtesie of the duke of Poike did draw: they therefore thinking it necessarie to puerue for a remedie per the mischefe happened, consulted with the quene. By whose aduise was a great counsell called at Greenwich, where the duke of Poike was discharged of his protectorship, & the earle of Salisburie deposed also of his office. ¶ This sudden change amongst the nobilitie caused alterations, and seditious attempts in the commonaltie, and in especiall within London: whereof this was one. A young merchant, which before time had bene in diuerse cities of Italie, and there forbidden by the magistrats (as the law and maner is) to weare anie weapon, now challenged an Italian in Cheapside for wearing a dagger, telling him it was against his owne countrie lawes: whereto because the Italian answered somewhat disdainfullie, the merchant not onelie took by force from him his dagger, but also with the same brake his pate.

The duke of
York's death
of his of-
fice.

1456

This Italian in great hast complained to the maior, so that at the next court holden at the Guildhall, the merchant was sent for, and upon charge of his offense, he was commanded to ward. Whereupon diuerse other light persons within the citie, assembled together in great plumps, by force constrained the maior to deliuer the prisoner out of Detogate: and not so satisfied, like mad men ran to the severall houses of diuerse Venetians, Lucases, and Florentines, and them spoiled, robbed, and rifled without reason or measure. The maior, perceiving this enormous doing, assembled a number of substantiall and graue citizens; who (not without bloodshed and maiming of sundrie) appeased the rage, and caused the misruled people to depart to their houses. The beginner of this vyce got him to Westminster, and there registered himselfe for a sanctuary man.

In prison in
the cage of
London.

The duke of
York's death
of his of-
fice.

The quene, which now againe ruled all, being aduertised of this unlawfull misdemeanour, sent the dukes of Excester and Buckingham, with other noble men to London, with a commission oier and terminer, for the inquirie and punishment of so seditious an offense. But when the maior, the two dukes, and the two chiefe iustices were set in the Guildhall upon their commission, intelligence was giuen, that a number of light persons were approaching in armor to rescue the prisoners apprehended for the late robbery and riot, as they were caried to their arraignment. The two dukes and the other commissioners quickelie thence departed, and lest their inquirie for that date, though in deed in no such danger as they doubted: for certeine discret and sage citizens so handled the matter, that no misorder followed of that sort.

The common
council call-
ed.

The maior on the next daie called a common council, whereof the number was an hundred fourescore and od, who ordeined that all wardens of mysteries should assemble their companies in their halles, where exhortation should be to the obseruation of peace; and if they spied any man either ready to stirre a rumor, or make to the deliuerance of such as were in prison, their names should be secretlie written, and so deliuered to the maior: which policie well appeased this outrage. Whereupon after the commissioners sat in

Guildhall, where manie of the robbers were attained & put to execution, beside diuers great fines set on the heads of diuerse merchants, & paid, for thinking at the matter. ¶ This yere John Kempe archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, & Thomas Burthier bishop of Ely removed to his place, being the thirthe and thirde archbishop of that see.

¶ In the moneth of Nouember, in the Ile of Wozt land not farre from the towne of Wilmouth, was sene a cocke coming out of the sea, hauing a great crest upon his head, and a great red beard, and legs of halfe a yarde long: he stood on the water & crowed foure times, and euerie time turned him about, and beckened with his head, toward the north, the south, and the west, and was of colour like a fasant, & when he had crowed thre times, he vanished awaie. And thortlie after were taken at Writh within twelue miles of London, foure great and wonderfull fishes whereof one was called *Mors marina*, the second a sword fish, the other two were whales.]

Abr. Fl. ex
I. 5. 681.

I 457
Fabian.

The French nation, hearing of the cruell dissention within the realme here, and for an old grudge seeking our annoie, two nauiies appointed they to invade the towne standing upon the riuage of the sea. The captains of the one fleet was William lord Boniers, and of the other sir Peter Bessie, a great ruler in Normandie. These two captains, taking their course out of the mouth of Saine, severed themselves, the one westward; and the other eastward, which was sir Peter Bessie, who sailing alongst the coasts of Sussex and Kent, durst not yet take land, but staid in the Dotones: and there hauing by cspiall perfect notice that Sandwich was neither peopled nor fortified (because that a little before, the rulers of the towne were from thence departed, for to auoid the plague, which sore there afflicted and sive the people) he entered the haven, spoiled the towne, and after such poze stiffe as he there found rifled and taken, he fearing an assemble of the countrey, thortlie gat him awaie.

Anno Reg. 35.

Sandwich
spoiled by the
French.

The lord Boniers likewise took his course westward, & by night burning certeine houses in Ffulnate, with a little pillage retired into Britaine. The Scots also (busse like flies where no flap to fraie them) entered into Northumberland (king James the second being there in person) & burned certeine poze houses, and little cottages: but in the berie midst of their great enterprize, they hearing of the duke of Poikes marching toward them with a great host, with much paine and no gaine in all hast returned to their countrey. But now to passe ouer outward inuasions, & to intreat of the daillie disorder amongst the nobles at home. So was it, that a great conflict fell betwene the lord Egremond, & the sonnes of the erle of Salisburie, in which manie persons were slaine, & a great number hurt. The lord Egremond, seeking to get a waie but could not, by force was taken & brought before the counsell: where the king and the quene, who shew themselves indifferent, adiudged him to paie to the earle of Salisburie a great summe of monie; and for his heinous offense against the lawes, was committed to Detogate in London, out of which he escaped, to the great trouble of the thiriffes.

Fulnate;

The Scots
invade Eng-
land.

The lord Eg-
gremond com-
mitted to
Detogate.

He made an
escape.

The quene nothing more seeking than the ouerthrow of the duke of Poike and his friends, and perceiving she could attempt nothing against him nere to London, because the duke was in more estimation there, than either the king his husband, or his selfe: therefore she caused the king to make a progress into Warwicke shire for his health and recreation. And so in semblance of batoking and hunting, came to Couentræ, where diuerse waies were stried to fulfill the quenes desire: for the accomplishing whereof, the duke of Poike, the earles of Salisburie

It p[ro]ueth to
haue intrap-
ped the duke
of York.

lisbury, and Warwicke (whose destructions was
chicflie sought) were sent for to Couentre by the
kings letters, vnder his priuie seale, to which place
the said lord without suspicion of danger obedient-
lie reforted.

But being admonished by secret friends, that
was intended against them, they by slight auoided
that danger, where otherwise their liues had bene
lost without all remedie. And so without bidding a-
nie farewell, they departed from the court; the duke
vnto Wignmore in the marches of Wales, the earle
of Salisburie to his castell of Spodeham in the
north, and the earle of Warwicke to Calis.
The bodies of which three noble personages though
thus separated, yet their hearts knit in one, and still
went messengers & letters betwixt them, to commu-
nicat their deuises, and glue signification of their
minds and purposes.

Anno Reg. 36.
1458
The bishop
abjured for
incurring a-
gainst the
popes exco-
munication.

In this yere Reginald Peacocke bishop of Chiche-
ster, abjured at Pauls crosse, all his bookes burnt,
and he himselfe commanded to keepe his owne house
during his naturall life: because that he (verie well
learned, and better stomached) began to moue que-
stions, not p[ri]uie but openlie, in the vniuersities,
concerning the annates, Peter pence, and other tu-
rifications & authorities, which the pope vsurped; and
not onlie put forth such questions, but declared his
mind and opinion in the same. Some saie he held
that spirituall persons by Gods law ought to haue
no tempo[ra]ll possessions, nor that personall tithes by
Gods law were due (nor that christian men were to
believe in the catholike church, nor in the communi-
on of saints, but to beleene that a catholike church and
a communion of saints there is) and that he held
both the vniuersall church might erre in matters of
faith; and that it is not of necessitie to beleue all
that which is ordeined by generall councels, nor all
that which they call the vniuersall church ought to
be allowed and holden of all christian people.

W. P.

Abt. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 682, 683,
684, 685, 686,
in Quart.

Moreover, that it was meet to euerie man to be-
lieue the scriptures in the true and plaine sense, &
none bound to glosses of anie other sense, vpon anie
necessitie of saluation. ¶ But because I find a larger
report hereof elsewhere, and as more methodicall, so
also (as it seemeth) in such forme as it was *res gesta*, a
deed done, it shall not be amisse to insert the same.
This bishop was a secular doctor of diuinitie, that
had labored manie yeres to translate the holie scrip-
ture into English, & was accused to haue passed the
bounds of diuinitie and christian beleafe in certeine
articles, of the which he was conuict before the arch-
bishop of Cantuarburie, and other bishops and clerks,
and after bitterlie abjured, reuoked, and renounced
those articles openlie at Pauls crosse in his mother
tong on the fourth day of December, as followeth.

The forme of his abiuration.

In the name of the trinitie, father, sonne,
and holie-ghost, I Reginald Peacocke bi-
shop of Chichester vntowarde, of mine
owne power and will without anie ma-
ner coercion or dread, confesse and knowledg that I
here, before this time, presuming of my naturall
wit, and preferring my iudgement and naturall rea-
son before the new and the old testament, and the au-
thorities & determination of our mother holie church,
haue held, written and taught other wise than the ho-
lie Romane and vniuersall church teacheth, preach-
eth, or obserueth. And one is against the true catho-
like and apostles faith, I haue written, taught, and
published manie & diuerse perillous doctrines, bookes,
woorks, and writings, containing heresies and er-
rors, contrarie to the faith catholike, and determina-
tion of holie church; and speciallie these heresies

and errors following, that is to saie in particular.

In primis, quod non est de necessitate fidei credere quod do-
minus noster Iesus Christus post mortem descendit ad inferos.

Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis credere in sancto-
rum communionem.

Item, quod ecclesia vniuersalis potest errare in his que
sunt fidei.

Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis credere & tenere
illud, quod consilium generale & vniuersale ecclesia statuit,
approbat, seu determinat in fauorem fidei, & ad salutem ani-
marum, est ab vniuersis Christi fidelibus approbandum & te-
nendum.

Wherefore I miserable sinner, which here before
long time haue walked in darkenesse, and now by
the mercie and infinit goodnesse of God reduced into
the right waie, and light of truth, and considering my
selfe greuouslie haue sinned and wickedlie haue in-
formed and infected the people of God, retorne and
come againe to the vnitie of our mother holie church,
and all heresies and errors written and contained in
my said bookes, woorks and writings, here solemnlie
and openlie reuoke & renounce. Which heresies and
errors, and all other spices of heresies I haue before
this time before the most reuerend father in God, and
my god lord of Cantuarburie, in diuerse and lawfull
foirne iudiciallie abjured, submitting my selfe, being
then and also now at this time verie contrite and pe-
nitent sinner, to the correction of the church and of my
said lord of Cantuarburie.

And ouer this, exhorting & requiring in the name
& vertue of almighty God, in the saluation of your
soules and mind, that no man hereafter glue faith
and credence to my said pernicious doctrines, heres-
ies and errors; neither my said bookes keepe, hold, or
read in anie wise; but that they all such bookes, woorks,
and writings suspect of heresies, deliuer in all god-
lie hast vnto my said lord of Cantuarburie, or to his
commissioners and deputies, in escheewing of manie
inconueniences and great perils of soules, the which
else might be cause of the contrarie. And ouer this
declaration of my conuersion and repentance, I
here openlie assent, that my said bookes, woorks, and
writings, for declaration and cause aboue rehearsed,
be deputed vnto the fire, and openlie burnt in exan-
ple and terror of all other, &c.

After this, he was deprived of his bishopricke, ha-
ving a certeine pension assigned vnto him for to liue
on in an abbey, and some after died. His bookes were
intituled: 1 Of christian religion, and a booke pertain-
ing therevnto. 2 Of matrimonie. 3 Just expresse
of holie scripture, diuided into three parts. 4 The
donet of christian religion. 5 The follower of the do-
net. 6 The booke of faith. 7 The booke filling the
fourtables. 8 The booke of worshipping. 9 The
prouoker of christian men. 10 The booke of counsell.

In the moneth of Januarie died the earle of De-
nonthire in the abbey of Abindon, poisoned (as men
saie) being there at that time with quene Margaret,
to appeale the malice betwene the yong lordes, whose
fathers were slaine at saint Albons, and they that
held with the duke of York. The thirtieth of April
there was a great fraie in Fleetstreet, betwene men
of court and the inhabitants of the same street, in
which fraie the quenes attornie was slaine. For this
fact the king committed the principall gouernours
of Furniuals, Clifforde, and Barnardis to prison
in the castell of Iperford; and William Catesber-
man of that ward, with manie other were sent to
Windsoze castell the seventh of Maie. On Thursday
in Whitsunteweke, the duke of Summerfet with An-
thoine Rivers and other fours kept iustices before the
quene in the Tower of London, against three el-
quiers of the quenes. And in like maner at Greene-
wich

The p[er]sons of
the realm
called to a
matie.

The p[ro]vi-
dence of the
cite for safe-
gard of peace.

The lords are
brought to a
graue.

The clergie
were sure in
most daies to
lose nothing

with the sunbete following.]

King Henrie and his counsell, perceiving the duke of York late still and stirred not, returned to London, and there called a great counsell, openly declaring both the French and Scots (imbolned by the civil discord within this realme) attempted to annoy the same, as of late they had thewed apparant tokens, and likeli not ceasse upon occasions to do further displeasures, till a perfect concord were concluded betwene him and his friends, and those of the contrarie part and confederacie. And to the intent that he would be the cheefe author of peace, he promised of his dignitie to intertaine the duke of York and his friends, that all old grudges should be not onlie inwardlie forgotten, but also outwardlie forgiven, which should be cause of perpetuall love and assured amitie.

This devise was of all men judged for the best. Whereupon diverse grane persons were sent to the duke of York, and all other the great estates of the realme, who since the battell of saint Albons never met nor communed together, commanding them for great causes to repaire to the kings court without delay. At his commandement came to London Richard duke of York, with foure hundred men, and was lodged at Baimards castell being his owne house; and after him came the earle of Salisbury with five hundred men, and was likewise lodged at his owne house called the Herbour. Then came the dukes of Gresseur and Summerfet with eight hundred men, and were lodged without Temple barre; and the earle of Northumberland, the lord Egremond, and the lord Clifford came with fiftene hundred men, and lodged without the citie. The earle of Warwike also came from Calis with six hundred men in red sackets, imbodered with white ragged staves behind and before, and was lodged at the grate friers.

Thus were all those of the one part lodged within the citie, and those of the other without, in Holborne towards Westminister, and in other places of the suburbs, all upon wise consideration: for that the York faction and the Lancastrians could not well have bene mingled without danger of discord. After that these lordes were thus come unto London, the king and the queene shortly followed, comming thither the seventeenth daie of March, and lodged in the bishops palace. Because no riotous attempt or bickering should be begun betwene any of the parties of their retinues, the maiors and aldermen of the citie kept great watch, as well by daie as by night, riding about the citie by Holborne, and Fleetstreet, with five thousand men well armed and arrayed, to see good order and peace on all sides kept.

The lordes which lodged within the citie held a baillie counsell at blacke friers: the other part sojourning without the walles, assembled likewise in the chapter house at Westminister. At length by the diligent travell and good exhortation of the archbishop of Canturburie, and other prelates; both parties were persuaded to come to communication, and so did. Where, after long debating of grievances on both sides, they promising to forget all old rancors, and to be friends each to other, & both obedient to the king, were accorded by award, wherof writings were sealed, signed, and delivered to effect as followeth.

The award made at Westminister
on the three and twentieth of March,
Anno regni regis 36.



First, that at the costs, charges, and expenses of the duke of York, the earles of Warwike, and Salisbury, fourtie & five pounds of peacelie rent should be

assured by waile of a mortification for ever, unto the monastrie of S. Albons, for suffrages and obits to be kept, and almes to be imploied for the soules of Edmund late duke of Summerfet, Henrie late erle of Northumberland, and Thomas late lord Clifford late slain in the battell of saint Albons, and buried in the abbey church, and also for the soules of all other slain in the same battell. The said duke of Summerfet, the earle of Northumberland, and lord Clifford, by vertue of the same award, were declared for true and faithfull liegemen to the king, and so to be holden and reputed in the date of their deaths, as well as the said duke of York, the earles of Warwike and Salisbury.

Moreover it was decreed, that the duke of York should give to Glenor duchesse of Summerfet, and to Henrie duke of Summerfet his sonne, the summe of five thousand markes of good assignements of debts, which the king ought him for his wages, due during the time of his service in Ireland, to be divided as the king should thinke convenient, betwixt the brethren & sisters of the said duke of Summerfet. Also that the earle of Warwike should give unto the lord Clifford, the summe of a thousand markes, in good and sufficient assignements of debts, which the king ought him, to be distributed betwixt the said lord Clifford his brethren and sisters.

Also where Thomas Percie knight, lord Egremond, and Richard Percie his brother, sonnes of the ladie Glenor countesse of Northumberland, had been in a sessions holden within the countie of York before Richard Bingham, and Rafe Pole the kings iustices and other commissioners, condemned unto the earle of Salisbury in the summe of eight thousand markes; and to the same earle, and to his wife Alice in the summe of five thousand markes; and to Thomas Percie knight, son to the said earle of Salisbury, in the summe of a thousand markes; and to the said Thomas and spawd his wife, in the summe of two thousand markes; and to John Percie knight, sonne to the said earle of Salisbury, in the summe of eight hundred markes: for transgressions and trespasses there found to be done by the said lord Egremond, and Richard his brother, unto the said earle of Salisbury, Alice, Thomas Percie, spawd and John Percie, as by the record appeared.

It was ordeined, that the said earle and his sonnes should release all the said summes of monie, and the executions thereof, and likewise release unto Rafe Werneie, and John Steward late thiriffes of London, unto whose custody the said lord Egremond had bene for the same condemnations committed, and from them escaped, all actions which they or any of them might have against the said Werneie and Steward for the same escape. Yet it was decreed by this award, that the said lord Egremond should be bound by recognisance in the Chancerie, to keepe the peace toward the said erle and his wife, children, servants, and tenants.

Also where diverse knights, esquires, and other servants and tenants to the said earle of Northumberland, and to the said lord Egremond, were by their severall obligations bound, by occasion of the said debates, unto the said duke of York, earle of Salisbury, or any of their children, to stand to their order and gouvernement; it was ordeined that the same obligations should be delivered to them that so stood bound, before the feast of saint Peter ad vincula next ensuing at the citie of York; or else that the parties so bound, should have sufficient acquittances in discharge of the same obligations.

It was further awarded, that all variances, discords, debates, controuersies, appeales, and actions personals, that were or had bene betwixt any of the

by these contentions how soener the xxvjth went.

The lord Egremond.

They were thiriffes, and 1456.

The parties of the realme called to a match.

The promise of the citie for safety of peace.

quodam die clare.

The lordes are brought to a agreement.

ing to the effect of the award.

The clergy were sure in the award to lose nothing.

the said persons, or any of their servants, or tenants, should be for ever determined & ended, saving to euerie one his title, action and right, which he had by any evidence of arreages of rents or seruices, accounts, detinues, or debts due by reason of anie lawfull contract or deed, had and made for anie reasonable considerations, other than the variance before said.

And for the more assurance of both parties, it was ordeined that either should release to other all manner of actions, that were mere personals and appeales, which anie of them might haue against the other, by reason of the variances and discords before mentioned.

Also it was decreed, that if anie action, sute or quarrell chanced betwixt anie of the servants or tenants of anie of the parties, for matter or title supposed to be had, occasioned or moued before this time; that from thenceforth, none of the said parties should mainteine, support, or aid any of them that will so sue and moue strife and debate: but should rather so deale, as the matter may be brought to peace and quietnesse.

It was further awarded, that if anie man complained, pretended, or surmised, that this award was not kept, but in some point broken by anie of the parties, for the which breach he would haue a Scire facias, or some other action prosecuted in the kings name vpon anie recognisance made to the king for the performance of this award: yet should not the same Scire facias or action be prosecuted, till the kings counsell might be thoroughlie certified of the matter by the complainant, and vpon consideration see iust cause why the same Scire facias, or action ought to be had and prosecuted in the kings name.

And if anie variance rose betwixt the counsell of both the parties in making of the recognisances, releases, acquittances, or other writings; the same variance should be determined by the two lordes chiefe iustices, that should be fullie instructed of the kings intention in this behalfe.

And besides this, it was notified and declared by the same award, that the parties being severallie bound in the Chancerie in great sums to obeis and performe this award, ordinance & iudgement made by the king; it was the kings will and pleasure, that the same recognisances should stand in force, and no parcels of the summes therein contained to be pardoned in anie wise, without the agreement and consent of the parties, for whose assurance the same recognisance was taken.

And if anie of the said summes, or anie parcell thereof should be recovered by action or execution taken and prosecuted in the kings name, vpon anie of the said recognisances; the parties to whose hinderance the award was broken, should haue the one halfe of the monie so recovered; and the other moitie should be assigned to the treasurer of the kings house. This ordinance, award and agreement, was giuen by vnder the kings great scale, at the kings palace of Westminister, the foure and twentieth daie of March in the six and thirtieth yeare of his reigne.

For the open publishing of this iustfull agreement, there was (vpon our ladie daie in March) a solemne procession celebrated within the cathedrall church of saint Paulie in London, at the which the king was present in habit roiall, with his crowne on his head. Before him went hand in hand the duke of Summerset, the earle of Salisburie, the duke of Excester, and the earle of Warwicke; and so one of the one faction, and another of the other: and behind the king the duke of Boke, and the queene with great familiaritie in apperance leading hand in hand. But what shall be said: As goodlie apples corrupted at coze,

(how faire coated so euer they seeme) can neuer be made to become sound againe: no rotten walles new plaistered without, can euer the more staie their moldering inward, till the putrified matter first through the crumble all in the mire: so fared it on all parts in this dissembled and counterfet concord. For after this apparant peace (but inward discord) diuerse of the nobles smallie regarding their honours, forgot their oth, and brake their promise holdie.

Not long after this, of pretended purpose (as it was thought) a fraie was made vpon a yeoman of the earle of Warwicke, by one of the kings seruants, in the which the assailant was sore hurt; but the earles man fled: wherevpon the kings meniall seruants, seeing their fellow hurt, and the offender escaped, assembled together and watched the earle, when he returned from the counsell chamber toward his barge, and suddenly set on him, the yeomen with swords, the blackegard with spits and sic-forks. After long fight, and manie of the earles men mained and hurt, by helpe of his frends he gat a wherrie, and so escaped to London. The queene aduertised hereof, incontinentlie commanded that he should be apprehended and committed to the tower, where (if he had bene taken) he had shortly ended his daies.

By this unhappie fraie, there arose anon after such trouble and terrible warre, that the whole realme was thereby disquieted. For after this displeasure done to the earle, and the queens good mind towards him by his secret frends reuealed; he with all diligence toke his iourne to Warwicke, and after into Bokehire, where he found the duke of Boke, and the earle of Salisburie, declaring vnto them the assault made vpon him by the kings seruants, and the pretended euill purpose of the queene. After which complaint made, he fearing to be dispossessed of his rhome at Calis, with great speed imbarked himselfe and sailed thither. He was not onelie deputie or lieutenant of Calis, but also high admerall of the seas, which office was to him confirmed for the space of five yeares. Wherevpon, whether before his arrival now at Calis, or shortly after, I cannot say; but this yeare about the middell of summer, the said earle, hauing with him a foureteene well appointed ships, sailed abroad to scowze the seas, and by chance met with five great ships, whereof three were caraks of Genoa, and the other two were of Spaine, bigger in heighth and length than the caraks.

The earle, though he was scarce able to deale against them, yet he valiantlie incountred them. There was a verie sore and long continued battell fought betwixt them, for it lasted almost the space of two daies. Yet in the end the victorie fell to the English, so that two of those ships being forced to saue themselves by flight, the other three were taken, which the earle brought vnto Calis, with all the merchandise aboard the same; the value whereof in wine, oile, war, iron, cloth of gold, and other riches, was esteemed to the summe of ten thousand pounds & above. By reason whereof, that was sold now for twelue pence, which would not haue bene bought before for two shillings. There were taken a great number of prisoners, beside a thousand of the enemies slaine in fight. Of the earles part there were fiftie slaine. The earles fame hereby increased not a little, and manie a blessing he had for this pece of seruice.

The noble science of Printing was about this time found in Germanie at Magunze by one John Guttembergus a knight: one Conradus an Almaine brought it into Rome: William Carton of London mercer brought it into England about the yeare 1471: and first practised the same in the abbey of saint Peter at Westminister; after which time it was likewise practised in the abbies of S. Augustine at

A solemne
procession at
Paulies.
1459

Anno Reg. 37.
W. P.

An.Reg
trained
and

Anno Reg. 38.

The earle of
Salisburie
gathereth a
power.

Three thousand
and fiftie
Whithamsted

The lord
Tudor.

Excessus
calice.

Whithamsted

Whithamsted

The 23 of
September.

Whithamsted
times past

Whithamsted

Whithamsted

Whithamsted

The 23 of September.

In the morning earlie, being the date of saint Teocle, he caused his souldiers to throt their flights towards the lord Audelies compagne, which late on the other side of the said water, and then he and all his people made a signe of retreat. The lord Audelie, supposing his aduerfaries had fled in deed, caused his trumpets quicklie to blow vp, and setting forth his boward, speedilie passed the water. The earle of Salubric, which knew the sleights of warlike policie, suddenly returned, and set vpon the lord Audelie and his chiefe captaine, per the residue of his armie could passe the water. The fight was soze and bradfull. The earle desiring the sauing of his life, and his aduerfaries coueting his destruction, fought soze for the obtaining of their purpose: but in conclusion, the earles armie, as men not looking for other succours

Deuote off
and passeth
here.

When the bishop was come vnto them, and had declared his message, they first withdrew themselves apart, and fell together in counsell: and after they gaue answer by the mouth of the erle of Warwicke.

Whethamsted
The bishop of
Salisbury
sent to y^e duke
of York and
others.

1 Abr. Fl. ex l.S.
 1 pag. 686, 687.
 1 Printing and
 1 executed.

Their answer
touching the
pardon offered.

which consisted in three points. First, that as concerning the pardon, they durst not trust unto it, considering they had diuerse pardons before, and the same confirmed by parlement, and yet nothing available to their assurance. Secondlie, that notwithstanding such pardons, those that were about the king, were presumptuous and unruly, that they cared not at all to breake the kings commandments, nor were any thing abashed to be noted for the breach thereof.

Thirdlie, although by law of the land, and right of the statute, euery lord by vertue of the kings writ, being called to the parlement, ought safelie to come, safelie there to remaine, and safelie to depart and returne home: this notwithstanding, the said earle of Warwike himselfe, at a certeine councill holden at Westminster, by vertue of the kings writ of priuie seale, being there in person, & labouring to his knowledge to giue good aduise and counsell for the profit of the common-wealth, was yet in danger of death, if the Lord above had not the better provided for his escape, moze than anie humane power or force of the kings pardon. For the which cause (quoth he) sith the kings pardon maie be likened in these daies to a buckler of glasse, or to a staffe of reed, in which is no trust, we dare not commit our selues unto the defence of anie such pardons. But if anie other waie might be deuised for their suerties, whereunto they might safelie trust (he said) they were ready to come to his grace, and to sue for his fauour.

A letter from
the lords to
the king.

The king receiuing such answer in these words, or other to the like effect, was nothing contented therewith, and so commanded his standards estioners to aduance. But yet before he came nere to the place where they were incamped, the said lords wrote to him a letter in their owne circule, professing they meant no harme in the world against his person, as by their demoraies and proceedings it might well appeare, who had euer fled & withdrawn themselves from place to place, from towne to towne, from village to village, and from countie to countie. Which might serue for an euident token, that they sought for nothing but onelie their owne safegards & quietnesse of the realme, with so much fauour, as in good and safe suertie they might come to his presence, to declare certeine things which in their opinions might turne to the wealth of the realme: and further to make answer to all things that had bene objected against them. And now (said they) we are here remaining in the uttermost parts of the land (that is) in the marches towards Wales, not farre from Ludlow, not upon anie presumptuous meaning, but rather in all humble lowlinesse of mind and bodie to abide his graces comming: which they besought of God might be in some peaceable manner and fauorable in their behalves.

A proclama-
tion.

The king hauing receiued this letter, and coniecturing that some bitter meaning laie vnder so sweet a speech, commanded his armie againe to march forth; and comming within halfe a mule of the aduersaries campe, pitched downe his field, and forthwith caused proclamation to be made, that who so euer of his aduersaries would giue ouer his lewd begun enterprise, and repaire to his presence to sue for mercie, he would pardon him of all offenses. This proclamation, comming to the vnderstanding of them in the duke of Yorkes host, caused a great number that were there with him against the king, to get abate & come to the kings side. Whereouer, there rose among the residue great murmuring: so as they seemed verie like to grow to a greuous mutinie.

Andrew
Trollop was chiefe,
who with the
other Califfians, which had long serued the king, and
liued a long time by his wages, perceiuing now that

they should fight against their soueraine lord himselfe (whose true subject they esteemed before that time the earle of Warwike euer to haue bene, and in no wise his enimie) in the dead of the night before the daie of the battell secretlie departed from the dukes campe, and submitted themselves to the king, aduising him of all things deuised against him. Whereof part was, that the duke of York by his expert capteins appointed vpon a waie how to set vpon his enimies, & easilie to discomfit them; so as on the next morning he meant to haue assailed the king and his people, yet they could haue bene readie or warie of his comming.

But now by the going awaie thus of his capteins and people, that purpose was disappointed. And Andrew Trollop thus departed, he was now as much discomfited, as before by trust in him he was encouraged: for all his counsell and purpose by Andrew disclosed, he thought it better for him & his to depart in suertie, than to abide the imminent danger. Whereupon he with his yonger sonne Edmund earle of Rutland, secretlie fled into Wales, and so passed into Ireland, where he was with all joy and honour gladielie receiued, all the Irish offering to liue and die with him; as if they had bene his liege subjects, and he their lord and prince naturallie boine.

The earle of March sonne and heire apparant to the said duke, accompanied with the earles of Salisburie and Warwike, and sir John Menlocke, got awaie the same night, and came into Denonshire: where, by the meanes of John Dinham esquier (which after was high tresuroer of England, in the daies of king Henrie the seauenth) they bought a ship which cost a hundred and ten marks at Cernmouth, and sailed into Cerneseie, after came to Calis, where being let in at the posterne, they were iustlicke welcomed of their friends, namelie of sir William Beruill lord Fauconbridge, that was the earle of Warwikes uncle, and brother to the earle of Salisburie, who had the towne and castell in keeping. All these being assembled cast their heads together, and euery one seuerallie had his deuise for the perfecting of their purpose, whereto there wanted in them neither will nor hardinesse.

But now to returne to the king. When in the morning he was aduertised that the duke of York and his partakers were fled and gone, he caused all his horsemen to follow them; although in vaine: for they were got farre enough out of danger (as before ye haue heard.) The king pardoned all the poore soldiers, saving certeine ringleaders, of the which some he punished and fined, and some he hanged and quartered. After this he remoued to Ludlow, and there brake vp his host, and spoiling the towne and castell, he sent the duchesse of York with hir two yong sonnes to be kept in ward with the duchesse of Buckingham hir sister. This done, he proclaimed these lords, traitors to him, enimies to their countie, and rebels to the crowne, confiscating their lands, goods, and offices: and committed the gouernance of the north parts to the earle of Northumberland, and to the lord Clifford, as to his trustie and most faithfull friends, & of his towne of Calis he made capteine Henrie the new duke of Summerfet.

This duke retorsing much in his new office, chose forth diuerse valiant and hardie souldiers, and with great pompe hostilie after toke the seas, and sailed towards Calis. But when he thought to haue entered the haven, the artillerie shot so hotlie, both out of the towne, and from Risebanke, that he suffering there a fore repulse, was faine to land at Whitlandbaie; and sent word to the capteins of the towne to receiue him as the kings lieutenant, shewing to them his letters patents. But neither he nor his

Whitland

The estimation
of Andrew
Trollop was
lost. The duke
of Yorkes
complaints.

John Din-
ham.

The lord Ri-
vers taken.

John Stow.

Abt. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 62.
1460
The duke
of Yorkes
complaints.

Abt. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 68, 69,
67, 69.

The lords
proclaimed
traitors.

The duke of
Summerfet
made capteine
of Calis.

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writing was once regarded: and so of necessity he resorted to the castell of Guisnes, daile statmishing with the garrison of Calis, more to his losse than gaine. Diuerse of the mariners of those ships that went ouer with him, after his arriuall, owing more good will to the earle of Warwike than to this yong duke, conuied their ships into the haven of Calis, and in them diuerse of the earle of Warwikes enemies, as Jamin Findill, John Felow, and diuerse others, the which being presented unto the earle of Warwike, he caused their heads forthwith to be stricken off.

Shortlie after, Richard lord Riuers, and sir Anthony Wodville his valiant sonne that was after lord Seales, accompanied with foure hundred warlike persons, were appointed to passe ouer to Guisnes, to aid the duke of Summeriset against his aduersaries, which late in Calis. But as they sojourned at Sandwich abiding for wind and weather to transport them ouer, the earles of March and Warwike had knowledge thereof, and sent John Dinham with a small number of men (but a multitude of valiant hearts) unto the towne of Sandwich, which suddenly entered the same, and toke the lord Riuers and his sonne also in their beds, robbing houses, and spoiling ships. And beside this, they toke the principall ships of the kings nauie, and had them alwaie with them to Calis (one excepted called *Grace de Dieu* which might not be had alwaie because she was broken in the bottome) and there presented them to the earle of March, of whome he was iustfullie receiued. For though in the fight he was sore hurt & malined in the leg, so as he halted euer after, yet he bare himselfe so worthilie in that enterpryse, that his praise was great amongst all men.

¶ Sir Baldwine Fulkord undertooke on paine of losing his head, that he would destroye the earle of Warwike: but when he had spent the king a thousand marks in monie, he returned againe. After this god fortune thus chanced to the lords, diuerse of the best ships taken in the haven of Sandwich, were well vittelled and manned, and with them the earle of Warwike sailed into Ireland, to common with the duke of Poike of their great affaires and businessse. The weather and wind were so fauourable to the earles purpose, that within lesse than thirtie daies he passed and repassed from Calis to Dublin, and backe againe.

The duke of Ercester, being chiefe admerall of the sea, late in the west countie, and durst not once meddle with the earle of Warwikes nauie, as he came by; by reason of the mistrust which he had in the captains and mariners of his owne nauie: who by their murmuring well shewed that they wished the earle of Warwikes good successe. ¶ But here is to be remembred, that after the great discomfiture of the lords (as before you haue heard) and proclamation made against them as traitors, the duke of Poike and the earles of Salisburie and Warwike had conference; and thereupon concluded with one assent, to write a letter excusatorie (supposing thereby to salve up the force) in all their names to the king: and so did, as followeth.

A copie of the said letter excusatorie written by the said duke and earles.



Most christian king, right high and mightie prince, and our most dread soueraigne lord, after as humble recommendations to your high excellencie as will suffice. Our true intent to the prosperitie and augmentation of your high estate, and to the common-weale of

this realme, hath bene shewed vnto your highnesse in such writing as we make thereof. And ouer that, an indenture signed by our hands in the church cathedraall of Worcester, comprehending the proofe of the truth and dutie that (God knoweth) we beare to your said estate, and to the preheminance and prerogatiue thereof, we sent vnto your god grace by the prior of the said church, and diuerse other doctors, and among other, by maister William Linwood doctor of diuinitie, which ministred vnto vs severallie the blessed sacrament of the bodie of Iesus, whereupon we and euerie of vs deposed for our said truth and dutie, according to the tenor of the said indenture.

And since that time we haue certified at large in writing and by mouth, by Carter king of armes, not onelie to your said highnesse, but also to the god and worthy lords being about your most noble presence, the largenesse of our said truth and dutie, and our intent and disposition, to search all the motions that might serue conuenientlie to the affirmation thereof, and to our perfect suerties from such inconuenient and vnruegent leopordies as we haue bene put in diuerse times here before. Whereof we haue cause to make, and ought to make such exclamation and complaint, not without reason, as is not vnknown to all the said worthy lords, and to all this land; and will offer vs to your high presence, to the same intent, if we might so do, with our said suertie, which onelie causeth vs to keepe such fellowship as we do in our lawfull manner.

And hereto we haue forborne, and auoided all things that might serue to the effusion of christian blood, of the dread that we haue of God, and of your roiall maiestie: and haue also eschued to approach your said most noble presence, for the humble obsequance and reuerence wherein we haue, and during our life will haue the same. And yet neuer thelesse we heare, that we be proclaimed and defamed in our name vnrighthie, vnlawfullie, and (saining your high reuerence) vnrulie, and otherwise (as God knoweth) than we haue giuen cause; knowing certeinlie, that the blessed and noble intent of your said god grace, and the righteounesse thereof is, to take, repute, and accept your true and lawfull subiects; and that it accordeth neither with your said intent, nor with your will or pleasure, that we should be otherwise taken or reputed. And ouer that, our lordships and tenants bene of high violence robbed and spoiled, against your peace and lawes, and all righteounesse.

¶ We therfore, as we suffice, beseech your said god grace, to take, repute, and reueue therevnto our said truth and intent, which to God is knowne, as we shew it by the said tenor of the same indenture. And not applie your said blessednesse, ne the great righteounesse and equitie wherewith God hath euer indured your high nobilitie, to the importune impatience and violence of such persons, as intend of extream malice to proceed vnder the shadow of your high might and presence) to our destruction, for such inordinate couetise (whereof God is not pleased) as they haue to our lands, offices, and goods, not letting or sparing therefore, to put such things in all lamentable and too sorrowfull leopordie, as might in all wise take effect, by the myserie of Gods will and power.

¶ Not hauing regard to the effusion of christian blood, ne anie tendernesse to the noble blood of this land, such as serue to the tuition and defense thereof, ne not waling the losse of your true liege men of your said realme, that God defend, which knoweth our intent, and that we haue auoided therefrom as farre as we may with our suerties; not of anie dread that we haue of the said persons, but onelie of the dread of God and of your said highnesse, and will not vse our said defense vntill the time that we be prouoked

hed of necessitie, whereof we call heauen and earth vnto witnesse and record, and therein beseech God to be our iudge, and to deliuer vs according to our said intent, and our said truth & dutie to your said highnesse, and to the said common-weale.

Post christian king, right high and mightie prince, and most dread soueraigne lord, we beseech our blessed Lord to preferue your honour and estate in ioy and felicitie. Written at Ludlow the tenth daie of October: R. Yorke, R. Warwike, R. Salisburie.

A parlement at Couentre.

Duke of Yorke and others attained.

Ludlow spoiled.

Whethamsted.

The kings inclination to mercie.

Abr. Fl.

Ouid. de Ponto. lib. 1.

Olbert Pontford esquier saith Whethamsted, who should also haue gone ouer to Gennes with five hundred soldiers to the aid of the duke of Summerset. The lord Fauconbridge was chiefe of this enterprise saith Whethamsted. Chriene beheaded at once.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 692, 693.

During this time the king called a parlement in the citie of Couentre, which began the twentieth of September, in the which were attainted of high treason, Richard duke of Yorke, Edward erle of March his sonne and heire, Richard earle of Warwike, Edmund earle of Rutland, Richard earle of Salisburie, John lord Clifford, lord Clinton, sir Thomas Harrington, sir John Wenlock, Thomas Peuill & John Peuill sons of the earle of Salisburie, James Pickeering, John Coniers, Thomas Par, William Oldhall, and Henrie Katford knights; John Bowser, Thomas Coke, John Claie, Richard Citon, Robert Wolone, Edward Bowser, Thomas Naughan, John Roger, Richard Greie, Walter Deuoreur, Walter Hopton, Roger Hinderton, Will. Bowes, Foulke Stafford, the lord Polwis, and Alice countesse of Salisburie, their goods and possessions escheated, and their heires disherited vnto the ninth degree, their tenants spoiled of their goods, maimed and slaine; the towne of Ludlow, belonging to the duke of Yorke, was robbed to the bare wals, & the dutches of Yorke spoiled of his goods.

But (saith another) when the king should come to giue his consent vnto the acts passed in the same parlement, and that the clerke of the parlement had read that statute of the attainder of those lords; such was the kings modestie and great zeale vnto mercie, that he caused a prouiso to be put in, and added vnto the same statute, that it might be lawfull vnto him at all times fullie without authoritie of anie other parlement, to pardon the same noble men, and restore them againe to their former estates, degrees, and dignities in all things, so they would come in vnto him, and in the spirit of humblenesse beseech him of grace and fauour. Wherein the king gaue euident testimonie, that he was indued with those qualities of mind which the poet ascribed vnto Cesar (namelie slow to punish, & sad when he was constrained to be seuerer; with the one commended his lenitie, the other fauoured of tyrannye) in this distichon of like termination:

*Est piger ad poenas princeps, ad premia velox,
Cuiq; dolet quousq; cogitur esse ferax.*

Herewith also order was taken for the defense of the heuens & landing places alongst the sea coasts. Sir Simon Pontford, with a great crew of men, was appointed to keepe the downes, and the five ports; and all men passing into Flanders were vpon paine of death prohibited to passe by Calis, lest the lords there should borrow of them anie prest monie, as they did latelie before of the merchants of the staple the summe of eightene thousand pounds. The lords were not ignorant of all the kings provisions made against them, but were ascertained daillie what was done euen in the kings priue chamber: wherefore first they sent a companie to Sandwich vnder the gouernance of the lord Fauconbridge, who took the towne, & sir Simon & Olbert Pontford within it, and sent him with all his mates to Calis, where incontinentlie he with twelue of his chiefe fellows lost their heads on the sand before Kisse-banke.

The earles at Calis sent to the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the commons of England at large

certaine articles in writing, beginning thus: We the duke of Yorke, the earles of March, Warwike, and Salisburie, such and offered to haue come to the king our soueraigne lords most noble presence, to haue declared there afore him for our dutie to God and to his highnesse, and to the prosperitie and welfare of his noble estate, and to the common-weale of all his land as true liege men, the matters following.

Articles sent from the duke of Yorke, and the earles, to the archbishop of Canturburie and the commons.



In primis, the great oppression, extortion, robbrie, murder, and other violences done to Gods church, and to his ministers thereof; against Gods and mans law.

Item, the pouertie and miserie that to our great heavinesse our soueraigne lord standeth in, not hauing anie liuelod of the crowne of England whereof he may keepe his honorable household, which causeth the spoiling of his said liege men by the tabers of his said household, which liuelod is in their hands that haue bene destroiers of his said estate, and of the said common-weale.

Item, how his lawes be parcialle and unrightfullie guided, and that by them that should most lone and tender his said lawes, the said oppression and extortion is most fauoured and supported; and generally, that all righteounesse and iustice is eriled out of the said land, and that no man dreads to offend against the said lawes.

Item, that it will please his said god grace to liue vpon his owne liuelod, wherevpon his noble progenitors haue in daies heretofore liued as honorable and as worthilie as anie christian princes, and not to suffer the destroiers of the said land, and of his true subiects, to liue therevpon, and therefore to lache the sustentances that should be belonging to his said estate, and: find his said household vpon his poore commons, without payment, which neither accordeth with Gods nor mans law.

Item, how oft the said commons haue bene greatlie and maruellouslie charged with taxes and tallages to their great impoverishing, whereof little good hath either growne to the king or to the said land, and of the most substance thereof the king hath lest to his part not halfe so much; and other lords and persons, enemies to the said common-weale, haue to their owne vse, suffering all the old possessions that the king had in France and Fozmandie, Anion and Haine, Calcoine and Guien, wone and gotten by his father of most noble memorie, and other his noble progenitors, to be shamefullie lost or sold.

Item, how they can not cease therewith, but now begin a new charge of imposition and tallages vpon the said people, which neuer afore was sente; that is to saie, euerie towneship to find men for the kings gard, taking example therein of our enemies and aduersaries of France. Which imposition & tallage, if it be continued to heire, heires, and successors, will be the heauiest charge and worst example that euer grew in England; and the foresaid subiects, and the said heires and successors in such bondage, as their ancestors were neuer charged with.

Item, where the king hath now no more liuelod out of his realme of England, but onelie the land of Irel and the towne of Calis, and that no king christened hath such a land and a towne without his realme; diuerse lords haue caused his highnesse to write letters vnder his priue seale, vnto his Iustices, which neuer king of England did heretofore,

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whereby they may haue comfort to enter into the conquest of the said land, which letters the same Jrrish enimies sent unto me the said duke of Porke, and maruelled greatlie that anie such letters should be to them sent, speaking therein great shame and villanie of the said realme.

8 Item, in like wise the king by exortation and labour of the same lordes, wrote other letters to his enimies and aduersaries in other lands, that in no wise they should thew anie fauour or good will to the towne of Calis, whereby they had comfort inough to proceed to the winning thereof. Considered also, that it is ordeined by the labour of the said lordes, that no where vittels nor other thing of refreshing or defense should come out of England, to the succour or reliefe of the said towne, to the intent that they would haue it lost, as it may openlie appeare.

9 Item, it is deemed and ought greatlie to be deemed, that after the same lordes would put the same rule of England, if they might haue their purpose and intent, into the hands and gouernance of the said enimies.

10 Item, how continuallie since the pitious, shamefull, and sorrowfull murder to all England, of that noble, worthy, and chistian prince Humfrie duke of Gloucester the kings true vnicle, at Burie, it hath bene laboured, studied, and conspired, to haue destroyed and murdered the said duke of Porke, and the issue that it pleased God to send me of the roiall blood, and also of vs the said earles of Marwike and Salisburie, for none other cause but for the true hart that (God knoweth) we euer haue borne, and beare to the profit of the kings estate, to the common-weale of the same realme, and defense thereof.

11 Item, how the earles of Shrewesburie and Willshire, and the lord Beaumont, our mortall and extreme enimies now, and of long time past, hauing the guiding about the most noble person of our said soueraine lord, whose highnesse they haue restrained & kept from the libertie & freedom that belongeth to his said estate, & the supporters & fauourers of all the promises, would not suffer the kings said good grace to rectue and accept vs, as he would haue done, if he might haue had his owne will, into his said presence, breaching the charge that would haue bene laid vpon them, of the miserie, destruction, and wretchednesse of the said realme, whereof they be causes, and not the king, which is himselfe as noble, as vertuous, as righteous and blessed of disposition, as a prince earthlie.

12 Item, the earles of Willshire and Shrewesburie, and the lord Beaumont, not satisfied nor content with the kings possessions and his goods, stirred and excited his said highnesse to hold his parlement at Conuentic, where an act is made by their prouocation and labour, against vs the said duke of Porke, my sonnes March and Rutland, and the earles of Marwike and Salisburie, and the sonnes of the said earle of Salisburie, & manie other knights and esquires of diuerse matters falselie and vntrolic imagined, as they will answer afore almightie God in the daie of dome; the which the said earles of Shrewesburie & Willshire, and the lord Beaumont prouoked to be made, to the intent of our destruction and of our suffering; and that they might haue our liuelod and goods, as they haue openlie robbed and despoiled all our places and our tenements, and manie other true men, and now proceed to hanging and drawing of men by tyrannie, and will therein thew the largenesse of their violence and malice as vengeable as they can, if no remedie be prouided at the kings highnesse, whose blessednesse is neither assenting nor knowing thereof.

Wherefore, seeing all the said mischieses, bea-

ring also that the French king maketh in his land great assemble of his people, which is greatlie to be dread for manie causes, purpose yet againe with Gods grace to offer vs to come againe to the said presence of our said soueraine lord, to open and declare vnto him there, the mischieses aboue declared; and in the name of the land to sue, in as reuerent and loiallie wise as we can, to his said good grace, to haue pittie and compassion vpon his said true subiects, and not to suffer the same mischieses to reigne vpon them. Requering you in Gods behalfe, and praesing you in our owne, therein to assist vs, doing alwaie the due tie of liege men in our persons to our soueraine lord, to his estate, prerogatiue, and preheminence, and to the suertie of his most noble person, whereunto we haue euer bene and will be as true as anie of his subiects aliue, thereof we call God, our labie saint Marie, and all the saints in heauen to witnesse.

10 In the meane time, the earle of Willshire treasurer of England, the lord Seales & the lord Hungerford went to Newberie, which belonged to the duke of Porke, and there made inquisition of all them that in anie wise had fauoured the said duke; whereof some were found guiltie, and were drawn, hanged, and quartered, and all the inhabitants of the towne were spoiled of their goods. From thence the earle of Willshire went to Southampton; where, vnder colour to take the earle of Marwike, he armed five great carracks of Fene with souldiers, taking vittels of the kings price without payment, and put a great part of his treasure into the said carracks, and after sailed about in the sea, and at last stole into Dutchland, sending backe againe his souldiers into England. When were the kings priuie seales directed to all bishops, abbats, priors, and other states, to lend the king monie, therewith to wage souldiers to keepe the sea coasts.]

40 After the kings nauie was gained, and his capteins (as before we haue heard) on the sea taken; the lordes being at Calis, being aduertised from the lord Fauconbridge (who after the taking of Pontford late still in Kent) that the people of that countrie and other parts were altogether bent in their fauour [and no lesse addited to do them seruice both with bodie and goods, than the Jrrishmen seemed to be at their receiving of the said duke of Porke, and his younger sonne Edmund earle of Rutland, whom they so highly honoured, that they offered to liue and die in their quarell] they conceived therevpon so great hope in their friends within the realme, that they determined to passe the sea, and therewith entring their ships with fiftene hundred men landed all at Sandwiche.

60 [But it is to be read in a late writer, that the commons of Kent dreading the like vengeance towards them, as fell vpon them of Newberie, sent priuie messengers to Calis to the foresaid earles, beseeching them in all hast possible to come to their succour. Wherevpon the said earles sent ouer into Kent the lord Fauconbridge, to know if their dees would accord with their words: so that anon the people of Kent and the other shires adioining, resorted to the said lord Fauconbridge in great number. Wherefore when the earles knew the willing hartes of those people, they prepared to come into this land. Against whose coming, a long ballet was fired vpon the gates of Canturburie, made in fauour of the duke of Porke and the said earles, beginning thus: In the daie of salt and spirituall affliction, the celestiaall influence of bodies transitorie, &c.]

Now as they passed through Kent, there came to them the lord Cobham, John Gifford, William Dech, Robert Horne, and manie other gentlemen; so that before they approached to London, their number

The earle of willshire and other spoiled Newberie.

The earle of willshire stole ouer the seas.

Priuie seales for monie.

Abr. Flem.

Abr. Fl. ex l. S. pag. 697.

The men of Kent sent to Calis for the earles.

Whereas it is 1460.

ber was esteemed above fourtie thousand fighting men, for the same of their landing being once knowne, gentlemen and yeomen resorted to them out of all the south parts of the realme. Upon which rumor, Thomas lord Scales, a man in great fauour with the king & queene, accompanied with the earle of Kendall a Calcoigne, and the lord Louell, resorted to London with a great companie of armed men, declaring to the maior, that their repaire onelie was to defend and keepe the citie from spoile of such traitors as the king was crediblie informed were thither comming. To whom the maior answered, that he needed no fellow helper, either to defend or gouerne the citie to him committed in charge. With which answer the lord Scales and his associates nothing contented, entred into the Tower, daile deuising waies how to grieue the citizens, whom he perceiued to fauour rather the duke of Yorks part, than the kings.

But shortly after the earles of March and Warwick, and other of their affinitie, came to London, and were of the maior and citizens so ouerly receiued, to whome resorted Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisburie, Chichester, with manie other prelates and religious persons: amongst whome also was the popes legat to treat of peace, if need so required. Upon good deliberation and aduise had and taken amongst these lords how to go forward with their weightie enterprise, the earles of March and Warwick, William lord Fauconberg, Henrie lord Bourchier, called earle of Eu, with a great number of men which came out of Kent, Essex, Surrie, and Suffex, to the number (as some writers affirme) of fine and twentie thousand persons, departed from London toward the king lieng at Couentrie, then called the queenes secret harbour, leaving behind them to keepe the Londoners in their promised friendship, the earle of Salisburie, the lord Cobham, and sir John Wentlocke, which took such order, and watched the gates and entries on each side so diligentlie, that no succours might come to the lord Scales lodging in the tower; who took there with such displeasure, that he shot out his great ordinance against them within the citie, and they likewise shot at him againe, to the hurt and no pleasure of both parts.

The king hauing knowledge of all these doings, assembled a great armie, and accompanied with the duke of Summerfet (latele come from Guines) and the duke of Buckingham, and diuerse other great lords that took his part, came to Portsmouth; where the queene perceiuing his puissance to be able to match in fight with the aduersaries, took upon him to encourage his friends and well-willers: for the king studied of nothing but of peace, quietnesse, and solitarie life. When the whole host of the kings part was assembled, the same issued forth of the towne, and passing ouer the riuer of Tine, lodged in the new field betwene Harington and Sandwiche, strongly fencing themselves about with high banks, and deepe trenches. On the other part, the lords being herewith aduanced verie nere the place where the kings people lay without Portsmouth; the bishops that were there with them, by the aduise and consent of the said lords, sent vnto the king the bishop of Salisburie, to vnderstand his mind, and to moue him vnto some treatie of peace, and to admit the archbishop of Canturburie, and the other bishops there present, to be mediators in the matter, that some good accord might be concluded betwixt the parties, so as an vniuersall peace might be restored in all parts through the whole realme.

The bishop of Salisburie doing this message not so circumspicallie as had bene conuenient, returned without bringing any towarde answer; but rather

words of high despite and bitter defiance. For the lords that were about the king, trusting in their warlike engines and strength of place, in which they were incamped, though otherwise inferior in number of men, purposed to abide the brunt of battell, and soled with the spirit of rashnesse, sent none other answer backe againe by the bishop, but contumacious words sounding greatlie to the reproch of their aduersaries; who being sore offended therewith, determined to seeke reuenge with dint of sword. The earle of March as then being in the floure of his lustie and most couragious youth, lieng betwixt Touceto and Portsmouth, determined to set on the kings armie without longer delay: and thereupon in the night season removed his campe toward Portsmouth, and in marching forward set his men in order of battell: whereof the banward was led by the earle of Warwick, which either by strength or stealth wan a streit which the lord Beaumont kept, going toward the kings campe; and herewith entering freshlie with his people, began the battell about seauen of the clocke the ninth daie of Iulie. After him followed the earle of March with the banner of his father. Others write, that the earle of March led the foreward, the earle of Warwick the middleward, and the lord Fauconberg the reerward.

Moreover, that Edmund lord Greie of Ruthen, who was on the kings side, failed in the trust committed to him: for where the enemies could not without great danger enter upon the kings campe, by reason of a mightie trench and rampire pight full of piles and sharpe stakes, wherewith the campe was compassed about: the said lord Greie came with his men, and with helping hands pulled the enemies up, and receiued them into the field, where the battell was begun with great force & violence. For being now entred the field, they set upon the kings people so fiercelie, that it seemed they ment either to obtaine the victorie, or to die for it, euen all the whole number of them. The fight continued right fierie and cruell, with vncertaine victorie, till the houre of nine: at which time the kings armie was discomfited, and of the same slaine and drowned in the river, few lesse than ten thousand; and the king himselfe left comfortlesse alone was taken by the aduersaries, as a man in great miserie.

At this battell fought at Portsmouth, were slaine Humfreie duke of Buckingham, John Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, a valiant person, and not degenerating from his noble parents, Thomas lord Egremont, John viscount Beaumont, and sir William Lucie, which made great loss to come to part of the fight, and at his first approach was stricken in the head with an ar. Besides these that were slaine, manie were taken prisoners, because they left their horses, alighting to fight on foot. The duke of Summerfet, and other, which narrowly escaped, fled with the queene and prince into the bishopricke of Durham. The earles, hauing got the victorie in this bloodie battell, conueied the king to London, and lodged him in the bishops palace. After whose comming to the citie, the Tower was deliuered to the earle of March, vpon a certaine composition; but the lord Scales suspecting the sequels of the deliuerie thereof, took a wherrie priuillie, intending to haue fled to the queene; but he was espyed by diuerse watermen belonging to the earle of Warwick (which waited for his coming on the Thames) and suddenly taken, was shortly slaine with manie darts & daggers, and his bodie left naked and all bloodie at the gate of the clinke, and after was buried in the church adjoining.

Then were diuerse persons apprehended, and indicted of treason, whereof some were pardoned, and some executed. Thomas Thorpe second baron of the clinke, her,

Concentrie the
queenes secret
harbour.

The queene
the better
captaine.

Whethamsted

The battell
at Portsmouth

Whethamsted

Anno Reg. 3

The A. G. of
Ruthen

Whethamsted
The duke of
Yorkes com-
muth fought
at Ireland.

Whethamsted

Edw. Hall.
The kings
part discom-
fited.

Strange
marriage of
the duke of
York

The A. G. of
Ruthen

His bold
speech.

The Tower
deliuered
to the earle of
March

The last
of the
clinke

The
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her, was committed to the Tower, where he remained long after, for that he was knowne to be great friend to the house of Lancaster. ¶ When queene Margaret heard that the la. was taken, the with hir sonne, and eight persons fled to the castell of Harbrough in Wales, and was robbed by the wale in Lancashire of all hir goods, to the value of ten thousand markes: from thence she went into Scotland. Thus you see what fruits the tree of ciuill discord doth bring forth; that euill tree, which whilest some haue taken paine to plant, and some to pzoine and nourish, for others confusion (to whom they haue giuen a taste of those apples which it bare, far more bitter than colquintida) themselves haue bene forced to take such share as befell them by lot. ¶ For as it is not possible that a comon tier, whose heat & flame is vniuersallie spread, should spare any particular place (for so should it not be generall) no more is it likelie that in ciuill commotions, rebellions, insurrections, and partakings in conflicts and pitched fields (speciallie vnder ringleaders of great countenance and personage, such as be the peres and states of kingdoms) anie one should, though perhaps his life, yet a thousand to one; not saue his bloud vnspilt, nor his goods vnspolled. ¶ During this trouble, a parlement was summoned to begin at Westminster, in the moneth of October next following.

In the meane time the duke of Booke, aduertised of all these things, sailed from Dublin towards England, and landed at the red banke nere to the citie of Chester, with no small companie: and from Chester by long iournies he came to the citie of London, which he entred the fridaie before the feast of S. Edward the Confessor, with a sword borne naked before him, with trumpets also sounding, and accompanied with a great traine of men of armes, and other of his friends and seruants. At his comming to Westminster he entred the palace, and passing forth directly through the great hall, staied not till he came to the chamber, where the king and lords used to sit in the parlement time, comonlie called the vpper house, or chamber of the peres, and being there entred, stepped vpon the throne roiall, and there laung his hand vpon the cloth of estate, seemed as if he meant to take possession of that which was his right (for he held his hand so vpon that cloth a good while) and after withdrawing his hand, turned his face towards the people, beholding their preassing together, and marking what countenance they made.

Whilest he thus stood and beheld the people, supposing they reioiced to see his presence, the archbishop of Canturburie (Thomas Bourcher) came to him, & after due salutations, asked him if he would come and see the king. With which demand he seeming to take disdain, answered basefelie, and in few wordes thus: I remember not that I know anie within this realme, but that it befletheth him rather to come and see my person, than I to go and see his. The archbishop hearing his answer, went backe to the king, and declared what answer he had receiued of the dukes owne mouth. After the archbishop was departed to the king that laie in the queenes lodging, the duke also departed, and went to the most principall lodging that the king had within all his palace, bearing vpon the lockes and doores, and so lodged himselfe therein, more like to a king than a duke, continuing in the same lodging for a time to the great indignation of manie, that could not in anie wise like of such presumptuous attempts made by the duke, to thrust himselfe in possession of the crowne, and to depose king Henrie, who had reigned ouer them so long a time.

¶ Master Edward Hall in his chronicle maketh mention of an oration, which the duke of Booke uttered,

sitting in the regall seat there in the chamber of the peres, either at this his first comming in amongst them, or else at some one time after, the which we haue thought god also to set downe: though Iohn Wetherhamsted the abbat of saint Albons, who liued in those daies, and by all likelihood was there present at the parlement, maketh no further recitall of anie wordes, which the duke should utter at that time in that his booke of records, where he intreateth of this matter. But for the oration (as master Hall hath written thereof) we find as followeth. ¶ During the time (saith he) of this parlement, the duke of Booke with a bold countenance entered into the chamber of the peres, and sat downe in the throne roiall, vnder the cloth of estate (which is the kings peculiar seat) and in the presence of the nobilitie, as well spirituall as tempozall (after a pause made) he began to declare his title to the crowne, in this forme and order as insueth.

Edw. Hall in
Hen. 6. fol.
clxxvij. &c.

The duke of Yorks oration made to the lords of the parlement.

M singular good lords, maruell not that I approach vnto this throne: for I sit here as in the place to me by verie iustice lawfullie belonging: & here I rest, as to whom this chaire of right apperteineth, not as he which requireth of you fauour, partialitie, or bearing, but equall right, friendlie indifferencie, and true administration of iustice. For I being the partie grieved, and complainant, can not minister to my selfe the medicine that should helpe me (as expert laches & cunning surgians maie) except you be to me both faithfull aiders & also true counsellors. For yet this noble realme and our naturall countrie shall neuer be vnbackled from hir daillie feuer, except I (as the principall physician, and you as the true and trustie apothecaries) consult together in making of the potion, and trie out the cleane and pure stuffe from the corrupt and putrified drugs.

For vndoubtedlie, the root and bottome of this long festured canker is not yet extirpate, nor the feeble foundation of this fallible building is not yet espied, which hath bene and is the daillie destruction of the nobilitie, and the continuall confusion of the poore communitie of this realme and kingdome. For all you know (or should know) that the high and mightie prince king Richard the second, was the true and vndoubted heire to the valiant conqueror and renowned prince king Edward the third, as sonne & heire to the hardie knight and couragious capitaine Edward prince of Wales, duke of Aquitaine and Cornewall, eldest sonne to the said king Edward the third: which king was not onelie in deed, but also of all men reputed and taken for the true and infallible heire to the wise and politike prince king Henrie the third, as sonne and heire to king Edward the second, sonne and heire to king Edward the first, the very heire and first begotten sonne of the said noble and vertuous prince king Henrie the third.

¶ q. ii.

Which

he battell of
oosthamptō,

hehamsted

he L. Crow
Burthen.

Ano. Reg. 39.
When comitted
the duke of
York to com-
muni-ship of
Ireland.

When hamsted

w. Hall.
he brings
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t.

he is taken

A strange be-
haviour of the
duke of York.

he both
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he Tower
used to
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he is
alen (Lanc)

and
pp.

Which king Richard of that name the second, was lawfullie & iustlie possessed of the crowne and diadem of this realme and region, till Henrie of Derby duke of Lancaster and Hereford, sonne to John of Gant duke of Lancaster, the fourth begotten sonne to the said king Edward the third, and younger brother to my noble ancestoz Lionell duke of Clarence, the third begotten sonne of the said king Edward, by force and violence, contrarie both to the dutie of his allegiance, and also to his homage to him both done and sworn, raised warre and battell at the castle of Flint in North-wales, against the said king Richard, and him apprehended, and imprisoned within the Tower of London: during whose life and captiuitie, he wrongfullie usurped and intruded vpon the roiall power, and high estate of this realme and region, taking vpon him the name, stile, and authoritie of king and gouernour of the same.

And not therewith satisfied, and contented, compassed and accomplished the death and destruction of his naturall prince, and most worshipfulle souereigne lord, not as a common homicide and butcherlie murtherer, but as a regicide, and destroyer of his king. After whose pitious death, and execrable murther, the right and title of the crowne, and superiouritie of this realme was lawfullie reuerted & returned to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire to ladie Philip the onelie child of the aboue rehearsed Lionell duke of Clarence, vnto which Rogers daughter called Anne, my most darest and welbeloued mother, I am the verie true and lineall heire, which descent all you can not iustlie gaine say, nor yet trulie denie. Then remember this, if the title be mine, why am I put from it: If I be true heire to the crowne (as I am in deed) why is my right withhelden: If my claime be good, why haue I not iustice? For suertie, learned men of great science and knowledge say and affirme, that lineall descent, nor usurped possession can nothing preuaile, if continuall claime be lawfullie made, or openlie published.

For the auoiding of which scruple and ambiguitie: Edmund earle of March my most welbeloued vnckle, in the time of the first usurper, in deed but not by right called king Henrie the fourth, by his coelines the earle of Northumberland, & the lord Percie, he being then in captiuitie with Owen Glendouer the rebell in Wales, made his title & righteous claime to the destruction of both the noble persons. Likewise my most darest lord my father, so farre set forth that right and title, that he lost his life & worldlie ioy at the towne of Southampton, more by power than indifferent iustice. Since whose death, I comming to my full age, haue neuer desisted to pursue my title, and require my right, which by meanes of sinister counsell and vniust detention, I can neither obteine nor recouer. So that of fine force I am compelled to

use power in stead of praier, and force in stead of request; not (as I said before) for my priuat emolument and peculiar profit: but to restore peace, loue, and quietnesse to this our naturall region, which euer since the first vngodlie usurpation of the aforesaid Henrie, vnrulie called king Henrie the fourth, hath bene clere lie banished, and out of the same vniustlie exiled.

What murthers and manslaughterers haue bene perpetrated and committed within this countrie, since the beginning of that vngodly usurpation: What number of noble men haue bene slaine, destroyed, & executed since that infortunate daie: It is too lamentable and manifest. For although Henrie of Lancaster earle of Derby tooke vpon him the scepter and the crowne, and wrongfullie bare the name and stile of a king; and was not much tickled with mine vnckle the earle of March, at that time being within age: yet was he neuer in suertie of himselfe, nor had or ioined any profit & quietnesse either in mind or in bodie. For suertie, a corrupt conscience neuer sleeeth rest, but looketh when the sword of vengeance will descend and strike. His sonne also called king Henrie the fifth, obtained notable victozies, and immortall praises for his noble acts done in the realme of France: yet God (for the offense of his vntrue parent) suddenlie touched him, vnbodieng his soule in the flower of his youth, and in the glorie of his conquest.

And although he had a faire sonne and a yong heire apparant: yet was this orphan such a one (as preachers say) that God threatned to send for a punishment to his vnrulie and vngodly people, saying by his prophet Esai: I shall giue you children to be your princes, and infants without wisdom shall haue the gouernance of you. The prophet lied not, if you note all things in an order: for after this Henrie the fifth (whose fame no man can iustlie reproue or deface, succeeded his sonne, whom all we haue called our naturall prince, and obeyed as his heire. In whose time and wrongfull reigne, I require you diligently to consider, with what great torments and afflictions God hath whipped & scourged this miserable Ile: yea with such and so manie scourges and plagues, as no nation (the Egyptians onelie excepted) were euer tormented or afflicted withall. I will not speake of rebellious murthers and oppressions, which of late haue bene done and exercised here among vs. But I will declare & manifest to you, how the crowne and glorie of this realme is by the negligence of this sillie man, and his vniust counsell minished, defaced, and also dishonoured.

Is not Normandie, which his father gat, regained & conquered againe, by the insolencie of him & his couetous counsell: Is not the whole duchie of Aquitaine, by two hundred and odd yeares peaceable possessed by the kings of this realme, in one yeare

Prodigious
tokens.

The castle of
Berghem be-
sieged.
The king of
Scots
through
misfortune
slaine.

The determi-
nation of the
parlement con-
cerning the
marriage of
France.

yeare and a little moze, gotten out of our hands & feignozie: What should I speake of Anjou & Maine, or the losse of the Ile of France, with the rich citie of Paris. Alas it is too apparant. Neither will I molest you with the recitall of all the particulars thereof. But now in the midst of this affliction, and to make an end of the same: God of his ineffable goodnesse, looking on this countrey with his eyes of pitie & mercie, hath sent me in the truth, to restore againe his decayed kingdome to his ancient fame and old renowne whereof here in open parlement, according to my iust & true title, I haue and doe take possession of this roiall throne: not putting diffidence, but firme hope in Gods grace, that by his diuine aid, and assistance of you the pæres of this realme, I shall beautifie & mainteine the same to the glorie of him, honour of my blood, and to the publike wealth as well of you all here present, as of all the poore commons and subiects of this kingdome and regiment.

When the duke had made an end of his oration, the lords sat still as men stricken into a certeine amazednesse, neither whispering nor speaking forth a word, as though their mouths had bene sewed vp. The duke not verie well content with their silence, aduised them to consider throughlie, and ponder the whole effect of his words and sayings: and so neither fullie displeased, nor yet altogether content, departed to his lodging in the kings palace. While he was declaring thus his title in the higher house among the pæres, there happened a strange chance in the vertic fame, instant amongst the commons in the nether house. A crowne which did hang in the middle of the same to garnish a branch to set lights vpon, without touch of man, or blast of wind, suddenlie fell doونه. About the same time also fell doونه the crowne which stood on the top of Dover castell. Which chanced were construed to be signes, that the crowne of the realme should some waie haue a fall.

The lords forgot not the dukes demand, and to take some direction therein, diuerse of them, as spirituall and temporall, with manie graue and sage persons of the commonaltie daillie assembled at the Blackefriers, and other places, to treat of this matter, being of so great importance. During which time the duke of Yorke, although he and the king were both lodged in the palace of Westminster; yet would he not for anie pæters or request once visit the king, till some conclusion were taken in this matter: saving, that he was subiect to no man, but only to God, vnder whose mercie none here superiour but he. The king of Scots, partlie incouraged thorough the ciuill discord here in England, and partlie for the displeasure which he had conceived for the death of Edmund duke of Summerset his mothers brother, this yeare besieged the castell of Roxburgh: and by the breaking of a bombard, as the same was shot off against the castell, he chanced to be slaine. Yet the Scots left not off their enterprise, assaulting the castell till they gat it, and then defended it a long time after, till Richard duke of Gloucester was it againe, and rased it.

After long debating of the matter, and deliberate consultation amongst the pæres, prelates, and commons, vpon the vigill of All saints, it was concluded: for so much as king Henrie had bene taken as king by the space of thirtie and eight yeares and moze, that he should inioy the name and title of

king, and haue possession of the realme during his naturall life. And if he either died, or resigned, or forfeited the same, by breaking or going against anie point of this concord, then the said crowne & authoritie roiall should immediatlie be deuoluted and come to the duke of Yorke, if he then liued; or else to the next heire of his linage. And that the duke of Yorke from thence forth should be protectoz and regent of the land. ¶ This was the determination of the parlement to & fro, tending to peace betwene the king & the duke (which was ratified accordingle) as by the articles insuing both appeare.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 700, 701,
& c. in Quart.

The articles betwixt king Henrie and the duke of Yorke.

Blessed be Iesu, in whose hands and bountie resteth and is the peace and unitie betwixt princes, and the weale of euerie realme: by whose direction (I know) agreed it is, appointed, and accorded as followeth, betwixt the most high and most mightie prince king Henrie the first king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, on the one partie, and the right high & mightie prince Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke on the other partie: vpon certeine matters of variance moued betwixt them, and especiallie vpon the claime and title vnto the crownes of England and of France, and roiall power, estate, and dignitie appertaining to the same, and lordship of Ireland, opened, shewed, and declared by the said duke, before all the lords spirituall and temporall, being in this present parlement.

First, where the said Richard duke of Yorke hath declared and opened (as is aboue said) title & claime in maner as followeth.

That the right noble and worthy prince, Henrie king of England the third had issue, and lawfullie got Edward the first begotten sonne, borne at Westminster, the fifteenth kalends of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1239, & Edmund his second sonne which was borne on St. Marcells daie, the yere 1200, the which Edward, after the death of king Henrie his father, intituled & called king Edward the first, had issue, Edward his first begotten sonne, called (after the deceasse of his father) king Edward the second, the which had issue, Edward the third; which Edward the third had issue, Edward prince of Wales; William of Hatfield his second sonne; Lionell the third, duke of Clarence; John of Cant fourth, duke of Lancaster; Edmund of Langley fifth, duke of Yorke; Thomas of Woodstocke first, duke of Gloucester; and William of Windsor; seauenty.

The said Edward prince of Wales, which died in the life time of his father, had issue Richard, which succeeded Edward the third his grandfere; Richard died without issue; William of Hatfield the second sonne of Edward the third, died without issue; Lionell the third sonne of Edward the third, duke of Clarence, had issue Philip his daughter and heire, which was coupled in matrimonie vnto Edmund Mortimer earle of March, and had issue Roger Mortimer earle of March his sonne and heire; which Roger had issue of Edmund erle of March, Roger Mortimer, Anne, Elianor; which Edmund, Roger, and Elianor died without issue.

And the said Anne coupled in matrimonie to Richard earle of Cambridge, the sonne of Edmund of Langley, the first sonne of Henrie the third, and had issue Richard Plantagenet, commonlie called duke of Yorke; John of Cant, the fourth sonne of Edward, and the younger brother of the said Lionell, had issue Henrie earle of Derby, who incontinentlie after that king Richard resigned the crownes of the realmes

Prodigious
signs,

The castell of
Roxburgh be-
sieged.
The king of
Scots
through
misadventure
slaine.

The determi-
nation of the
parlement con-
cerning the
marriage of
prince,

realmes and lordship of Ireland, but righteously entered vpon the same, then being aliue Edmund Mortimer earle of March, sonne to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire of the said Philip, daughter and heire of the said Lionell, the third sonne of the said king Edward the third, to the which Edmund the right and title of the said crownes and lordship by law and custome belonged. To the which Richard duke of Yorke, as sonne to Anne daughter to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire of the said Philip, daughter and heire of the said Lionell, the third sonne of king Edward the third, the right, title, dignitie roiall, and estate of the crownes of the realmes of England and France, and the lordship of Ireland pertaineth and belongeth afore anie issue of the said John of Gaunt, the fourth sonne of the same king Edward.

The said king notwithstanding, and without prejudice of the said Richard duke of Poike, tenderlie desiring the wealth, rest, and prosperitie of this land, and to set apart all that might be trouble to the same, and considering the possession of the said king Henrie the first, and that he hath for his time bene named, taken, and reputed for king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, is contented, agreed, and consenteth, that he be had, reputed, and taken for king of England and France, with the roiall estate, dignitie, and preheminance belonging thereunto, and lord of Ireland during his naturall life. And for that time, the said duke, without hurt or prejudice of his said right, and title, shall take, enjoy, this, and honour him for his Sovereigne lord.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall promise and bind him by his solemne oth, in maner and forme as followeth.

In the name of God Amen: I Richard duke of
 Yorke, promise and sweare by the faith and truth that
 I owe to almightie God, that I shall neuer consent,
 procure, or stirre, breake, or imbreake, in yssue or
 apert, nether (as much as in me is) shall suffer to be
 done, consented, procured, or stirred, ante thing that
 may found to the abdigement of the naturall life of
 king Henrie the first, or to the hurt or diminishing of
 his reigne or dignitie roiall, by violence, or anie o-
 ther waie, against his freedome or libertie: but if any
 person or persons would do or presume ante thing to
 the contrarie, I shall with all my might and power
 withstand it, and make it to be withstood, as far as
 my power will stretch thereinto, so helpe me God
 and his holie euangelists.

Item, Edward earle of March, and Edmund earle of Rutland, sonnes of the said duke of Yorke, shall make like oth.

Item, it is accorded, appointed, and agreed, that the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall be called and reported from henceforth, verie and rightfull heire to the crownes, roiall estate, dignitie and lordship above said; and after the deceasse of the said king Henric, or then he will laie from him the said crownes, estate, dignitie, and lordship, the said duke and his heires shall immediatlie succede to the said crownes, roiall estate, dignitie and lordship.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall have by authority of this present parliament, castles, manors, lands, and tenements, with the wards, marriages, reliefs, services, fines, amercements, offices, advowsons, fees, and other appurtenances to them belonging, what soever they be, to the pecunie value of ten thousand marks, over all charges and reprises, whereof five thousand marks shall be to his owne state, three thousand five hundred marks to Edward his first begotten sonne earle of March for his estate, and one thousand pounds to Edmund earle of Rutland his second sonne for his pecunie sustentation, in

such consideration and such intent as shall be declared by the lords of the kings counsell.

Item, if anie person or persons imagine or compasse the death of the said duke, and thereof probable be attainted of open deed done by folkes of other condition, that it be deemed & adiudged high treason.

Item, for the more establishing of the said accord, it is appointed and consented, that the lordes spirituall and tempozall, being in this present parlement, shall make othe, to accept, take, worship, and repute the said Richard duke of Yorke and his heires, as aboue is rehearsed, and keepe, obserue, and strengthen (in as much as apperteineth vnto them) all the things abouesaid, and resist to their power, all them that would presume the contrarie, according to their estates and degrees.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, earles of
 March, and Rutland, shall permit and make othe to
 helpe, aid, and defende the said lordes, and euerie of
 them, againstt all those that will quarell, or anie thing
 attempt againstt the said lordes, or anie of them, by oc-
 casion of agreement or consenting to the said accord,
 or assistance giuing to the duke and earles, or anie of
 them.

Item, it is agreed and appointed, that this accord, and euerie article thereof, be opened and notified by the kings letters patents, or otherwise, at such times and places, and in manner as it shall be thought expedient to the said Richard duke of Yorke, with the aduise of the lords of the kings counsell. The king vnderstandeth certeinlie the said title of the said Richard duke of Yorke, iust, lawfull, and sufficient, by the aduise and assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, and the commons in this parlement assembled; and by authoritie of the same parlement declareth, approueth, ratifieth, confirmeth, and accepteth the said title, iust, good, lawfull, and true, and thereunto giueth his assent and agrément of his free will and libertie.

And ouer that, by the said aduise and authoritie
declareth, intituleth, calleth, establisheth, affirmeth,
reputeth the said Richard duke of Yorke, verie true
and rightfull heire to the crownes, roiall estate, and
dignitie of the realmes of England and of France,
and of the lordshipp of Ireland aforesaid; and that ac-
cording to the woorthip and reuerence that thereto be-
longeth, he be taken, accepted and reputed, in woorth-
ship & reuerence, by all the states of the said realme of
England, and of all his subiects thereof; saving and
ordaining by the same authoritie, the king to haue
the said crownes, realme, roiall estate, dignitie, and
preheminance of the same, and the said lordshipp of Ire-
land during his life naturall.

And further more, by the same adulle and anhos-
tie willeth, consenteth, and agreeth, that after his de-
ceasse, or when it shall please his hignesse to laie from
him the said crownes, estate, dignittie, and lordship,
the said Richard duke of Yorke and his betres shall
immediate take him in the said crownes, roiall
estate, dignittie, and worshop, and them then have
and intioi: anie ad of parlement, statute, or ordi-
nance, or other thing to the contrarie made, or inter-
ruption, or discontinuance of possession norwith-
standing.

And moreover, by the said aduile and authoritie, established, granted, confirmeth, approueth, ratifieth, and accepteth the said accord, and all thyngs therein contained, and thereunto truelle and absolute assenteth, agreeth; and by the same aduile and authoritie doth denie and establisheth, that if anie person or persons (imagine or) compass the death of the said duke, or probable be affainted of open deed done by folles of that condition, that it be denie and aduised high treason.

And furthermore ordeineth and establissheth by the said aduise and authoritie, that all statutes, ordinaunces, and acts of parlement, made in the time of the said king Henrie the fourth, by the which he and the heires of his boote, comming of Henrie late king of England the first, the sonne and heire of the said king Henrie the fourth, and the heires of king Henrie the first, were or be inheritable to the said crownes and realmes, or to the heritage of the same, be annulled, repealed, damned, cancelled, void, and of none effect.

And ouer this, the king by the said aduise, assent and authoritie, ordeineth and establissheth, that all other acts and statutes made afore this time by act of parlement, not repealed or annulled by like authoritie, or other wise void, be in full force, effect, and vertue, as they were afore the making of these ordinaunces; and that no letters patents, rotall of record, nor acts iudiciall, made or done afore this time not repealed, reuerced, ne other wise void by law, be preiudiced or hurt by this present act.]

This agreement put in articles, was ingrossed, sealed, and sworne vnto by the two parties, and also enacted in the parlement. For to whereof the king, having in his companie the duke of Yorke, rood to the cathedraall church of saint Paule in London, and there on the day of All saints with the crowne on his head went solemnelie in procession, and was lodged a good space after in the bishops palace, nere to the said church. And upon the saturdaye next insuing, Richard duke of Yorke was by sound of trumpet solemnelie proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne of England, and protectour of the realme. After this, the parlement kept at Couentrie the last yeare, was declared to be a diuelish counsell, and onelie had for destruction of the nobilitie, and was indeed no lawfull parlement: because they which were returned, were neuer elected according to the due order of the law, but secretlie named by them which desired rather the destruction than the advancement of the common-wealth. When these agreements were enacted, the king dissolved his parlement, which was the last parlement that ever he ended.

The duke of Yorke, well knowing that the queene would spurne against all this, caused both hir and hir sonne to be sent for by the king. But she as wont rather to rule, than to be ruled, and thereto counselled by the dukes of Excester and Summerfet, not onelie denied to come, but also assembled a great armie, intending to take the king by fine force out of the lords hands. The protectour in London, having knowledge of all these doings, assigned the duke of Norfolk, and erle of Warwike his trustie friends to be about the king, while he with the earles of Salisburie and Rutland, and a convenient number, departed out of London the second date of Decembur northward, and appointed the erle of March his eldest sonne to follow him with all his power. The duke came to his castell of Sandall beside Wakefield on Christmas eve, and there began to make muster of his tenants and friends. The queene therof aduertised, determined to cope with him per his succour were come.

And he, having in his companie the prince hir sonne, the dukes of Excester and Summerfet, the erle of Devonshire, the lord Clifford, the lord Roos, and in effect all the lords of the north parts, with eightene thousand men, or (as some write) two and twentie thousand, marched from Yorke to Wakefield, and had balle to the duke, even before his castell gates. He having with him not fullie five thousand persons, contrarie to the minds of his faithfull counsellors, would needs issue forth to fight with his enemies. The duke of Summerfet and the queenes part, casting upon their most advantage, appointed the

lord Clifford to lie in one scale, and the erle of Warwike in another, and the duke with other to keepe the maine battell. The duke of Yorke with his people descended downe the hill in good order and arraie, and was suffered to passe on towards the maine battell.

But when he was in the plaine field betwene his castell and the towne of Wakefield, he was inuironed on euerie side, like fish in a net, so that though he fought manfullie, yet was he within halfe an houre slaine and dead, and his whole armie discomfited: with him died of his trustie friends, his two ballard vnckles, sir John and sir Hugh Spottismers, sir Dauid Hall, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thomas Beuill, William and Thomas Apurre, both brethren; and two thousand and eight hundred others, whereof manie were young gentlemen, and heires of great parentage in the south parts, whose kin reuenged their deaths within foure moneths next, as after shall appeare.

In this conflict was wounded and taken prisoner, Richard erle of Salisburie, sir Richard Limbryke, Rafe Stanleie, John Harlow, capteine Hansson, and diuerse others. The lord Clifford, perceiving where the erle of Rutland was conueited out of the field (by one of his fathers chapleins, and scholemaster to the same erle) and overtaking him, stabbed him to the heart with a dagger as he kneeled afore him. This erle was but a child at that time of twelue yeares of age, whome neither his tender yeares, nor dolorous countenance, with holding vp both his hands for mercie (for his speech was gone for feare) could moue the cruell heart of the lord Clifford to take pittie vpon him, so that he was noted of great infamie for that his vnnmercifull murder vpon that young gentleman.

But the same lord Clifford not satisfied herewith, came to the place where the dead corpe of the duke of Yorke lay, caused his head to be stricken off, and set on it a crowne of paper, fixed it on a pole, and presented it to the queene, not lieng farre from the field, in great despite, at which great reioysing was shewed: but they laughed then that shortly after lamented, and were glad then of other mens deaths that knew not their owne to be so nere at hand. Some wrote that the duke was taken alive, and in derision caused to stand vpon a molehill, on whose head they put a garland in stead of a crowne, which they had fashioned and made of sedges or bulrushes; and having so crowned him with that garland, they kneeled downe afore him (as the Jewes did vnto Christ) in scoone, saying to him; Haile king without rule, haile king without heritage, haile duke and prince without people or possessions. And at length having thus scorned him with these and diuers other the like despitefull words, they stroke off his head, which (as we haue heard) they presented to the queene.

Spanie demaunded that this miserable end chanced to the duke of Yorke, as a due punishment for breaking his oth of allegiaunce vnto his soueraigne lord king Henrie: but others held him discharged thereof, because he obtained a dispensation from the pope, by such suggestion as his procurators made vnto him, whereby the same oth was adindged void, as that which was reuiled and abused, to the preiudice of himselfe, and disheriting of all his posteritie. After this victorie by the queene, the erle of Salisburie and all the prisoners were sent to Pomfret, and there beheaded, whose heads (together with the duke of Yorkes head) were conueied to Yorke, and there set on poles ouer the gate of the citie, in despite of them and their linage. The erle of March, now after the death of his father, herie duke of Yorke, lieng at Glocester, was wonderfullie amazed, when the sorrowfull newes of these mishaps came vnto him: but after

The battell at Wakefield.

The duke of Yorke slaine.

Onelie seauen hundred fourthe men saith Whechamsted.

The cruell murder of the young erle of Rutland.

Whechamsted,

A purchase of Gods curlew with popes blessing.

The prisoners beheaded I 461

The erle of March now duke of Yorke.

after comfort giuen to him by his faithfull louers and assured allies, he remoued to Shrewesburie, declaring to the inhabitants of that towne, and to them of the other townes in those parties the murder of his father, the icopardie of himselfe, and the present ruine of the common-wealth.

The people on the marches of Wales, for the fauour which they bare to the Mortimers linage, more gladlie offered him their aid and assistance than he could desire the same; so that he had incontinentlie a puissant armie, to the number of thre and twentie thousand, ready to go against the queene, and the murderers of his father. But when he was setting forward, newes was brought to him, that Jasper earle of Penbrooke halfe brother to king Henrie, and James Butler earle of Ormonde and Wiltshire, had assembled a great number of Welsh and Irish people to take him: he here with quickned, retired backe and met with his enemies in a faire plaine, nere to Mortimers crosse, not far from Hereford east, on Candlemasse daie in the morning. At which time the sunne (as some write) appeared to the earle of March like thre sunnes, and suddenlie ioined altogether in one. Upon which sight he took such courage, that he fiercelie setting on his enemies, put them to flight: and for this cause men imagined, that he gaue the sunne in his full brightnesse for his badge or cognisance. Of his enemies were left dead on the ground thre thousand and eight hundred.

The earles of Penbrooke and Wiltshire fled, but sir Owen Teuther father to the said earle of Penbrooke (which Owen had married king Henries mother, as ye haue heard before) with David Floyd, Morgan ap Ikeneth, and diuerse other were taken, and beheaded at Hereford. The queene neuertheless encouraged by hir late victorie, with a multitude of northerne people, marched toward London, intending to bind all that had bene ordeined in the last parlement. These northerne people, after they were once passed ouer the riuer of Trent, spoiled and wasted the countrie afoze them, in manner as if they had bene in the land of forren enemies. At length, they approached to saint Albons, hearing that the duke of Northfolke, and the earle of Warwicke, with other whome the duke of Poike had left to gouerne the king in his absence, had (by the kings assent) assembled a great host, and were incamped nere to that towne.

Those northerne lords and other that were with the queene, made forward, and entring into S. Albons, meant to passe through the towne, and so to coape with their enemies; but finding a fozt of archers ranged nere to the great crosse in the market place, to defend their passage, they were receiued with such a storme of arrowes, which came sieng about their eares as thicke as haille, that they were quicklie repellid backe, and with losse of men to retire in hast vnto the west end of the towne; where, by a lane that leadeth northwards vp to saint Peters street, they made their entrie, and had there also a sharpe encounter against certaine bands of the kings people. But after great slaughter on both parts, they got through, and vpon the heath that lieth at the north end of the towne, called Barnard heath, they had a farre greater conflict with foure or fife thousand of the kings armie, that seemed as they had bene anant couriers.

Wherof gaue the onset so fiercelie at the beginning, that the victorie rested doubtfull a certaine time, so that if the cafferne and southerne men had continued as they began, the field had bene theirs; but after they had stood to it a pretie while, and perceiued none of their fellows from the great armie to come and assist them, they began to faint, and turning their

backes, fled amaine ouer hedge and ditch, through thicke and thin, woods and bushes, seeking so to escape the hands of their cruell enemies that followed them with eger minds, to make slaughter vpon them, namely, the northerners pickers, now in the chase pursued most hotlie, and bare downe manie, and more had done, if the night comming vpon, had not staid them.

When the daie was closed, those that were about the king (in number a twentie thousand) hearing how euill their fellows had sped, began bitterlie to despair of the victorie, and so fell without anie long tarriance to running afoate. By reason whereof, the nobles that were about the king, perceiuing how the game went, and withall saw no comfort in the king, but rather a good will and affection towards the contrarie part, they withdrew also, leauing the king accompanied with the lord Bonneville, sir Thomas Kirrell of Kent, which vpon assurance of the kings promise, tarried still with him, and fled not. But their trust deceiued them, for at the queenes departing from saint Albons, they were both beheaded; though contrarie to the mind and promise of hir husband, Sir Thomas Thorpe, baron of the exchequer, was also beheaded the same daie, at Highgate, by the commands of Kent.

Such was the successe of this second battell fought at S. Albons, vpon Shrouetuesdaie, the seventeenth of Februarie, in which were slaine thre and twentie hundred men, of whom no noble man is remembred, saue sir John Graie, which the same daie was made knight, with twelue other, at the village of Colneie. Now after that the noble men and other were fled, and the king left in maner alone without anie power of men to guard his person, he was counselled by an esquier called Thomas How, a man well languaged, and well sene in the lawes, to send some conuenient messenger to the northerne lords, aduertising them, that he would now gladlie come vnto them (whome he knew to be his verie friends, and had assembled themselves together for his seruice) to the end he might remaine with them, as before he had remained vnder the gouernement of the southerne lords.

According to the aduise and counsell of this esquier, the king thought it good to send vnto them, and withall appointed the same esquier to beare the message, who first went and declared the same vnto the earle of Northumberland, and returning backe to the king, brought certaine lords with him, who conueied the king first vnto the lord Cliffords tent, that stood next to the place where the kings people had incamped. This done, they went and brought the queene and hir sonne prince Edward vnto his presence, whome he tofullie receiued, embracing and kissing them in most louing wise, and yelding hartie thanks to almightie God, whome it had pleased thus to strengthen the forces of the northerne men, to restore his dearelie beloued and orialie sonne againe into his possession. Thus was the queene fortunate in hir two battels, but unfortunate was the king in all his enterprizes: for where his person was present, the victorie still fled from him to the contrarie part. The queene caused the king to vnto her sonne prince Edward knight, with thirtie other persons, which the day before fought on hir side against his part.

This done, they went to the abbey, where of the abbat and monks they were receiued with hymnes and songs, and so brought to the high altar, and after to the shrine, and so to the chamber in which the king was wont to lodge. The abbat made sute that order might be taken to restraine the northerne men from spoiling the towne: and proclamation indeed was made to that effect, but it auailed not: for they

mainteine them by co the riuer o clamatiom thing that were met ung thus don, comm teine cart: freshing of lie caused them for w not suffer gate, not by gentle: Durir therne bo: the citie, at they were them slain to Warriet matter; ar with diuer queene, to the citie. I use of hir knights, to the citie, a disposition appointed them to L poleth. A other form the queene March, ha and Will (after this poztion by powers re hauing lit least of all departed f there the rested.

The dur slaine, an eldest son George ar trecht in Burgogni: their both uernemer Warwik queene, w Albons, re a great nu Lent. Wh but that th other the c se, also, an chualtrie, their quiet This p: then time lords spiri the title ar king also ri and bi les, and al les where After the l determin because hi nances in

The great hope of the people conceiued of the erle of March.

The northern men spoile the towne of saint Albons. The queene cometh to the mayor of London for butlers. Wiltshire sent by the mayor, and staid by the commons. 1916, 20, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

An. Reg. 39.

maintained, that the spoile of things was granted them by couenant, after they were once passed ouer the riuer of Trent: and so not regarding anie proclamation or other commandement, they spared nothing that they could laie hands vpon, if the same were meet for them to carie awaie. The queene, hauing thus got the victorie, sent to the maior of London, commanding him without delaie to send certeine carts, laden with Lenton vittels, for the refreshing of hir and hir armie. The maior incontinentlie caused carts to be laden, and would haue sent them forward; but the commons of the cite would not suffer them to passe, but staied them at Crispelgate, notwithstanding the maior did what he could by gentle persuations to quiet them.

During which controuersie, diuerse of the northerne horsemen, came and robbed in the suburbs of the cite, and would haue entred at Crispelgate; but they were repelled by the commoners, and three of them slaine. Whereupon, the maior sent the recorder to Barnet to the kings counsell there, to excuse the matter; and the duchess of Bedford, the ladie Scales, with diuerse fathers of the spiritualtie, went to the queene, to asswage hir displeasure conceived against the cite. The queene at this humble request, by aduise of hir counsell, appointed certeine lords and knights, with foure hundred tall persons, to ride to the cite, and there to view and see the demeanour and disposition of the people: and diuerse aldermen were appointed to meet them at Barnet, and to conuie them to London. But what man purpose, God disposeth. All these deuises were shortly altered to another forme, because true report came not onelie to the queene, but also to the cite; that the earle of March, hauing vanquished the earles of Denbroke and Gloucestre, had met with the earle of Warwicke (after this last battell at saint Albons) at Chipping Norton by Cotfold; and that they with both their powers were coming toward London. The queene hauing little trust in Essex, and lesse in Kent, but least of all in London, with hir husband and sonne, departed from saint Albons, into the north countrie, where the foundation of hir aid and refuge onelie rested.

The duchess of Yorke, seeing hir husband and sonne slaine, and not knowing what should succeed of hir eldest sonnes chance, sent hir two yonger sonnes, George and Richard, ouer the sea, to the cite of Trecht in Almaine, where they were of Philip duke of Burgonie well receiued; and so remained there, till hir brother Edward had got the crowne and gouernement of the realme. The earles of March and Warwicke, hauing perfect knowlege that the king and queene, with their adherents, were departed from saint Albons, rode straight to London, entring there with a great number of men of warre, the first weeke of Lent. Whose coming thither was no sooner knowne, but that the people resorted out of Kent, Essex, and other the counties adioining, in great numbers, to see, aid, and comfort this lustie prince and flower of chualtrie, in whome the hope of their ioy and trust of their quietnesse onelie consisted.

This prudent yong prince, minding to take time when time serued, called a great counsell, both of the lords spiritual and temporall, and to them repeated the title and right that he had to the crowne, rehearsing also the articles concluded betwene king Henrie and his father, by their writings signed and sealed, and also confirmed by act of parlement; the breaches whereof he neither forgot, nor leste vndeclared. After the lords had considered of this matter, they determined by authoritie of the said counsell, that because king Henrie had done contrarie to the ordinances in the last parlement concluded; and was in-

sufficient of himselfe to rule the realme, he was therefore to be depaured of all kinglie estate: and incontinentlie was Edward earle of March, sonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke, by the lords in the said counsell assembled, named, elected, and admitted for king and gouernour of the realme.

On which date, the people of the earles part, being in their muster in S. Johns field, and a great number of the substantiall citizens there assembled, to behold their order; the lord Fauconbridge, who toke the musters, wiselie anon declared to the people the offenses and breaches of the late agreement, committed by king Henrie the first; and demanded of the people, whether they would haue him to rule and reigne anie longer ouer them? To whome they with whole voice answered; Naie, naie. Then he asked them, if they would serue, loue, honour, and obeye the erle of March, as their onlie king and soueraigne lord? To which question they answered; Yea, yea: crying (King Edward) with manie great shouts & clapping of hands in assent and gladnesse of the same.

The lords were shortly aduertised of the louing consent which the commons franklie and frelie had giuen. Whereupon incontinentlie, they all with a conuenient number of the most substantiall commons repaired to the erle at Baimards castell, making iust and true report of their election and admission, and the louing assent of the commons. The earle, after long pausing, first thanked God of his great grace and benefit towards him shewed; then the lords and commons for their fauour and fidelitie: notwithstanding, like a wise prince, he alleged his insufficiencie for so great a toome and weightie burthen, as lacke of knowlege, want of experience, and diuerse other qualities to a gouernour appertaining. But yet in conclusion, being perswaded by the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Excester, and other lords then present, he agreed to their petition, and toke vpon him the charge of the kingdome, as forfeited to him by breach of the couenants established in parlement.

Thus farre touching the tragicall state of this land vnder the rent regiment of king Henrie, who (besides the bare title of roialtie and naked name of king) had little appertaining to the port of a prince. For whereas the dignitie of princedom standeth in soueraintie; there were of his nobles that imbecilled his prerogative by sundrie practices, speciallie by maine force; as seeking either to suppress, or to erile, or to obscure, or to make him a waite: otherwise what should be the meaning of all those foughen fields from time to time, most miserable falling out both to prince, pære, and people? As at saint Albons, at Bloreheath, at Northampton, at Banberie, at Barnet, & at Wakefield; to the effusion of much blood, and pulling on of manie a plague, which otherwise might haue bene auoided. All which battels, together with those that were tried betwene Edward the fourth, after his inthronization; and Henrie the first after his extermination (as at Erham, Doncaster, and Tewkesburie) are remembered by *Anglorum praelia* in good order of pithie poetrie, as followeth:

*Nobilitata inter plures hec sunt loca caede,
Albani sanum, Blorum borealis Ampton,
Banbrecum campis, Barnettum collibus herens,
Experrectorium pagus fanum, secundo
Albani, propior Scotis confinis Exam,
Conriguog, istis habitantes rure coloni,
Mærentes hodie, quoties proscindit arator
Arua propinqua locis dentale reuelleret terra
Semisepulta virum sulcis Cerealis ossa:
Mæsta excreantur plantis civile duellum,
Quo periere hominum plus centum millia caesa,
Nobile Tadaestrum clades accepta, coegit*

The earle of March elected king.

The lord Fauconbridge.

The earle of March taketh vpon him as king.

Abr. Flem.

*Wakefield.

Millibus

om. 146

The kings part

The most heren
the spoile of things
the queene
the maior of London
the commons

the maior
the commons

1916, as John
now notes,
Sir John
Graie name.

The queene
returned
northward.

Thomas the
quiter sent
the nor
therne lord.

The great
bapt of the
people conuert
and the cite
of March.

w. Hall

since the
re made
ght.

*Millibus enectis ter denis nomen habere.
prima postrema locus est Teuxburia pugna,
oppidulis his accedens certissima testis,
bello intestino flumino fluxisse cruoris.*

But now before we proceede any further, sith the reigne of king Henrie maie seme here to take end, we will specifie some such learned men as liued in his time. John Leland, surnamed the elder (in respect of the other John Leland, that painefull antiquarie of our time) wrote diuerse treatises, for the instruction of grammarians; John Hainton, a Carmelit or white frier (as they called them) of Lincoln; Robert Colman, a Franciscane frier of Norwich; and chancellor of the vniuersitie of Orenford; William White a priest of Kent, professing the doctrine of Wickliffe, and forsaking the order of the Romane church, married a wife, but continued his office of preaching, till at length, in the yeare 1428, he was apprehended, and by William bishop of Norwich, and the doctors of the friers mendicants, charged with thirtie articles, which he maintained, contrary to the doctrine of the Romane church, and in September the same yeare suffered death by fire.

Alexander Carpenter, a learned man, set forth a booke called *Destructorium vitiourum*, wherein he inuicteth against the prelates of the church of that time, for their crueltie vsed, in persecuting the poore and godlie christians; Richard Kendall, an excellent grammarian; John Bate, warden of the white friers in Poerke, but borne in the borders of Wales, an excellent philosopher, and a diuine, he was also sene in the Greke tong, a thing rare in those daies; Peter Bassett, esquier of the priue chamber to king Henrie the sixt, whose life he wrote; John Hole a priest, that wrote the life of saint Malburgh, daughter to one Richard, a noble man of this realme of England, which Malburgh (as he affirmeth) builded our ladie church in Antwerpe; Thomas Imaelit, a monke of Sion; Walter Hilton, a Chartreux monke also of Shene, either of those wrote certeine treatises full of superstition, as Iohn Bale noteth.

Thomas Walden so called of the towne where he was borne, but his fathers surname was Petter, a white frier of London, and the thre and twentieth prouinciall gouernour of his order, a man vndoubtedlie learned, and thoroughlie furnished with cunning of the scholes, but a sore enemie to them that professed the doctrine of Wickliffe, writing sundrie great volumes and treatises against them, he died at Rome in Noymandie, the second of Nouember, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and thirtie; Richard Allerton, borne in Lancashire, wrote diuerse treatises of diuinitie; Peter Clarke, a student in Orenford, and a defender of Wickliffes doctrine, whereupon when he feared persecution here in England, he fled into Boheme, but yet at length he was apprehended by the imperialists, and died for it, as some write, but in what order, is not expressed.

Robert Hounslow, a religious man of an house in Hounslow beside London, whereof he took his surname; Thomas Walsingham, borne in Norfolk, in a towne there of the same name, but professed a monke in the abbeie of saint Albons, a diligent historiographer; John Wilete, a white frier of Permouth, but a student in Cambridge, and proued an excellent diuine; Richard Fleming, a doctor of diuinitie in Orenford, of whome more at large before, pag. 624. John Low borne in Worcester-shire, an Augustine frier, a doctor of diuinitie, and prouinciall in England of his order, and by king Henrie the first, made first bishop of saint Asaph, and after removed from thence to Rochester; Thomas Kingsted the younger, not the same that was bishop, but a doctor of the law, and vicar of Spiltenhall in Suff-

folke, a notable preacher, and wrote diuerse treatises.

John Felton, a doctor of diuinitie of Wadgdales college in Orenford; Nicholas Botleham, a Carmelit frier borne in Cambridgeshire, and student first in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and after in Paris, where he proceeded doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Kuddburne, a monke of Winchester, and an historiographer; John Holbrooke, borne in Surrie, a great philosopher, and well sene in the mathematicks; Peter Paine, an earnest professor of Wickliffes doctrine, and fearing persecution here in England, fled into Boheme, where he remained in great estimation for his great learning & no lesse wisdom; Nicholas Wpton, a ciuillian, wrote of heraldrie, of colours in armorie, and of the dutie of chualrie; William Beckeleie, a Carmelit frier of Sandwiche, & warden of the house there, a diuine, and possessed degree of schole in Cambridge; John Topp, a Carmelit frier of Norwich.

John Capgrauie borne in Kent, an Augustine frier, proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Orenford, was admitted prouinciall of his order, and proued (with out controuersie) the best learned of any of that order of friers here in England, as Iohn Bale affirmeth, he wrote manie notable volumes, and finally departed this life at Lin in Norfolk, the twelfth of August, in the yeare 1464, which was in the fourth yeare of king Edward the fourth; Humfre duke of Gloucester, earle of Penbrooke, and lord chamberlaine of England, also protector of the realme, during the minority of his nephue king Henrie the first, was both a great fauourer of learned men, and also verie well learned himselfe, namelie in astrologie, where of (beside other things) he wrote a speciall treatise intituled, *Tabula directionum*.

John Wethamsted, otherwise called Frumentarius, was abbat of saint Albons, and highlie in fauor with the good duke of Gloucester last remembred, he wrote diuerse treatises, and among others, a booke as it were of the records of things, chancing whilest he was abbat, which booke I haue sene, and partlie in some parcell of this kings time haue also followed; Roger Onleie, borne in the west countrie (as Bale thinketh) was accused of treason, for practising with the ladie Cleane Cobham, by sorcery to make the king auaie, and was thereof condemned, and died for it, though he were innocent thereof, as some haue thought, he wrote a treatise intituled, *Contra vulgi superstitiones*, also another *De sua innocentia*; Nicholas Cantlow, a Welshman borne, descended of an ancient familie in Southwales, as by Bale it should appeare, he became a frier Carmelit in Wiltow; Henrie Wingham, a Carmelit frier of Norwich, a notable diuine, a great preacher, and wrote also sundrie treatises of diuinitie.

John Lidgate, a monke of Wurie, an excellent poet, and chiefe in his time in that facultie, of all other that practised the same within this land, he travelled thorough France and Italie to learne the languages and sciences, how greatlie he posited in attaining to knowledge, the bookes which he wrote do sufficientlie testifie; Nicholas Hordresham, an excellent physician; John Blackeneie, a religious man, of the order of the Trinitie intituled, *De redemptione captiuorum*, and prior of an house of the same order, at Ingham in Norfolk, he was surnamed Blackeneie, of the towne where he was borne; Thomas Beckington, bishop of Bath, wrote against the law Salique, by which law the Frenchmen would exclude the princes of this realme from their title vnto the crowne of France; John Waringham, a Carmelite frier of Gipestwich in Suffolke; David Bois, borne in Wales, and a frier Carmelit, pro-

Peter Bassett
wrote king
Henrie the
sixt his life.

Fabian and
Caxton.

Anno Reg. 1.

The earle of
Essex
hath
been
king.

lected in Glocester, a doctor of diuinitie.

John Brome, an Augustine frier; Michaell Triggurie, a Cornishman bozne, whome for his excellencie and learning, king Henrie the first appointed to be gouernour of that schole of vniuersitie, which he instituted in the cite of Caen in Normandie, after he had brought it vnder his subiection; John Amundsham, a monke of the Chartreux order; John Kenningale, a Carmelit frier of Norwich; Peter De sancta fide, a Carmelit also of Norwich; Reginald Pecocke, bishop of Chichester, of whome ye haue heard before, he was bozne in Wales, and student in a small college in Drenford, where he proceeded doctor of diuinitie, he wrote manie treatises touching the christian religion; John surnamed Barie of the towne where he was bozne, an Augustine frier in the towne of Clare in Suffolke.

Robert Fleming, a man perfect in the Greeke and Latine tong [among whose works some haue bene sene vnder these titles: namely, *Lucubratiomum Tiburtinarum lib. 1.* a dictionarie in Greeke and Latine, and a worke in verse of sundrie kinds, this man was of most fame in the yeare of our Lord 1470, which was in the tenth yeare of Edward the fourth, though he were not obscure also in the daies of this Henrie the first; Thomas Gascoigne, bozne at Hunsletre in Northeshire, of that worshipfull familie of the Gascoignes there, a doctor of diuinitie, and chancellor of the vniuersitie of Drenford; William Stapilhart, bozne in Kent, but by profession a white frier in London; Robert Fimingham bozne in Northfolke a franciscan frier in Norwich; Nicholas Pontacute, an historiographer; John Chandler, chancellor of Welles; William Botoner, descended of a good houle, a knight by degree, and bozne in Bristow, verie studious in antiquities, and other sciences.

John Stow, a monke of Norwich, but student in Drenford, where he proceeded doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Langley, a monke of Hulme; Nicholas Bungeie, bozne in a towne of Northfolke of that name, wrote an historie, called *Adunationes chroniconum*; Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester, base

sonne to John duke of Lancasser, of whome before we haue made sufficient mention, made cardinall by pope Martine the fourth, in the yeare 1426; Adam Homlington, a Carmelit frier; William Coppinger, maister of the vniuersitie of Drenford; Thomas Stacie, an expert mathematician, and notable skillfull in astronomie; John Talangerne, a monke of Worcester; William Sutton, an astrologian; Robert Balfacke, wrote a boke intituled *De militari*, that is to saie, of warre or chivalrie, so that (as is thought) he was both a good souldier, and a painefull student of god letters.

Thomas Dando, a Carmelit frier of Marleburgh, he wrote the life of Alphred king of well Saxons; William Graie, bozne of the noble house of the Graies of Codnor, he went to attaine to some excellencie of learning in Italie, where he heard that noble clearkie Guarinus Veronensis read in Ferrara, he was preferred to the bishoprike of Ely, in the yeare 1454, by pope Nicholas the first, when Thomas Bourchier was translated from thence to Canturburie; John Kempe, archbishop of Yorke, and after removed from thence to Canturburie (as before ye haue heard) he was made cardinall of S. Albin, by pope Eugenie the fourth; Adam Molins (as Bale calleth him) keeper of the kings private seale, excellentlie learned, in time of the ciuill warre betwixt king Henrie, and the duke of Yorke, in which he lost his head.

Thomas Chylinden, a doctor both of the lawe ciuill and canon, became at length a monke in Canturburie; Robert Bale, surnamed the elder, excellentlie learned in the lawes of the realme, recorder of London, gathered as it were a chronicle of the customs, lawes, foundations, changes, restoring magistrats, offices, orders, and publike assemblies of the cite of London, with other matters, touching the perfect description of the same cite; he wrote other works also touching the state of the same cite, and the acts of king Edward the third; he departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 1461, euen about the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, vnto whome we will now againe returne.

Thus farre the tragicall historie of Henrie the sixth
deprived of his roialtie.



Edward the fourth earle of March, sonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke.

Anno Regni, 1.



The earle of
March re-
turned upon
his king.

After that this prince Edward earle of March had taken vpon him the gouernement of this realme of England (as before ye haue heard) the next morow ing, being the fourth of March, he rode to the church of saint Paule, and there offered: and after *Te Deum* song, with great solemnitie

he was conueied to Westminster, and there set in the hall with the scepter roiall in his hand, whereto people in great numbers assembled. His claim declared to the crowne was declared to be by two maner of waies, the first, as sonne and heire to duke Richard his father, right inheritor to the same; the second, by authoritie of parlement, and forseiture committed by king Henrie. Whereupon it was againe demanded of the commons, if they would admit and take the said erle as their prince and soueraigne lord, which all with one voice cried, *Yea, yea.*

This

The proclamation
king.

This part thus plaied, he entered into Westmin-
ster church under a canopie with solemne procession,
and there as king offered; and herewith taking the
homages of all the nobles there present, he returned
by water to London, and was lodged in the bishops
palace; and on the morrow after, he was proclaimed
king by the name of Edward the fourth, throughout
the citie. This was in the yeare of the world 5427,
and after the birth of our Saviour 1461 after our ac-
compt, beginning the yeare at Christmalle; but after
the usual accompt of the church of England 1460,
the twentieth of emperor Frederike the third; the
nine and thirtieth and last of Charles the seventh
French king; and first yeare of the reigne of James
the third king of Scots.

Whilste these things were aduoying in the south
parts, king Henrie being in the north countrie, as-
sembled a great armie, trusting (for all this) to sub-
due his enemies; namely, first their chiefe ringleader
the duke of Yorke was dispatched out of the waie.
But he was deceived: for out of the ded stocke sprang
a branch more mightie than the stem; this Edward
the fourth, a prince so highlie fauoured of the people,
for his great liberalitie, clemencie, bysight dealing,
and courage, that aboue all other, he with them stood
in grace alone: by reason whereof, men of all ages
and degrees to him dailie repaired, some offering
themselves and their men to leopord their liues with
him, and other plentifully gaue monie to support his
charges, and to mainteine his right.

By which meanes, he gathered together a puissant
armie, to the intent by battell (sithens none other
wayes would serue) at once to make an end of all.
So, his armie and all things prepared, he departed
out of London the twelue daie of March, and by ea-
sie iournies came to the castell of Domfret, where he
rested, appointing the lord Fitz Walter to keepe the
passage at Ferribridge with a good number of tall
men. King Henrie on the other part, hauing his ar-
mie in readinesse, committed the gouernance there-
of to the duke of Summerfet, the earle of Northum-
berland, and the lord Clifford, as men desiring to re-
uenge the death of their parents, slaine at the first
battell at saint Albons. These capitaines leaving king
Henrie, his wife, and some, for the most safegard
within the citie of Yorke, passed the riuer of Wharfe
with all their power, intending to stop king Edward
of his passage ouer the riuer of Aire.

And the better to bring that to passe, the lord Clif-
ford determined to make a charge vpon them that
kept the passage of Ferribridge; and so he departed
with his light horsemen from the great armie on the
saturday before Palmesundaie; and earlie per his
enemies were aware, thus the keepers and wan the
bridge. The lord Fitz Walter hearing the noise, sud-
denlie rose out of his bed, and vnarmed with a pollax
in his hand, thinking that it had bene but a fraie a-
mongst his men, came downe to appease the same;
but per he knew that the matter meant was slaine,
and with him the bastard of Salisburie brother to the
earle of Marlowe, a valiant young gentleman, and
of great audacitie.

When the earle of Marlowe was informed here-
of, like a man desperat, he mounted on his hacknie,
and hasted puffing and blowing to king Edward,
saying; Sir, I praye God haue mercie of their soules,
which in the beginning of your enterprisse haue lost
their liues. And because I see no succors of the world
but in God, I remit the vengeance to him our crea-
tor and redemer. With that he alighted downe, and
kissed his harte with his sword, saying; Let him see that
will, for suerlie I will tarrie with him that will tar-
rie with me: and kissed the crosse of his sword as it
were for a bow to the promise. King Edward, per-

The earle of
Marlowe.

ceiving the courage of his trustie friend the earle of
Marlowe, made proclamation, that all men which
were afraid to fight, should depart: and to all those
that carried the battell, he promised great rewards,
with addition, that any souldier which voluntarilie
would abide, and afterwards; either in or before the
fight should seme to flee or turne his backe, then he
that could kill him, should haue a great reward and
double wages.

After this proclamation ended, the lord Faucon-
bridge, sith Walter Blunt, Robert Horne with the
foreward, passed the riuer at Castelford, thre miles
from Ferribridge, intending to haue inuironed the
lord Clifford and his companie. But they being theyt
of aduertised, departed in great hast toward king
Henries armie; yet they met with some that they lo-
ked not for, and were so trapt per they were aware, for
the lord Clifford, either for heat or paine, putting off
his gorget, suddenlie with an arrow (as some saie)
without an head, was striken into the throte, and im-
mediatlie renoued his spirit; and the earle of West-
merlands brother, and all his companie almost were
there slaine, at a place called Dintingdale, not far
from Colyton. This end had the lord Clifford, which
sine the earle of Rutland kneeling on his knees, whose
young sonne Thomas Clifford was brought up with
a shepheard in poore habit, euer in feare to be
knotone, till king Henrie the seventh obtained the
crostone, by whom he was restored to his name and
possessions.

When this conflict was ended at Ferribridge, the
lord Fauconbridge, hauing the foreward, because
the duke of York was fallen sicke, valiantlie by-
on Palmesundaie in the twilight set forth his armie
and came to Sarton, where he might apparantlie be-
hold the host of his aduersaries, which were accom-
panied thre score thousand men, and thereof aduertised
king Edward, whose whole armie amounted to eight
and fortie thousand six hundred and thre score per-
sons: which incontinentlie with the earle of Mar-
lowe set forthward, leaving the reerward under the
gouernance of sir John Wenlocke, sir John Din-
ham, and other. And first of all, he made proclamati-
on, that no prisoner should be taken. So the same
daie about nine of the clocke, which was the nine and
twentieth daie of March, being Palmesundaie, both
the hostes approached in a faire plaine field, betwene
Colyton and Sarton.

When ech part perceiued other, they made a great
shout; and at the same instant there fell a small hete
or snow, which by violence of the wind that blew a-
gainst them, was diuen into the faces of king Hen-
ries armie, so that their sight was somewhat dim-
med. The lord Fauconbridge, leading his Edward's
foreward, caused euerie archer under his stan-
dard to shot one sight (which before he caused them
to prouide) and then made them to stand still. The
northerne men feeling the shot, but by reason of the
fleece, not well biewing the distance betwene them
and their enemies, like forward men shot their theafe
arrows as fast as they might: but all to losse, for
they came short of the southerne men by thre score
yards.

So their shot almost spent, the lord Fauconbridge
marched forward with his archers, which not onelie
shot their whole theafes, but also gathered the ar-
rowes of their enemies, and let a great part flee a-
gainst their first owners, and suffered a great sort of
them to stand, which sore troubled the legs of the no-
therne men, when the battell ioined. The earle of
Northumberland and Andrew Crollop, chiefe cap-
teins of king Henries backward, seeing their shot
not to preuaile, hasted to ioine with their enemies,
and the other part slacked not their pace. This battell
was

The proclamation.

The lord Clifford.

Dintingdale.

Emmett's son.

With his own
multitude.

The lord Faucon-
bridge.

Sarton.

Wherewith
the king's
armie was
enclosed in
numberless
Edward's
landward.

An house
proclamation.

Palmesundaie
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Palmesundaie
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was soze foughten, for hope of life was set aside on either part, & taking of prisoners proclaimed a great offense, so euerie man determined to banquish or die in the field.

This deadlie conflict continued ten houres in doubtfull state of victorie, vncerteinlie heauing and setting on both sides; but in the end, king Edward so couragiously comforted his men, that the other part was discomfited and overcome, who like men amazed, fled toward Tadcaster bridge to saue themselves, where in the mid waie is a little brooke called Coker, not verie broad, but of a great deepnesse, in which, what for hast to escape, and what for feare of their followers, a great number was drowned there. It was reported, that men aloue passed the river by on dead carcasses, and that the great river of Wharfe wherein that brooke doth run, and of all the water coming from Towton, was coloured with blood.

The chase continued all night, and the most part of the next daie, and euere the northerne men (as they saw anie aduantage) returned againe, and fought with their enemies, to the great losse of both parts. For in these two daies were slaine (as they that knew it wrote) on both parts six and thirtie thousand seven hundred threescor & sixtene persons, all Englishmen and of one nation, whereof the chiefe were the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lord Wacres, and the lord Welles, sir John Penell, Andrew Trollop, Robert Horne, and manie other knights and esquires, and the earle of Denonshire was taken prisoner, but the dukes of Summerfet and Excester fled from the field and saued themselves.

After this great victorie, king Edward rode to York, where he was with all solemnitie receiued; and first he caused the heads of his father, the earle of Salisburie, and other his friends, to be taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodies: and there he caused the earle of Denonshire, and three other to be beheaded, and set their heads in the same place. King Henrie, after he heard of the irreuerentable losse of his armie, departed incontinentlie with his wife and sonne to the towne of Berwik, and leauing the duke of Summerfet there, went into Scotland, and comming to the king of Scots, required of him and his counsell, aid, and comfort.

The young king of Scots, lamenting the miserable state of king Henrie, comforted him with faire words and friendlie promises, and assigned to him a competent pension to liue on, during his abode in Scotland. King Henrie, in recompense of this courtesie and friendship, deliuered to the king of Scots the towne of Berwik, whereof he had got possession. He faithfully supported the part of king Henrie, and concluded a mariage betwixt his sister, and the young prince of Wales, but the same was neuer consummate, as after ye shall heare. When king Henrie was somewhat settled in the reime of Scotland, he sent his wife and his sonne into France to king Reiner his father, trusting by his aid and succour to assemble an armie, and once againe to reconer his right and dignitie: but he in the meane time made his aboad in Scotland, to see what waie his friends in England would studie for his restitution.

The quene being in France, did obtaine of the young French king then Lewis the eleventh, that all his husbands friends, and those of the Lancastriall band, might safelie and suerlie haue resort into anie part of the realme of France, prohibiting all other of the contrarie faction anie access, or repaire into that countrie. Thus ye haue heard, how king Henrie the first, after he had reigned eight and thirtie yeares & od moneths, was dauen out of this realme. But now leauing him with the princes of his part,

consulting together in Scotland, and quene Margaret his wife gathering of men in France, I will returne where I left, to proceed with the doings of king Edward.

This young prince, hauing with prosperous success obtained so glorious a victorie in the mortall battell at Towton, and chased all his aduersaries out of the realme, or at the least waies put them to silence, returned after the maner and fashion of a triumphant conquerour, with great pompe vnto London; where according to the old custome of the realme, he called a great assemblie of persons of all degrees, and the nine & twentieth daie of June was at Westminster with solemnitie crowned and anointed king. In which yeare, this king Edward called his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which, the state of the realme was greatly reformed, and all the statutes made in Henrie the first his time (which touched either his title or profit) were renoued.

In the same parlement, the earle of Orford was stricken in age, and his sonne and heire the lord Albrete War, either through malice of their enemies, or for that they had offended the king, were both, with diuerse of their counsellors, attainted, and put to execution; which caused John earle of Orford euere after to rebell. There were also beheaded the same time, sir Thomas Tudenham knight, William Tirell, and John Montgomerie esquires, and after them diuerse others. Also after this, he created his two younger brethren dukes, that is to saie, lord George duke of Clarence, lord Richard duke of Gloucester; and the lord John Penell, brother to Richard earle of Marwick, he first made lord Pontacute, and afterwards created him marques Pontacute.

Beside this, Henrie Bourchier brother to Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, was created earle of Essex; and William lord Fauconbridge was made earle of Kent. To this Henrie lord Bourchier, a man highly renowned in martiall feats, Richard duke of Boke long before this time had given his sister Elizabeth in marriage, of whome he begat foure sonnes, William, Thomas, John, and Henrie: the which William being a man of great industrie, wit, and prouidence in graue and weightie matters, married the ladie Anne Mowbray, descended of high parentage, whose mother Jaquet was daughter to Peter of Lutzenburgh earle of saint Paule, by the which Anne he had lord Henrie earle of Essex, one daughter named Cicile, married to Walter lord Ferrers of Chartleie, and an other called Isabell, which died unmarried.

The earle of Kent was appointed about this time to keepe the seas, being accompanied with the lord Andeleie, the lord Clinton, sir John Howard, sir Richard Malgraue, and others, to the number of ten thousand, who landing in Brittain, wan the towne of Conquet, and the Ile of Keth, and after returned.

When all things were brought in order, and framed as king Edward in maner could wish, Henrie duke of Summerfet, sir Rafe Persie, and diuerse other, being in despair of all god chance to happen vnto king Henrie, came humble, & submitted themselves vnto king Edward, whome he gentlie receiued. Which clemencie notwithstanding, both the one and the other (when time serued) revolted from king Edward, and betoke themselves to take part with Henrie, vnto whom they had bene adherents before: because they grew in hope that in the end the confederats, to whom they so closelie did cleaue both in affection and seriosnesse of labour (though they pretended a temporall renunciation of all dutie and seruice for their securitie sake) should haue the honoe of victorie against their gainstanders. But as commonlie the euents of enterprises fall out contrarie to

R r. 1.

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1462
John Stow.

Anno Reg. 2.
The duke of Summerfet & other, submit them to king Edward.

mens expectation and hope; so came it to passe with these, whose hope though it were greene and flourie in the prosecuting of their affaires, yet in the knitting up of the matter and unluckie successe thereof, it fell out in trfall to be a flattering, a false, and a fruitlesse hope: and therefore that is a true and a wise sentence of the comiall poet well serving the purpose:

Insuperata accidunt magni sapè quam quæ speres.

Plant. in
Mosses.

1463
Anno Reg. 3.

The queene
returneth
forth of
France.

All this season was king Henrie in Scotland, and quene Margaret (being in France) found such friendship at the French kings hands, that she obtained a crue of five hundred Frenchmen, with the which she arrived in Scotland. And after that she had reposed hir selfe a time, she sailed with hir gallant band of those rustling Frenchmen toward Betocastell, and landed at Linmouth. But whether she were afraid of hir owne shadow, or that the Frenchmen cast too manie doubts, the truth is, that the whole armie returned to their ships, and a tempest rose so suddenlie, that if she had not taken a small carauell, and that with good speed arrived at Berwikke, she had bene taken at that present time by hir aduersaries.

And although fortune was so favourable to hir, yet hir companie with stormie blasts was driven on the shore before Banburgh castell, where they set their ships on fire, and fled to an Island called holie Island, where they were so assailed by the ballard Ogile, and an esquier called John Hanners, with other of king Edward friends, that manie of them were slaine, and almost foure hundred taken prisoners: but their coronell Peter Bessie, othertwise called monsieur de Clareine, happened upon a fisherman, and so came to Berwikke unto quene Margaret, who made him capteine of the castell of Alnewike, which he with his Frenchmen kept, till they were rescued.

Shortlie after, quene Margaret obtained a great companie of Scots, and other of hir friends, and so bringing hir husband with hir, and leaving hir sonne called prince Edward in the towne of Berwikke, entered Northumberland, took the castell of Banburgh, and stufed it with Scottishmen, and made thereof capteine sir Rafe Greie, and came forward toward the bishoprike of Durham. When the duke of Summerfet heard these newes, he without delaye resolted from king Edward, and fled to king Henrie. So likewise did sir Rafe Persie, and manie other of the kings friends. But manie mo followed king Henrie, in hope to get by the spoile: for his armie spoiled and burned towne, and destroyed fields where soeuer he came. King Edward aduertised of all these things, prepared an armie both by sea and land.

Some of his ships were rigged and vittelled at Lin, and some at Hull, and well furnished with soldiers were herewith set forth to the sea. Also the lord Pontacute was sent into Northumberland, there to raise the people to withstand his enemies. And after this, the king in his proper person, accompanied by his realme, came to the citie of Poike, furnished with a mightie armie, sending a great part thereof to the aid of the lord Pontacute, least peradventure he giuing too much confidence to the men of the bishoprike and Northumberland, might through them be deceived.

The Lord Pontacute then hauing such wish with him as he might trust, marched forth towards his enemies, and by the waie was encountered with the lord Hungerford, the lord Roos, sir Rafe Persie, and diuerse other, at a place called Hegelie more, where suddenlie the said lords, in maner without stroke striking, fled; and onclie sir Rafe Persie abode, and was there manfullie slaine, with diuerse other, saying then he was dying, I haue saved the bird in my bolosome: meaning that he had kept his promise and

oth made to king Henrie: forgetting (belike) that he in king Henries most necessitie abandoned him, and submitted him to king Edward, as before you haue heard.

The lord Pontacute, seeing fortune thus prosperous lie leading his saile, advanced forward; & learning by espials, that king Henrie with his host was incamped in a faire plaine called Liuels, on the water of Dowill in Gramshire, halted thither, and manfullie set on his enemies in their owne campe, which like desperate persons with no small courage received him. There was a foie foughten field, and long per either part could haue anie aduantage of the other: but at length the victorie fell to the lord Pontacute, who by fine force entered the battell of his enemies, and constrained them to flie, as despairing of all succours. In which flight and chase were taken Henrie duke of Summerfet, which before was reconciled to king Edward, the lord Roos, the lord Spolins, the lord Hungerford, sir Thomas Wentworth, sir Thomas Hulleie, sir John Ffinderne, and manie other.

King Henrie was a good horseman that day, for he rode so fast auaie that no man might ouertake him; and yet he was so nere pursued, that certeine of his henchmen were taken, their horses trapped in blue veluet, and one of them had on his head the said king Henries helmet, or rather (as may be thought, & as some say) his high cap of estate, called Abacot, garnished with two rich crownes, which was presented to king Edward at Poike the fourth day of Maie. The duke of Summerfet was incontinentlie beheaded at Erham; the other lords and knights were had to Betocastell, and there (after a little respite) were likewise put to death. Beside these, diuerse other, to the number of five and twentie, were executed at Poike, and in other places.

Sir Humfrie Perell, and William Tailbois, calling himselfe earle of Rime, sir Rafe Greie, and Richard Tunstall, with diuerse other, which escaped from this battell, hid themselves in secret places: but yet they kept not themselves so close, but that they were espied and taken. The earle of Rime was apprehended in Kildesdale, and brought to Betocastell, and there beheaded. Sir humfrie Perell was taken in Holdernesse, and at Poike lost his head. After this battell called Erham field, king Edward came to the citie of Durham, and sent from thence into Northumberland the earle of Warlowke, the lord Pontacute, the lords Fauconbridge & Scrope, to recouer such castles as his enemies there held, and with force defended.

They first besieged the castell of Alnewike, which sir Peter Bessie and the Frenchmen kept, and in no wise would yield, sending for aid to the Scots. Whereupon sir George Douglas erle of Angus, with thirtene thousand chosen men, in the day time came and rescued the Frenchmen out of the castell; the Englishmen looking on, which thought it much better to haue the castell without losse of their men, than to lose both the castell and their men, considering the great power of the Scots, & their owne small number: and so they entered the castell and manned it. After this, they towe the castell of Dunstanburgh by force, and likewise the castell of Banburgh. John Gots, seruant to the duke of Summerfet, being taken within Dunstanburgh, was brought to Poike, and there beheaded.

Sir Rafe Greie being taken in Banburgh, for that he had swozne to be true to king Edward, was disgraced of the high order of knightthod at Doncaster, by cutting off his gilt spurs, renting his cote of armes, and breaking his sword ouer his head: and finally, he was there beheaded for his manifest perjury. After this, king Edward returned to Poike, where

Banburgh
castell.

The duke of
Summerfet
resolucth.

The lord
Pontacute.

Hegelie
more.

Sir Rafe
Persie.

Erham field.

The duke of
Summerfet
taken.

King Henrie
fled.

The duke of
Summerfet
beheaded.

The earle of
Rime, others
toke English
beheaded.

Summerfet
first besieged.

1464
Anno Reg. 4.

King Henrie
taken.

Ab. Fl. ex L.S.
pag. 717.

The earle of
Pembroke.

Ab. Flem.

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where (in despite of the earle of Northumberland, who then kept himselfe in the realme of Scotland) he created sir John Beuill, lord Montacute earle of Northumberland; and in reproofe of Jasper earle of Penbroke, he created William lord Herbert earle of the same place. But after, when by mediation of friends, the earle of Northumberland was reconciled to his fauour, he restored him to his possessions, name, and dignitie; and preferred the lord Montacute to the title of marques Montacute: so that in degree, he was aboue his elder brother the earle of Mar-
10 wilke; but in power, policie, & possessions, far menier.

King Edward, though all things might seeme now to rest in good case, yet he was not negligent, in making necessarie provision against all attempts of his aduersarie king Henrie, and his partakers; and therefore raised bulwarks, and builded fortresses on eche side of his realme, where any danger was suspected for the landing of any armie. He caused also espials to be laid vpon the marches, for against Scotland, that no person should go out of the realme to king Henrie and his companie, which then sojourned in Scotland. But all the doubts of trouble that might insue by the means of king Henries being at libertie, were shortly taken away and ended: for he himselfe, whether he was past all feare; or that hee was not well established in his wits and perfect mind; or for that he could not long keepe himselfe secret, in disguised attire boldlie entred into England.

He was no sooner entred, but he was knowen and taken of one Cantlow, and brought toward the king, whom the earle of Marlowe met on the way by the kings commandement, and brought him through London to the Tower, & there he was laid in sure hold. ¶ But it is worthy the noting, which I haue obserued in a late chronographers report touching this matter; namely, that king Henrie was taken in Cletherwood, beside Bungeleie Hippingstons in Lancashire, by Thomas Talbot sonne and here to sir Edward Talbot of Basshall, and John Talbot his cousin of Colebie, which deceived him being at his dinner at Waddington hall, and brought him toward London, with his legs bound to the stirrups, where he was met by the earle of Marlowe, and arrested at Eldon; doctor Spanning deane of Windsor, doctor Scdle, and young Ellerton being in his companie, with their feet bound vnder the horse bellies were brought also to the Tower of London.]

¶ Queene Margarete, hearing of the captiuitie of hir husband, mistrusting the chance of hir sonne, all desolate and comfortlesse departed out of Scotland, and passed into France, where she remained with hir father duke Heiner, till she returned into England to hir harne, as after ye shall heare. The new duke of Summer set, and his brother John, sailed into France, where they also lived in great miserie, till duke Charles, because he was of their kin, as descended of the house of Lancaster by his mother, succoured them with a small pension, which was to them a great comfort. The earle of Penbroke went from countrie to countrie, not alwaies at his hearts ease, nor in safetie of life. [As for his dignitie and reputation, it was the more obscured, for that he had lost the title of his hono, and left at his wits end, doubtful and vn certaine in contrarie factions (as manie more) what to say or do for his best securitie. He neuer thelesse he concealed his inward discontentment, and as opportunitye of time ministered matter, so he grew in courage, and fell to practises of force (with other complices) therby to accomplish the claudie conceits of his troubled mind, being perswaded, that temporal misfortunes are, if not bitterlie auoidable, yet mansuallie to be withstood, or at least with audacitie & courage to be suffered, as the poet proprietye saith:

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.

King Edward being thus in more suertie of his life than before, distributed the possessions of such as took part with king Henrie the first, to his souldiers and capteins, which he thought had well deserved: and besides this, he left no other point of liberalitie vnshewed, whereby he might allure to him the benivolent minds and louing hearts of his people. And moreover, to haue the loue of all men, he shewed him selfe more familiar both with the nobilitie and commonaltie, than (as some men thought) was conuenient, either for his estate, or for his hono: notwithstanding the same liberalitie he euer after vsed. The lawes of the realme, in part he reformed, and in part he newlie augmented. The coine both of gold and siluer (which yet at this day is) he newlie deuised, and diuided; for the gold he named roials and nobles, and the siluer he called grotes and halfe grotes.

¶ In Michaelmasse terme were made sergeants at law, Thomas Pong, Nicholas Geneie, Richard Peale, Thomas Brian, Richard Wigot, John Greenfield, John Catesbie, and Gwie Fairfar, which held their feast in the bishop of Elies place in Holborne. To the which feast the maiors of London, with the aldermen, thriffes, and commons of diuers craftes being bidden, repaired. But when the maior looked to be set to keepe the state in the hall, as it had bene vsed in all places of the citie and liberties, out of the kings presence (vnknowne to the sergeants and against their wils, as they said) the lord Graie of Arthen then tresuroz of England was there placed, Wherevpon the maiors, aldermen, and commons departed home, and the maiors made all the aldermen to dine with him. Holobett he and all the citizens were greatlie displeased that he was so dealt with, and the new sergeants and others were right soie therefore, and had rather than much good it had not so happened. This was then (as my record reporteth more at large) registred to be a president in time to come.]

After that king Edward had reduced the state of the publike affaires vnto his liking; to purchase himselfe a good opinion and fauourable iudgement among the commons, he made proclamations, that all persons, which were adherents to his aduersaries part, & would leaue their armour, and submit themselves wholie to his grace and mercie, should be clerelie pardoned and forgiven. By this kind of courteous dealing he wan him such fauour of the people, that euer after, in all his warres, he was (thorough their aid and support) a victor and conqueror. When his realme was thus brought into a good & quiet estate, it was thought meet by him and those of his counsell, that a marriage were pouldred for him in some conuenient place; and therefore was the earle of Marlowe sent ouer into France, to demand the ladie Bona, daughter to Lewis duke of Sanoie, and sister to the ladie Carlot, then queene of France; which Bona was at that time in the French court.

The earle of Marlowe, comming to the French king, then lieng at Tours, was of him honourable receiued, and right courteously interteined. His message was so well liked, and his request thought so honourable for the aduancement of the ladie Bona, that hir sister queene Carlot obtained both the good will of the king hir husband, and also of hir sister the foresaid ladie: so that the matrimonie on that side was clerelie assented to, and the erle of Dampmartine appointed (with others) to saile into England, for the full finishing of the same. But here consider the old prouerbe to be true, which saith, that marriage goeth by destinie. For, during the time that the earle of Marlowe was thus in France, and (according to his instructions) brought the effect of his

New coine stamped,

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 716. Sergeants feast. Register of maiors.

The maiors of London departed from the sergeant's feast.

The earle of Marlowe sent into France about a marriage.

Exham field.

The Duke of Summer set taken.

King Henrie led.

The Duke of Summer set beheaded.

The earle of Arme, others wise Angus, beheaded.

A new coine still belleged.

1464
An. Reg. 4.

King Henrie taken.

An. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 717.

The earle of Penbroke.

As. Fleam.

The ladic
Elizabeth
Graie.

commission to passe, the king being on hunting in the forest of Wiltchwood besides Stonistratford, came for his recreation to the manor of Grafton, where the duchesse of Bedford then sojourned, wife to sir Richard Woodville lord Rivers, on whom was then attendant a daughter of hers, called the ladic Elizabeth Graie, widow of sir John Graie knight, slain at the last battell of saint Albons; as before ye have heard.

This widow, having a sute to the king for such lands as hir husband had given hir in jointure, so kindled the kings affection towards hir, that he not onelie favoured hir sute, but moze hir person; for she was a woman of a moze foymall countenance than of excellent beautie; and yet both of such beautie and favour, that with hir sober demeanour, swete looks, and comelie smiling (neither too wanton, nor too bashfull) besides hir pleasant tong and trim wit, she so allured and made subiect unto hir the heart of that great prince, that after she had desired him to be his paramour, with so good maner, and words so well set as better could not be devised; he smallie resolved with himselfe to marrie hir, not asking counsell of a nie man, till they might perceiue it was no botie to aduise him to the contrarie of that his concluded purpose; sith he was so farre gone that he was not renocable, and therefore had fixed his heart vpon the last resolution: namelie, to applie an holesome, honest, and honourable remedie to his affections fiered with the flames of loue, and not to permit his heart to the thraldome of vnlawfull lust: which purpose was both princelie and profitable; as the poet saith:

Quid, de rem,
an lib. 1.

*Prile propositum est sacus extinguere flammam,
Nec seruum vitij; pectus habere suum.*

But yet the duchesse of Bozke his mother letted this match as much as in hir laie: & when all would not serue, she caused a precontract to be alleged, made by him with the ladic Elizabeth Lucie. But all doubts resolved, all things made clere, and all cauellations auoided, yllulie in a morning he married the said ladic Elizabeth Graie at Grafton before said, where he first began to fanlie hir. And in the next yere after the was with great solemnitie crowned queene at Westminster. Hir father also was created earle Rivers, and made high constable of England: hir brother lord Anthonie was married to the sole heire of Thomas lord Scales: sir Thomas Graie sonne to sir John Graie the queenes first husband, was created marques Dorset, and married to Cicelie heire to the lord Bonuille. The French king was not well pleased to be thus dallied with; but he shortly (to appeare the gréefe of his wife and hir sister the ladic Bona) married the said ladic Bona to the duke of Spillan.

The earle of
Warwike of-
fended with
the kings ma-
riage.

Now when the earle of Warwike had knowledge by letters sent to him out of England from his true friends, that king Edward had gotten him a new wife, he was not a little troubled in his mind, for that he toke it his credence thereby was greatly diminished, and his honour much stained, namelie in the court of France: for that it might be imagined he came rather like an espiall, to moue a thing neuer minded, and to treat a marriage determined before not to take effect. Suerlie he thought himselfe euill used, that when he had brought the matter to his purposed intent and wished conclusion, then to haue it quailed on his part; so as all men might thinke at the least wife, that his prince made small account of him, to send him on such a sleuelesse errand.

All men for the most part agré, that this marriage was the onlie cause, why the earle of Warwike conceived an hatred against king Edward, whome he so much before favoured. Other affirme other causes, and one speciallie, for that king Edward did at-

tempt a thing once in the earles house, which was much against the earles honestie (whether he would haue deflowered his daughter or his niece, the certentie was not for both these honours openlie revealed) for suerlie, such a thing was attempted by king Edward; which loned well both to behold and also to fele faire damfels. But whether the iniurie that the earle thought he receiued at the kings hands, or the dishaine of authoritie that the earle had vnder the king, was the cause of the breach of amitie betwixt them: truth it is, that the priuie intentions of their hearts brake into so manie small peeces, that England, France, and Flanders, could neuer ioine them againe, during their naturall liues.

But though the earle of Warwike was earnestlie inflamed against the king, for that he had thus married himselfe without his knowledge, having regard onelie to the satisfieng of his wanton appetite, moze than to his honour or suertie of his estate; yet did he so much dissemble the matter at his returne into England, as though he had not vnderstood aie thing thereof: but onelie declared what he had done, with such reuerence, and shew of frændlie countenance, as he had bene accustomed. And when he had taried in the court a certeine space, he obtained licence of the king to depart to his castell of Warwike, meaning (when time serued) to viter to the world, that which he then kept secret, that is to saie, his inward grudge, which he bare towards the king, with desire of reuenge, to the bittermost of his power. Nevertheless, at that time he departed (to the outward shew) so farre in the kings fauour, that manie gentlemen of the court for honours sake gladdie accompanied him into his countrie.

This yere it was proclaimed in England, that the beakes or pikes of shoes and boots should not passe two inches, vpon paine of curfing by the cleargie; and for setting twentie shillings, to be paid one noble to the king, an other to the cordwainers of London, and the third to the chamber of London; and for other cities and tostones the like order was taken. Before this time, and since the yere of our Lord 1382, the pikes of shoes and boots were of such length, that they were faine to be tied vp vnto the knees with chaines of siluer and gilt, or at the least with silken laces.

In this yere also, the kings daughter, the ladic Elizabeth, after wile to king Vencie the seauenth, was bozne; king Edward concluded an amitie and league with Vencie king of Castile, and John king of Aragon; at the concluding thereof, he granted licence for certeine Cottehold shepe, to be transported into the countrie of Spaine (as people report) which haue there so multiplied and increased, that it hath turned the commoditie of England much to the Spanissh profit. Beside this, to haue an amitie with his next neighbour the king of Scots, he winked at the losse of Berwike, and was contented to take a truce for fiftene yeres. Thus king Edward, though for refusall of the French kings sister in law he wan him enemies in France; yet in other places he procured him friends: but those friends had stow him in small stead, if fortune had not holpe him to an other, even at his eldeth.

This was Charles earle of Charolois, the sonne and heire apparent vnto Phillip duke of Burgognie, which Charles being then a widower, was counselled to be suter vnto king Edward, for to haue in marriage the ladic Margaret, sister to the said king, a ladic of excellent beautie, and indued with so manie worthie gifts of nature, grace, and fortune, that she was thought vnto worthie to match with the greatest prince of the world. The lord Anthonie dard brother to the said earle Charolois, commonly called

An. Reg
The bastard
of Burgognie
ambassador
into England.

Just betwixt
the bastard of
Burgognie &
the lord
Scales.

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The death of
the duke of
Burgognie.

The earle of
Warwike
happeth his
great secret.

Abt. Fl. ex. 15
pag. 717.
Long pike
shoes & boots
then.

Cottehold
sheep & rams
ported into
Spain.

Great feud
Scots.

1467
Anno Reg.

The barbard
of Burgognie
ambassador
into England.

called the barbard of Burgognie, a man of great wit, courage, and valiantnesse, was appointed by his father duke Philip, to go into England in ambassage, about this tute; who being furnished of plate and apparell, necessarie for his estate, hauing in his companie gentlemen, and other expert in all feats of chivalrie and martiall prowesse, to the number of foure hundred horses, toke his ship, and arriued in England, where he was of the king & nobles honorable receiued.

This message being declared, ye may be sure the same was tollie heard of the king and his counsell; the which by that assent, saw how they might be assured of a buckler against France. But yet the earle of Marlowe, bearing his heartie fauour vnto the french king, did as much as in him lay by euill reports to hinder this marriage: but this notwithstanding, at length, the king granted to the barbard request; and the said barbard openlie in the kings great chamber contracted the said ladie Margarett, for, and in the name of his brother the said earle of Charolois. After this marriage thus concluded, the barbard challenged the lord Scales, brother to the queene, a man both equall in hart and valiantnesse with the barbard, to fight with him both on horsebacke, and on foot: which demand the lord Scales gladly accepted.

Just betwixt
the barbard of
Burgognie &
the lord
Scales.

The king causing lists to be prepared in Westsmithfield for these champions, and verie faire and coslie galleries for the ladies, was present at this martiall enterprize himselfe. The first daie they ran together diuerse courses with sharpe speares, and departed with equall honoz. The next day they turneied on horsebacke. The lord Scales horse had on his chafron a long sharpe pike of Steele, and as the two champions coped together, the same horse (whether thorough custome or by chance) thrust his pike into the nosegills of the barbards horse; so that for verie paine he mounted so high, that he fell on the one side with his master, and the lord Scales rode round about him with his sword in his hand, untill the king commanded the marshall to helpe vp the barbard, which openlie said; I can not hold me by the clouds, for though my horse faileth me, fuerlie I will not faile my contercompanion. The king would not suffer them to doe anie more that daie.

The morow after, the two noblemen came into the field on foot, with two polaxes, and fought valiantlie; but at the last, the point of the polar of the lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the barbards helme, and by fine force might haue plucked him on his knees: the king suddenlie cast downe his warder, and then the marshalls them seuered. The barbard not content with this chance, and trusting on the cunning which he had at the polar, required the king of iustice, that he might performe his enterprize. The lord Scales refused it not, but the king said, he would aske counsell: and so calling to him the constable, and the marshall, with the officers of armes, after consultation had, and the lawes of armes rehearsed, it was declared for a sentence definitive, by the duke of Clarence, then constable of England, and the duke of Norfolke, then marshall; that if he would go forward with his attempted challenge, he must by the law of armes be deliuered to his aduersarie, in the same state and like condition as he stood when he was taken from him.

The barbard hearing this iudgement, doubted the sequelle of the matter; and so relinquished his challenge. Other challenges were done, and valiantlie attended by the Englishmen, which I passe ouer. Shortly after came sorrowfull tidings to the barbard, that his father duke Philip was dead, who there-

upon taking his leaue of king Edward, and of his sister the new duchesse of Burgognie, liberallie rewarded with plate and iewels, with all speed returned to his brother the new duke, who was not a little glad of the contract made for him with the said ladie, as after well appeared. In this same yeare, king Edward, more for the loue of the marques Montacute, than for auncie fauour he bare to the earle of Marlowe, promoted George Penill their brother to the archbishopricke of Yorke.

George Penill
archbishop
of Yorke.

Charles duke of Burgognie, reioysing that he had so well sped, for conclusion of marriage with king Edwards sister, was verie desirous to see hir, of whome he had heard so great praise, & wrote to king Edward, requiring him to send his sister ouer vnto him, according to the conenants passed betwixt them. King Edward being not slacke in this matter, appointed the dukes of Excester and Suffolke, with their wiues, being both sisters to the ladie Margaret, to attend hir, till she came to hir husband. And so after that ships, and all other necessarie provisions were readie, they being accompanied with a great sort of lords and ladies, and others, to the number of five hundred horse, in the beginning of June departed out of London to Douer, and so sailed to Sluis, and from thence was conueied to Bruges, where the marriage was solemnized betwixt the duke and hir, with great triumphs, & princelie feastings. Touching the pompe had and bled at the setting forward of this ladie on hir voiage it is a note worth the reading; and therefore necessarilie here interlaced for honours sake.

1468.
Anno Reg. 8.

The ladie
Margaret
sister to king
Edward,
sent ouer to
the duke of
Burgognie.

On the eighteenth of June, Margaret sister to king Edward the fourth began hir iornie from the Wardrobe in London, toward hir marriage with Charles duke of Burgognie: first she offered in the church of saint Paule, and then rode thorough the citie, the earle of Marlowe riding before hir, with earles and barons a great number; the duchesse of Norfolke, with other ladies and gentlewomen in great number. And at hir entrie into Cheape, the maiors of London and his brethren the aldermen presented hir with a pair of rich balons, & in them an hundred pounds of gold, and that night she lodged at the abbrie of Stratford, where the king then lay: from thence she toke hir iournie to Canturburie.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 719, 720.
in Quart.

The king riding after to see hir shipping, on the first of Iulie, she toke the sea at Margate, and there toke leaue of the king hir brother, and departed. There returned backe againe with the king, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Marlowe, Shrewsburie, and Northumberland. And there abode with hir in the ship, the lord Scales, the lord Dacres hir chamberlaine, sir John Mowbray, sir John Holward, and manie other famous knights and esquires. She was shipped in the new Ellen of London, and in hir nauie the John of Newcastle, the Marie of Salisburie, and manie other roiall ships, and on the morow landed at Sluis in Flanders. Now as soone as hir ship & companie of ships were entered into the haven, there receiued hir sir Simon de Alein and the water bailiffe, in diuerse boats and barks apparelled readie for hir landing.

The first estate that receiued hir was the bishop of Etricht well accompanied, and the countesse of Home barbard daughter to duke Philip of Burgognie, and with hir manie ladies and gentlewomen; and so proceeding in at the gate of the towne, the same towne was presented to hir, she to be loue reigne ladie thereof: also they gaue to hir twelue marks of gold Troie weight, the which was two hundred pounds of English monie; and so proceeded thorough the towne to hir lodging, cuerie householding standing

Ar. iiij.

standing

The earle of
Warwicke
keepeth his
great secret.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 717.

Long piked
shoes for horse
den.

1466.
Anno Reg. 8.

Cottishub
shewe trans-
ported into
Spainne.

Trace with
scots.

The lawe of
armes.

1467
Anno Reg. 7.

The death of
the duke of
Burgognie.

standing in the street with a torch in his hand burning. On the morrow the old duchesse of Burgognie came to hir, accompanied with manie great estates. On the third of Julie came the duke of Burgognie to Sluis, with twentie persons secretlie, and was there openlie affianced to the ladie Margaret, by the bishop of Salisburie and the lord Scales, in presence of the lord Dacres, the duchesse of Norfolk, the ladie Scales, and all the knights & esquiers; gentlewomen inatironing the chamber.

On the 8 of Julie (being saturday) by the duke of Burgognies appointment, the lady Margaret removed by water to the Dame. And on the Sunday in the morning betwixt five and six of the clocke, the marriage was solemnized betwixt them, by the bishops of Salisburie and of Turneie; there being present the old duchesse of Burgognie, the lord Scales, the lord Dacres, with the knights, esquiers, ladies & gentlewomen that came out of England. The great triumphs, feastings, shewes of pageants, with other strange deuises, and iustings, were such as I haue not read the like, and would be ouer long in this place to set downe.

¶ Of this alliance with other more mention is honorable made in the declaration of the causes that moued the Quene of England to giue aid to the defense of the people afflicted & oppressed in the low countries, by the Spaniards, namelie for the maintenance of perpetuall annitie. Which declaration is so set forth in this booke, as the same in the seven and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne was published: vnto which yeare I remit the reader (for the further search thereof) for that it containeth much memorable matter, touching the manifest causes of concord to be continued betwene them of the low countries and vs English.]

Sir Thomas Coke late maior of London, was by one named Watkins appeached of treason, for the which he was sent to the Tower, and his place within London seized by the lord Rivers, and his wife and seruants clerelie put out therof. The cause was this. The forenamed Watkins came vpon a season vnto the said sir Thomas, requesting him to lend a thousand markes vpon good suretie, wherevnto he answered, that first he would know for whome it should be and for what intent.

At length, vnderstanding it should be for the vse of quene Margaret, he answered he had no curraunt wares thereof anie gifts might be made without too much losse: and therefore required Watkins to moue him no farther in that matter, for he intended not to deale withall: yet the said Watkins exhorted him to remember, what benefitts he had receiued by hir when she was in prosperitie, as by making him hir wardrober, and custומר of Hampton, &c.

But by no meanes the said Coke would grant goods nor monie, although at last the said Watkins required but an hundred pounds, he was faine to depart without the value of a penie, and neuer came againe to moue him, which so rested two or three years after, till the said Watkins was cast in the Tower, and at length brought to the stake, called the duke of Excessers daughter, by meanes of which paine he shewed manie things, amongst the which the motion was one that he had made to sir Thomas Coke, and accused himselfe so farre, that he was put to death.

By meane of which confession, the said sir Thomas was troubled (as before is shewed) when the said sir Thomas had laine in the Tower from Whitsuntide till about Michaelmas, in the which season manie inquiries were made to find him guiltie, and euer quit, till one turtie (by meanes of sir John Fog) indicted him of treason, after which an oier and terminer was kept at the Cusshall, in which sat with the maior the

duke of Clarence, the earle of Warwicke, the lord Rivers, sir John Fog, with other of the kings council.

To the which place the said Thomas was brought, and there arraigned vpon life and death, where he was acquitted of the said indictment, and had to the counter in Breadstreet, and from thence to the kings bench. After a certeine time that he was thus acquitted, his wife got againe the possession of hir house, the which she found in an euill plight; for such seruants of the lord Rivers and sir John Fog, as were assigned to keepe it, made haucke of what they listed.

Also at his place in Essex named Cusshall, were set an other sort to keepe that place, the which destroyed his deere in his parke, his comes, and his fish, without reason, and spared not bazzle, pettiter, bedding, & all that they might carie, for the which might neuer one penie be gotten in recompense, yet could not sir Thomas Coke be deliuered, till he had paid eight thousand pounds to the king, and eight hundred pounds to the quene.]

In this meane time, the earle of Warwicke bearing a continuall grudge in his hart toward king Edward, since his last returne out of France, persuaded so with his two brethren, the archbishop, and the marques, that they agreed to ioinc with him in anie attempt which he should take in hand against the said king. The archbishop was easilie allured to the earles purpose, but the marques could by no meanes be reduced to take anie part against king Edward of a long time, till the earle had both promised him great rewards and promotions, and also assured him of the aid and power of the greatest princes of the realme. And euen as the marques was loth to consent to his unhappie conspiracie, so with a faint hart he shewed himselfe an enimie vnto king Edward, which doubled dissimulation was both the destruction of him and his brethren. ¶ And that they were persuasions of no small force, which the earle of Warwicke used to the archbishop and marques, I haue thought good here to interlace, as I find remembred by Edward Hall in forme following.

The persuasions of the earle of Warwicke vnto his two brethren against king Edward the fourth.

My deere and welbeloued brethren, the incredible faithfulness, the secret sobernesse, and the politike prudence that I haue euer by long continuance of time experimented in you both, doth not onelie encourage my heart, yea and setteth me in great hope of obtaining my purpose, but also putteth me out of all dread and mistrust, firmelie beleauing, and surerlie iudging, that you both will with tooth and naile endeavour your selues, to the uttermost of your power, to bring to effect and purpose the thing that I now shall declare vnto you. Surcelie, I would in no wise that you should thinke, that that which I shall speake to you of king Edward and king Henrie, should rise of any highnesse or phantasie of my mind, or anie trifeling toie latelie fallen in my imagination; but the true experience and iust iudgement that I haue of them both, their qualities and conditions, in manner compell and constrainc me to saie as I say, and to doo as I doo.

Abt. Fl.

* Given at Richmond on the first of October, An. Dom. 1585. & Anno Reg. 27.

Fabian. 497.
Sir Thomas Coke.

Abt. Flex.
Edw. Hall. 6.
Edw. 4. fol.
ccxviii. &c.

for suerlie, king Henrie is a godlie, good, and a vertuous person, neither forgetting his friends, nor putting in obliuion anie benefit by him of a meane person receiued, nor yet anie paine for his causes susteined, hath he left unrewarded: to whome God hath sent a sonne, called prince Edward, borne to be of great worthinesse & praise, of much bountifullnesse and liberalitie, of whome men may manie laudable things coniecture, considering the paine, labour, and trauell, that he taketh to helpe his father out of captiuitie and thraldome. King Edward on the contrarie side, is a man contumelious, opprobrious, and an iniurious person; to them that deserue kindnesse he sheweth unkindnesse, and them that loue him he deadiie hateth, now detesting to take anie paine for the preferment or maintenance of the publike wealth of this realme, but all giuen to pastime, pleasure, and daliance; sooner preferring to high estate men descended of low blood and base degree, than men of old and vndeiled houses, which haue both supported him and the commonwealth of his realme.

So that I now perceiue, that it is euen come to this point, that he will destroe all the nobilitie; or else the nobilitie must shortly be of vertie necessitie destroe and confound him. But reason would, that we that were first hurt, should first reuenge our cause: for it is not vnknownen to you both, how that he, immediatlie after he had obtained the crowne, began first secretlie, & then openlie to enuie, disdain, and impugne the fame, glorie, and renowne of our house and familie; as who said, that all the honor, preferment, and authoritie that we haue, we had onelie receiued at his hands, and that we had neither obtained dignitie nor rule by our great labour, aid and trauell. Which to all men may seeme vntrue, that consider that our name, chiefe title, and principall authoritie, was to vs giuen by king Henrie the first, and not by him. But if euery man will remember, who first toke part with his father, when he claimed the crowne (who at that time, for that cause was in great iopardie, and almost slaine by the kings meniall seruants, and who neuer left this man in prosperitie nor aduersitie, till he had the garland, and the realme in quietnesse) shall manifestlie perceive, that we and our blood haue shewed our selues more like fathers to him, than he like a friend to vs.

If we haue receiued any benefits of him, suerlie they be not so much as we haue deserved, nor so much as we looked for; and yet they be much more than he would we should know, as ye both well perceiue and know. Let these things ouerpasse, and speake of the vngentle, vntrue, and vnprincipall handling of me in the last ambassage, being sent to the french king for to treat a marriage for him, hauing full authoritie to bind and to lose, to contract and conclude. Which thing when I had finished & accomplished:

how lightlie his mind changed, how priuie he bowed, and how secretlie he married, both you know better than I. So that by this meanes, I was almost out of all credence in the court of France, both with the king and quene, as though I had come thither like an elpiall, to moue a thing neuer minded; or to treat of a marriage determined before neuer to take effect. Whereby the fame of all our estimation, which all kings and princes haue conceived in vs (partlie obtained by the vertue & proffesse of our noble ancestors, and partlie atchiued by our owne paines & forward acts) shall now be obfuscate, vtterlie extingwished, and nothing set by.

What woyme is touched, and will not once turne againe: What beast is stricken, that will not roze or sound: What innocent child is hurt that will not crie: If the poore and vnreasonable beasts, if the selie babes that doe lacke discretion, grone against harme to them proffered; how ought an honest man to be angrie, when things that touch his honestie be daillie against him attempted: But if a meane person in that case be angrie: how much more ought a noble man to fume & stirre coales, when the high type of his honour is touched, his fame in maner brought to infamie, and his honour almost blemished & appalled, without his offense or desert: All this brethren you know to be true, the dishonor of one is the dishonor of vs all, and the hurt of one is the hurt of all: wherefore, rather than I will liue vnreuenged; or suffer him to reigne, which hath sought my decarie and dishonor, I will suerlie spend my life, lands, and goods, in setting by that iust and good man king Henrie the first: and in deposing this vntrue, vnfaithfull, and unkind prince (by our onelie means) called king Edward the fourth.

Before all this, the earle of Marwike, being a far casting prince, perceiued somewhat in the duke of Clarence, whereby he iudged that he bare no great good will towards the king his brother; and thereby on, feeling his mind by such talke as he of purpose ministred, vnderstood how he was bent, and so won him to his purpose: and for better assurance of his faithfull friendship, he offered him his eldest daughter in marriage; with the whole halfe deale of his wines inheritance. And hereupon, after consultation had of their weightie businesse and dangerous affaires, they sailed ouer to Calis, of the which towne the earle was capitaine, where his wife & two daughters then sojourned, whome the duke (being in love with his person) had great desire to visit.

But the earle, hauing in continuall remembrance his purposed enterprize, appointed his brethren, the archbishop and the marquess, that they should by some meanes in his absence stirre up some new rebellion in the countie of Worke, and other places adjoining, so that this ciuill warre should seeme to all men to haue bene begun without his assent or knowledge, being on the further side of the seas. The duke of Clarence being come to Calis with the earle of Marwike, after he had sworn on the sacrament to keepe his promise and pact made with the said earle whole and inuiolate, he married the ladie Isabel, eldest daughter.

A commotion
in Yorkeshire.

Saint Leonards hospitall
in Yorkeshire.

A rebellion.

Robert Hildborne
captaine of the rebels
taken and beheaded.

Sir John Coniers.

The earle of
Penbroke.

daughter to the earle, in our ladies church there. Shortly after, according as had bene aforehand devised, a commotion was begun in Yorkeshire, to the great disquieting of that countrie. The same chanced by this means.

There was in the citie of Yorke an old and rich hospitall, dedicated to saint Leonard, for the harbouring and relieving of poore people. Certaine euill disposed persons of the earle of Marwikes faction, intending to set a boile in the countrie, perswaded the husbandmen to refuse to giue anie thing to the said hospitall, affirming that the corne giuen to that good intent, came not to the vse of the poore; but was conuerted to the behoofe of the maister of the hospitall, and the preests, whereby they grew to be rich, and the poore people wanted their due succour and reliefe. And not content with these sayings, they fell to doings: for when the proctors of the hospitall, according to their vsage, went about the countrie to gather the accustomed corne, they were soze beaten, wounded, and euill intreated.

Shortly after, the conspiracie of the euill disposed people grew to an open rebellion, so that there assembled to the number of sixtene thousand men, euen readie bent to set on the citie of Yorke. But the lord marquisse Pontacute, gouernour and president of that countrie for the king, taking spedic counsell in the matter, with a small number of men, but well chosen, incountred the rebels before the gates of Yorke: where (after a long conflict) he took Robert Hildborne their captaine, and before them commanded his head to be stricken off, and then (because it was a darke euening) he caused his souldiers to enter in to Yorke, and there to refresh them. Here manie men haue marvelled, why the marquisse thus put to death the captaine of those people, which had procured this their rebellious enterpryse.

Some saie he did it, to the intent to seme innocent and faultlesse of his brothers doings. But other iudge, that he did it, for that contrarie to his promise made to his brother, he was determined to take part with king Edward, with whom (as it shall after appeare) he in small space entered into grace and fauour. The rebels being nothing dismayed with the death of their captaine, but rather the more bent on mischief, by faire meanes and craftie persuaasions got to them Henric, sonne to the lord Fitz Hugh, and sir Henric Percill sonne and heire to the lord Latimer, the one being nephue and the other cousine germane to the earle of Marwike. Although these yong gentlemen bare the names of captains, yet they had a gouernour that was sir John Coniers, a man of such courage & balliantnesse, as few were to be found in his daies within the north parts.

After they saw that they could not get Yorke, because they wanted ordinance, they determined with all speed to march toward London, intending to raise such a tole in the peoples minds, that they should thinke king Edward neither to be a lawfull prince, nor yet profitable to the common-wealth. King Edward hauing perfect knowledge of all the doings of the earle of Marwike, and of his brother the duke of Clarence, was by diuerse letters certified of the great armie of the northerne men, with all speed comming toward London; and therefore in great haste he sent to William lord Herbert, whom (as ye haue heard) he had created earle of Penbroke; requiring him without delate to raise his power, and incounter with the northerne men.

The earle of Penbroke, commondie called the lord Herbert, both readie to obeie the kings commandement, according to his dutie, and also desirous to reuenge the malice which he bare to the earle of Marwike, for that he knew how he had bene the onelie

let whie he obtained not the wardship of the lord Bonnevilles daughter and heire for his eldest sonne, accompanied with his brother sir Richard Herbert, a ballant knight, and aboue sir 20 seauen thousand Welshmen, well furnished, marched forward to incounter with the northerne men. And to assist him with archers, was appointed Humfrie lord Stafford of Southwike, named but not created earle of De. The lord Stafford by the king, in hope that he would serue as ballantlie in that iourne: he had with him eight hundred archers.

When these two lords were met at Cotesfold, they heard how the northerne men were going toward Southampton: whereupon the lord Stafford, and sir Richard Herbert, with two thousand well horsed Welshmen, rode forth afore the maine armie, to see the demeanour of the northerne men: and at length, vnder a woods side, they conertlie espied them passing forward, and suddenlie set on the rearward: but the northerne men with such nimblenesse turned about, that in a moment the Welshmen were discomfited, and manie taken, the remnant returned to the armie with small gaine. The northerne men well cooled with this small victorie, went no further southwards, but toke their waie toward Marwike, looking for aid of the earle, which was lathie come from Calles, with his sonne in law the duke of Clarence, and was raising men to aid his friends and kinsfolke.

The king likewise assembled people to aid the earle of Penbroke, but before either part received succour from his friend or partaker, both the armies met by chance in a faire plaine, nere to a towne called Hedgocote, foure miles distant from Banberie, where there are three hilles, not in equall quantitie, but lieng in manner (although not fullie) triangle. The Welshmen got first the west hill, hoping to haue recovered the east hill also, which if they might haue obtained, the victorie had bene theirs, as their foolish prophesiers told them before. These northerne men incamped on the south hill; the earle of Penbroke and the lord Stafford of Southwike were lodged in Banberie, the daie before the fielde, which was saint James daie, and there the earle of Penbroke put the lord Stafford out of an inn, wherein he delighted much to be, for the loue of a damosell that dwelled in the house: and yet it was agreed betwixt them, that which of them sooner obtained first a lodging, should not be displaced.

The lord Stafford in great despite departed with his whole band of archers, leauing the earle of Penbroke almost desolate in the towne, who with all diligence returned to his host, lieng in the fielde surrounded of archers. Sir Henric Percill, sonne to the lord Latimer, toke with him certaine light horsemen, and skirmished with the Welshmen in the euening, iust before their campe, where doing right ballantlie, but a little too hardilie aduenturing himselfe, was taken and yelded, and yet cruellie slaine. Which very mercifull act the Welshmen soze rued the next day per night: for the northerne men soze displeased for the death of this noble man, in the next morning ballantlie set on the Welshmen, and by force of archers caused them quicklie to descend the hill, into the valley, where both the hostis fought.

The earle of Penbroke did right ballantlie, and so likewise did his brother sir Richard Herbert, in so much that with his polar in his hand, he twice by fine force passed thorough the battell of his aduersaries, and without anie hurt or moztall wound returned. But see the hap, euen as the Welshmen were at point to haue obtained the victorie, John Clapam esquier, seruant to the earle of Marwike, mounted by the side of the east hill, accompanied onelie

The we men slain

Abt. Flem

Robin of Hedgocote
the earle
sons and
sonne be-
hed.

The lord
Stafford
Southwike
beheaded.

Discomfited
it by archers

The best
members of
sir Richard
Herbert.

John Clapam

m. 1469.

An. Reg. 10.

onelle with five hundred men, gathered of the rascals of the towne of Southampton, and other villages about, having bozre before them the standard of the earle of Marlowe, with the white beare, crying; A Marlowe, a Marlowe.

The Welshmen, thinking that the earle of Marlowe had come on them with all his puissance, suddenly as men amazed, fled: the northerne men them pursued, and five without mercie, so that there died of the Welshmen that date, above five thousand, besides them that fled and were taken. The earle of Penbroke, and his brother sir Richard Herbert, with diuerse gentlemen, were taken and brought to Banberie, where the earle with his brother, and other gentlemen, to the number of ten, that were likewise taken, lost their heads. But great moue was made for that noble and hardie gentleman, sir Richard Herbert, being able for his goodlie personage and high balliance, to haue secured the greatest prince in Christendome. [But what policie or puissance can either prevent or impugne the force of fate, whose law as it standeth vpon an inevitable necessitie; so was it not to be dispensed withall; and therefore destine hauing preordained the manner of his death, it was patientlie to be suffered, sith puissance it could not be auoided, nor politike preuented, nor violentlie resisted: for

— sua queng dies ad funera raprat.]

The Southamptonshire men, with diuerse of the northerne men by them procured, in this furie made them a capteine, called Robert Willard, but they named him Robin of Reddesdale, and suddenly came to Crasson, where they toke the earle Riners, father to the quene, and his son sir John Modulle, whome they brought to Southampton, and there beheaded them both without iudgement. The king aduertised of these mishances, wrote to the Shyrciffes of Summerfetshire, and Denonshire, that if they might by any means take the lord Stafford of Southwike, they should without delay put him to death. Whereupon search was made for him, till at length he was found in a village within Brentmarch, and after brought to Bridgewater where he was beheaded.

After the battell was thus fought at Hedgocote commonlie called Banberie field, the northerne men rested toward Marlowe, where the earle had gathered a great multitude of people, which earle received the northerne men with great gladnes, thanking sir John Coniers, and other their capteins for their paines taken in his cause. The king in this meane time had assembled his power, and was comming toward the earle, who being aduertised thereof, sent to the duke of Clarence, requiring him to come and some with him. The duke being not farre off, with all speed repaired to the earle, and so they joined their powers together, and vpon secret knowledge had, that the king (because they were entered into termes by waie of communication to haue a peace) toke small heed to himselfe, nothing doubting any outward attempt of his enemies.

The earle of Marlowe, intending not to lose such opportunitie of aduantage, in the dead of the night, with an elect companie of men of warre (as secretlie as was possible) set on the kings field, killing them that kept the watch, and per the king was ware (for he thought of nothing lesse than of that which then hapned) at a place called Molnie, foure miles from Marlowe, he was taken prisoner and brought to the castell of Marlowe. And to the intent his friends should not know what was become of him, the earle caused him by secret iournies in the night to be conueied to Spidleham castell in Dorsetshire, and there to be kept vnder the custodie of the archbishop of Dorset, and other his friends in those parties. King Edward being thus in captiuitie, spake ever faire to

the archbishop, and to his other keepers, so that he had leaue diuerse daies to go hunt. [Which exercise he vsed, as it should seme, not so much for regard of his recreation, as for the recouerie of his libertie; which men esteeme better than gold, and being counted a diuine thing, both passe all the wealth, pleasure, and treasure of the world; according to the old saing:

Non bene profuluo libertas venditur auro;

Hoc celeste bonum preterit orbis opes.]

Now on a daie vpon a plaine when he was thus abode, there met with him sir William Stanleie, sir Thomas a Bozough, and diuers other of his friends, with such a great band of men, that neither his keepers would, nor once durst moue him to returne vnto prison againe. Some haue thought that his keepers were corrupted with monie, or faire promises, and therefore suffered him thus to scape out of danger. After that he was once at libertie, he came to Dorset, where he was iustlie received, and taried there two daies: but when he perceived he could get no armie together in that countie to attend him to London, he turned from Dorset to Lancaster, where he found his chamberleine the lord Hastings well accompanied, by whose aid and such others as were to him, being well furnished, he came safelie to the citie of London.

When the earle of Marlowe, and the duke of Clarence had knowledge how king Edward by the treason or negligence of them (whome they had put in trust) was escaped their hands, they were in a wonderfull chafe: but sith the chance was past, they began effsones to prouide for the warre, which they saw was like to insue; and found much comfort, in that a great number of men, desiring more in discord than in concord, offered themselves to aid their side. But other good men desirous of common quiet, and lamenting the miserable state of the realme, to redresse such mischief as appeared to be at hand by these tumults, toke paine, and road betwene the king, the earle, and the duke, to reconcile them each to other.

Their charitable motion and causes allegeded, because they were of the chiefest of the nobilitie, and therefore caried both credit and authoritie with them, so alluaged the moods both of the king, the duke, and the earle; that each gaue faith to other to come and go safelie without leopards. In which promise both the duke and earle putting perfect confidence, came both to London. At Westminster, the king, the duke, and the earle, had long communication together, so to haue come to an agreement: but they fell at such great words vpon reherfall of old matters, that in great furie without any conclusion they departed, the king to Canturburie, and the duke and the earle to Marlowe, where the earle procured a new armie to be raised in Lincolneshire, and made capteine thereof sir Robert Welles, sonne to Richard lord Welles, a man of great experience in warre.

The king aduertised hereof, without delay prepared an armie, and out of hand he sent to Richard lord Welles, willing him vpon the sight of his letters, to repaire vnto him: which to do he had oftentimes refused, excusing himselfe by sicknesse and feblenesse of bodie. But when that excuse serued not, he thinking to purge himselfe sufficientlie of all offense and blame before the kings presence, toke with him sir Thomas Dimmocke, who had married his sister, and so came to London. And when he was come, by being admonished by his friends that the king was greatlie with him displeased, he with his brother in law toke the sanctuarie at Westminster.

But king Edward, trusting to pacifie all this civile tumult without any further bloodshed, promised both those persons their pardons, causing them vpon his promise to come out of sanctuarie to his presence,

Abr. Flem.

Sir William Stanleie, Is. Edward is deliuered out of captiuitie.

The cometh to London.

The welsh men slain.

Abr. Flem.

Robin of Reddesdale, The earle Riners and his sonne beheaded.

The lord Stafford of Southwike beheaded.

Hedgocote, Banberie field

Discord wher it was bred.

The battell nanham of sir Richard Herbert.

John Clapman.

King Edward taken prisoner.

Spidleham castell.

Sir Thomas Dimmocke.

Richard lord Welles, I 476.

Anno Reg. 10.

The lord
welles and
Thomas
Dimmoche
beheaded.

Rescote Field

The faithfulness of the
lord Stanlie.

The duke of
Clarence and
the earle of
Warwike
take the sea.

The earle of
Warwike
kept out of
Calis.

Monfieur de
Mauclore
made de putie
of Calis.

sence, and calling to him the lord Welles, willed him to write to his sonne to leaue off the warre, and in the meane season he with his armie went forwarde, hauing with him the lord Welles, and sir Thomas Dimmocke. And being not past two daies iourne from Stamford, where his enimies had pitched their field, and hearing that sir Robert Welles, not regarding his fathers letters, kept his campe still, he caused the lord Welles, father to the said sir Robert, and sir Thomas Dimmocke to be beheaded, contrarie to his promise.

Sir Iohann Welles, hearing that the king approached, and that his father and sir Thomas Dinmocke were beheaded, though he was somewhat doubtful to fight, before the earle of Warburtone doubtfull his power assembled, yet hauing a yong and lustie courage, manfullie set on his enemies. The battell was forse fought on both sides, and manie a man slaine; till sir Iohann, perceluing his people at point to flie, was busilie in hand to exhort them to tarie, and in the meane time compassed about with enemies was there taken, & with him sir Thomas de L. and knight, and manie more. After the taking of their captaine, the Lincolnshire men amazed, theyr awaie their coats the lighter to run awaie, and fled amaine, and therefore this battell is called there yet vnto this daie. I. of cote field.

The king reioicing at this victorie, caused sir Robert Welles, and diuerse other to be put to execution in the same place. The same went that at this battell were slaine ten thousand men at the least. The earle of Marlowke laie at the same time at his castell of Marlowke, and meant to haue set forward the next daie toward his armie in Lincolnshire. But when he heard that the same was ouerthrowne, he toke new counsell, and with all diligence imagined how to compassse Thomas lord Stanleie, which had married his sister; that he might be one of the conspiracie. Which thing when he coult not bring to passe, (so the lord Stanleie had answered him, that he woulde neuer make warre against king Edward) he thought no longer to spend time in loase; and mistrusting he was not able to meet with his enemies, he with his sonne in law the duke of Clarence departed to Exeter, and there tarrying a few daies, determined to saile into France to purchase aid of king Lewis.

Now resting upon this point, he hired ships at Dartmouth: and when the same were readie trimm'd and deck'd, the duke and the earle with their wives, and a great number of seruants imbarked themselves, and first toke their course towards Calis, whereof the earle was capitaine, thinking there to haue left his wife and daughters, till he had returned out of France. But when they were come before the towne of Calis, they could not be suffered to enter: for the lord Auclere a Gascoigne, being the earles deputie in that towne, whether he did it by dissimulation, or bearing good will to king Edward (as by the sequelle it may be doubted whether he did or no) in stead of receiuing his master with triumph, he bent and discharged against him diuerse peeces of ordinance, sending him word he should not there take land.

This naute lieng thus before Calis at anchor, the duchesse of Clarence was there deliuered of a faire sonne, which this the earles deputie would scarce suffer to be distressed within the towne, nor without great intreatie would permit two dragons of wine to be conuied aboard to the ladies lieng in the haven. The king of England aduertised of the refusal made by monsieur de Glauciere to the earle of Marlowe, was so much pleased therewith, that incontinentlie he made him chiefe captaine of the towne of Calis by his letters patents, which he sent

to him out of hand, and thereof discharged the earle as a traitor and rebell. Thus was the one in respect of his accepted service honorable advanced; and the other, in regard of his disloyaltie shamefullie disgraced; whereof as the one took occasion of inward delight; so the other could not be void of grudging conceits.

The duke of Burgognie (unto whome king Edward had writtten, that in no wise he should receive the earle of Warwicke, nor anie of his friends within his countries) was so well pleased with the dooings of monsieur de Waulerue, that he sent to him his servant Philip de Cumins, and gaue him pence, lie a thousand crownes in pension, praieng and requirring him to continue in truth and fidelitie toward king Edward, as he had shewed and begun. But although monsieur de Waulerue swore in the said Philips presence, trulie to take king Edwards part, yet he sent priuillie to the earle of Warwicke lieng at Whitlanbate, that if he landed, he should be taken and loof: for all England (as he said) took part against him; the duke of Burgognie, and all the inhabitants of the towne, with the lord Duras the kings marshall, and all the retinue of the garrison were his enemies.

The earle, hauing this aduertisement from his feigned enimie, with his nauie sailed toward Normandie, and by the waie spoiled and toke manie ships of the duke of Burgognies subiects, and at the last (with all his nanie and spoiles) he toke land at Diepe in Normandie, where the gouernor of the countrie friendly welcomed him, and aduertised king Lewis of his arrivall. The French king, desirous of nothing more than to haue occasion to pleasure the erle of Warwick, of whom the yle reuoluntie caused all men to haue him in admiration, sent by to him, requirung both him and his sonne in law the duke of Clarence, to come vnto his castell of Ambois, where he then sojourned. The duke of Burgognie, hearing that the duke and earle were thus receiued in France, sent a post with letters vnto king Lewis, partly by waie of request, and partly by waie of menacing, to dissuade him from aiding of his aduerfaries, the said duke and earle.

But the French king little regarded this sale of the duke of Burgognie, and therefore answered, that he might and would succour his friends, and yet breake no league with him at all. In the meane time, **Edward** made inquirie for such as were knowne to be aidors of the earle of **Warwicke** within his realme, of whom some he apprehended as guiltie, and some (doubting themselves) fled to sanctuary, and other tending to the kings pardon, submitted themselves, as **John** marques of **Montacute**, whom he courteously received. When **quene** **Margaret** that sojourned with duke **Kelner** hir father, heard tell that the earle of **Warwicke** was come to the French court, with all diligence she came to **Ambois** to see him, with hir onlie sonne prince **Edward**.

60 With hit also came Jasper earle of Penbrooke, and John earle of Arford, which after diuers imprisonment lastlie escaped, fled out of England into France, and came by fortune to this assembly. These persons, after intreatie had of their affaires, determined by meanes of the French king to conclude a league and amitie betwene them. And first to begin withall, for the sure foundation of their new intreatie, Edward prince of Wales wedded Anne second daughter to the earle of Warwick, which ladie came with hit mother into France. After which marriage, the duke and the earles tooke a solemne oth, that they should neuer leaue the warre, till either king Henrie the first, or his sonne prince Edward, were restored to the crowne: and that the quene and the prince should

should depuſe and appoint the duke and the earle to be gouernours & conſeruatoꝝ of the common wealthe, till time the prince were come to eſtate. Manye other conditions were agreed, as both reaſon & the weighe- tinneſſe of ſo great buſineſſe required.

Whyleſt theſe things were thus in doing in the French court, there landed a damſell, belonging to the duchelle of Clarence; as ſhe ſaid: which made monſieur de Clauclere beleeue, that ſhe was ſent from king Edward to the duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike with a plaine ouerture and declaration of peace. Of the which thing Clauclere was verie glad for the earles ſake. But this damſell comming to the duke, perſuaded him ſo much to leaue off the purſute of his conceiued diſpleaſure to- wards his brother king Edward, that he promiſed at his returne into England, not to be ſo extreme e- nimie againſt his brother as he was taken to be: and this promiſe afterward he did keepe. With this an- ſwer the damſell returned into England, the earle of Warwike being thereof clearely ignorant.

The French king lent both ſhips, men, and mo- nie vnto queene Margarete, and to hir partakers, and appointed the baſſard of Bourbon, admirall of France, with a great nauie to defend them againſt the nauie of the duke of Burgognie, which he laid at the mouth of the riuer Saine, readie to encounter them, being of greater force than both the French nauie and the Engliſh fleet. And yet king Reiner did alſo helpe his daughter with men and munition of warre. When their ſhips and men were come to- gether to Harflue, the erle of Warwike thought not to linger time: becauſe he was certified by letters from his friends out of England, that alſone as he had taken land, there would be readie manie thou- ſands to do him what ſeruice and pleaſure they could or might. And beſide this, diuerſe noble men wrote that they would helpe him with men, armor, monie, and all things neceſſarie for the warre, and further to aduenture their owne bodies in his quarell.

Suerly his preſence was ſo much deſired of all the people, that almoſt all men were readie in ar- mour, looking for his arriuall: for they iudged that the verie ſunne was taken from the world when hee was abſent. When he had receiued ſuch letters of comfort, he determined with the duke, and the earles of Orford and Penbroke (becauſe queene Margarete and hir ſonne were not yet ſullie furniſhed for the iournie) to go before with part of the nauie, and part of the armie. And euen as fortune would, the nauie of the duke of Burgognie at the ſame time by a tem- peſt was ſcattered, & driuen beſide the coaſt of Fla- mandie: ſo that the earle of Warwike in hope of a boune voiage, cauſed ſailes to be halſed vp, and with good ſped landed at Dartmouth in Deuonſhire, from whence almoſt fix moneths paſſed he toke his iour- nie toward France (as beſore ye haue heard.) When the earle had taken land, he made proclamation in the name of king Henrie the firſt, vpon high paines commanding and charging all men able to beare ar- mor, to prepare themſelues to fight againſt Edward duke of Boike, which contrarie to right had ſurped the crowne. It is almoſt not to be beleeued, how ma- nie thouſands men of warre at the firſt tidings of the earles landing reſorted vnto him.

King Edward awakened with the newes of the earles landing, and the great repaire of people that came flocking in vnto him, ſent forth letters into all parts of his realme to raiſe an armie: but of them that were ſent for, few came, and yet of thoſe few the more part came with no great good willes. Which when he perceived, he began to doubt the matter, and therefore being accompanied with the duke of Glouceſter his brother, the lord Haſtings his cham-

berlaine, which had married the earles ſiſter, and yet was euer true to the king his maſter, and the lord Scales brother to the queene, he departed into Lin- colneſhire. And becauſe he underſtood that all the realme was vp againſt him, and ſome part of the earle of Warwikes power was within halfe a daies iournie of him, following the aduiſe of his counſell, with all haſt poſſible he paſſed the Waſhes in great ſeopardie, & comming to Lin found there an Eng- liſh ſhip, and two hulkes of Holland readie (as ſo- tune would) to make ſaile.

Wherevpon he with his brother the duke of Glo- ceſter, the lord Scales, and diuerſe other his truſtie friends, entered into the ſhip. The lord Haſtings tar- ried a while after, exhorting all his acquaintance, that of neceſſitie ſhould tarie behind, to ſtay themſelues openlie as friends to king Henrie for their owne ſafegard, but hartlie required them in ſecret to cor- tinue faithfull to king Edward. This perſuaſion de- clared, he entered the ſhip with the other, and ſo they departed, being in number in that one ſhip and two hulkes, about ſeuene or eight hundred perſons, ha- uing no furniture of apparell or other neceſſarie things with them, ſauing apparell for warre. [For it was no taking of leaſure to prouide their coppozall neceſſaries (though the want of them could hardlie be borne) in a caſe of preſent danger; conſidering that they were made againſt by the contrarie faction with ſuch ſwift purſute. And it had bene a point of ex- treme follie, to be carefull for the accidents, permit- ting in the meane time the ſubſtance vnto the ſpoile.]

As king Edward with ſaile and oar was thus ma- king courſe towards the duke of Burgognies coun- trie (whether he determined at the firſt to go) it chan- ced that ſeuene or eight gallant ſhips of Caſſerlings, open enemies both to England and France, were a- bzode on thoſe ſeas, and eſpieng the kings beſels, be- gan to chaſe him. The kings ſhip was god of ſaile, and ſo much gat of the Caſſerlings, that he came on the coaſt of Holland, and ſo deſcended lower beſore a towne in the countrie called Alquemare, and there caſt anchor as neere the towne as was poſſible, be- cauſe they could not enter the hauen at an ebbing water. The Caſſerlings alſo approached the Engliſh ſhip, as neere as their great ſhips ſhould come at the low water, intending at the flood to haue their prey: as they were verie like to haue attained it in deed, if the lord Cronture, gouernor of that countrie for the duke of Burgognie, had not by chance bene at the ſame time in that towne.

This lord (vpon knowledge had of king Edwards arriuall there in the hauen, and in what danger he ſtood by reaſon of the Caſſerlings) commanded them not to be ſo hardie as once to meddle with anie Eng- liſhmen, being both the dukes friends and allies. When did king Edward & all his companie come on land. Who after they had bene well reſreſhed & gent- lie comforted by the lord Cronture, they were by him brought to the Haghe, a rich towne in Holland, where they remained a while, hauing all things neceſſarie miniſtered to them by order of the duke of Burgog- nie, ſent vnto the lord Cronture, immediatlie vpon certifi- cat from the ſaid lord Cronture of king Edwards arriuall. [Here we ſee in what perplexities king Edward and his retinue were, partly by eni- mies at home in his owne countrie, whoſe hands he was conſtrained to ſlee from by the helpe of the ſea; partly alſo by aduerſaries abzoard, ſeeking opportuni- tie to offer him not the encounter onelie, but the o- uerthrow. And ſuerly, had not god fortune fauoured him, in preparing readie meannes for him to avoid thoſe imminent dangers; he had doubtleſſe fallen a- mong the weapons of his owne countrimen, and ſo neere

King Ed- ward cometh to Lin and taketh ſhip to paſſe ouer ſeas.

The lord Haſtings.

The number that paſſed ouer with king Edward, Abr. Fl.

King Ed- ward arrived at Alquemare

The lord Cronture.

The double dealing of monſieur de Clauclere. The lord was a Calcoigne alſo.

The earle of Warwike was dead at Harflue.

Imbold.

Of the which the pro- phetie ſaith to the earle of Warwike.

John mar- ques of Devonſhire.

The earles of Penbroke & Dorſet.

Leaguer.

Edward prince of Wales mar- tiall.

neuer haue feared forren force: but in escaping both the one and the other, even with shift of so speedie expedition, it is a hope (if it be well looked into) of happiness, if anye happynesse may be in preservation from ruine and reproch.]

Edw. Hall.
fol. cxc.

Now let all Englishmen (saith Edward Hall) consider (as before is rehearsed) what profit, what commodity, and what helpe in distresse, the mariage of the ladie Margarete, king Edwards sister to the duke Charles, did to him in his extreme necessitie; and but by that meane incurable extremitie: for his allies and confederats in Castile and Arragon were too far from him, either speedie to flie to, or thortlie to come fro with anye aid or armie. The French king was his extreme enemie, and frend to king Henrie, for whose cause in the king of Scots (for all the leage betwene them) he did put little confidence and lesse trust. The states and all Castile were with him at open war, and yet by this mariage, God provided him a place to flie to, both for refuge and reliefe.

Abr. Flein.

[But for the further and clearer explanation of these stratagems, or rather ciuill tumults, it shall not be amisse to insert in this place (sith I cannot hit by on one more convenient) a verie good note or addition received from the hands of maister Iohn Hooker chamberlaine of Excester; the contents whereof are of such qualitie, that they cannot stand in concurrence with anye matter introduced within the compassse of the ninth yeare of this kings reigne (as he had quoted it) and therefore I thought it meet to transfer the same to this tenth yeare; considering that some part of the matter by him largely touched, is byiesle in the premisses already remembred.]

Iohn Hooker,
alias Vowell.

This yeare (saith he) was verie troublefome, and full of ciuill wars and great discords. For after that king Edward the fourth was escaped out of prison, at Wolneic besides Warwike, he mustered and prepared a new armie. Whereupon the earle of Warwike and the duke of Clarence, mistrusting themselves, prepared to passe the seas over to Calis, and first of all sent awaite the duchesse of Clarence daughter to the said earle, who was then great with child, and she being accompanied with the lord Fitz Warren, the lord Dintaham, and the baron of Carew, and a thousand fighting men came to this cite of Excester the eighteenth daie of March, and was lodged in the bishops palace. Sir Hugh, or (as some saie) sir William Courtneie, who then favoured the partie of king Edward the fourth, assembled a great trope and armie of all the frends he could make, and ironing the cite, besieged the same; he pulled downe all the bridges, rampered by all the waies, and stopped all the passages, so that no vittels at all could be brought to this cite for twelue daies together, which being done upon a sudden and unlooked for, vittels wared short and scant within the cite, and by reason of so great a multitude within the same, the people for want of fod began to murmur and mutter.

Lord Dintaham,
and baron
Carew, with
their power
came to Excester.

The duchesse and the lords of hir companie, mistrusting what might and would be the sequele hereof, began to deale with the maior, and required to haue the keies of the gates to be deliuered into their hands and that they would undertake the safe custodie of the cite. Likewise sir William Courtneie did send his messenger to the maior, and required the gates to be opened and to giue him entrance: or els he would with sword and fier destroye the same. The maior and his brethren being in great perplexities, and hauing to answer not onelie the lords within and the knight without, but most of all doubting the common people within, who being impatient of penurie, were deafe to all persuasions and listen to any counsels: did so order and handle the matter, as that by good speeches and courtesous usages, euerye partie

was stopped and staied, untill by means and mediations of certeine good and godlie men, an intreatie was made, the matter was compounded and the siege raised, and euerye man set at libertie.

The next daie after which conclusion, the gates being opened, to wit, the third of Aprill 1470, the earle of Warwike and the duke of Clarence came to this cite, and here rested, and sojourned themselves untill sufficient shipping was provided for their passage over the seas, and then they all imbarked themselves, and passed over to Calis. The king in this meane time mustered his armie, and prepared with all speed all things necessarie to follow and pursue his said aduersaries, and came to this cite, thinking to find them here the foureteenth of Aprill being saturdaye 1470, with fortye thousand fighting men: but the birds were fled awaite before his comming. Neuerthelesse the king came and entred into the cite, being accompanied with sundrie noble men; namely, the bishop of Elie then lord treasurer, the duke of Norfolk the earle marshall, the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Wiltshire sonne to the duke of Buckingham, the earle of Worcester constable of England, the earle of Shrovetuburie, the earle Rivers, the lord Hastings, the lord Craie of Codnor, the lord Audelie, the lord Saie, the lord Sturton, the lord Dacres, the lord Pontiole, the lord Stanleie, the lord Ferris, and the baron of Dupleie.

Before whose comming, the maior being aduertised thereof, took order, and gaue commandement to euerye citizen and inhabitant, being of abilitie, to provide and prepare for himselfe a gowne of the cities liuerie, which was then red colour, and to be in a readinesse for receiuing of the king, which was accordinglye done. And when the king was come nere to the cite, the maior being verie well attended with foure hundred persons well and seemelie apparelled in the cities liuerie, went to the south gate, and with out the same attended the kings comming. Who when he was come, the maior did his most humble obeisance, and therewith Thomas Wolwith then recorder of the cite made unto his grace an humble oration, congratulating his comming to the cite: which ended, the maior deliuered unto the king the keies of the gates and the maces of his office, and therewith a purse of one hundred nobles in gold, which his grace took verie thankfullie. The monie he kept, but the keies and the maces he deliuered backe to the maior; and then the maior took the mace and did beare it through the cite bare-headed before the king, untill he came to his lodging.

The next daie following, being Palmesundate, the king in most princelie and roiall maner came to the cathedraall church of saint Peters, to heare the diuine seruice, where he followed and went in procession after the maner as was then used, round about the churchyard, to the great ioy and comfort of all the people: he continued in the cite three daies untill the tuesdaye then following; who when he had dined toke his horse and departed backe towards London, and gaue to the maior great god thanks for his intertainment. About foure moneths after this, in August, the duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike returned againe from Calis, with all their retinue, and landed some at Plimmonth, some at Dartmouth, and some at Exmouth: but all met in this cite, and from hence they all passed towards London, and at euerye place they proclaimed king Henrie the first, which when king Edward heard, he was very much troubled therewith: and not able then to withstand their force, he passed the seas to his brother in law the duke of Burgognie.

This yeare also, being verie troublefome, and the gouernour

The duked
of Clarence
and the earle
of Warwike
came to Excester, and
sojourned
there.

The king
received
honourable
to the citie
Excester.

The citizens
beneuolent
to the king.

How long
the king
remained
in the
cite.

The duked
of Clarence
and the earle
of Warwike
came to the
English
coast.

The practice
of a knight
being chiefe
office at the
time to ride
happie of
the.

An briefe
of the
charge of the
king as
saith the
book of his
partie.

The keeper
of the
maister the
knight with
an arrow.

Abr. Flein.

Arvid, 5.

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Dom. 1470.

An. Reg. 10.

The practice
of a knight
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charge of the
brought as
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perks.

The keeper
hurls his
mallet the
knight with
an arrow.

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How long
the king con-
tinued in the
city.

The duke of
Clarence and
the earl of
Warwick are
rue on the
English
coasts.

41752

gouernement vncertaine, men were in great perplexities, & wist not what to do. And among manie there was one speciallie to be remembred, who to rid himselfe out of these troubles, did devise this practise: his name was sir William Haukefloyd knight, a man verie well learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the chiefe iustices at the law: he dwelled at Annozie in Devonshire, a gentleman of great possessions, and hauing neuer a sonne, the lord Fitz Warren, sir John Bentleger, & sir William Bulkeine, who married his daughters, were his heires. This man being one of the chiefeest lawyers in the land, was daile sought to and his counsell asked: and he considering that when the sword ruled, law had a small course, and finding by experience what fruits inluse such counsell as doth not best like the parties, was verie heauie, sorrowfull, and in great agonies.

whereupon innocente he called vnto him the keeper of his parke, with whom he fell out and quarreled, because (as he said) he was slothfull and careles, and did not walke in the nights about the parke, but suffered his game to be spoiled and his deere to be stolen, therefore he desired him to be more vigilant and careful of his charge: and also commanded him that if he met any man in his circuit and walke in the night time, and would not stand nor speake vnto him, he should not spare to kill him what so euer he were. This knight, hauing laid this foundation, and minding to performe what he had purposed for the ending of his dolefull daies, did in a certaine darke night secretlie conueie himselfe out of his house, and walked alone in his parke. Then the keeper in his night walke hearing one stirring and coming towards him, asked who was there: but no answer was made at all.

Then the keeper tolled him to stand, which when he would not do, the keeper nocked his arrow and shot into him, and killed him; who when he perceived that it was his maister, then he called to remembrance his maisters former commandement. And so this knight, otherwise learned and wise, being affraid to displease man, did displease God, and verie disorderlie ended his life. It is inrolled amongst the records of this cite, of a commission directed to John earle of Devonshire, & from him sent to the maior of the cite of Excestre to be proclaimed. The words be these: *Decimo quarto die Aprilis, vix. in vigilia Pasche, An. 49. Hen. 6. commissio domini regis directa Iohanni comiti Devon. missa ad maiori v. proclamaretur.* And likewise in an other place: *Quatuor marcae sunt solute Iohanni comiti Devon. ex assensu maioris.* Nowbeit, certaine it is there was no such earle of that name, onelie there was John Holland then living duke of Excestre, wherefore something is mistaken herein.

But was this a practise (thinke you) beſeeming a man of woſhip, learning, and indgement, to make auaie himſelfe, becauſe he ſaw a tempoꝛall interruption of his proſperitie : Suerlie how much learning ſo euer he had in the labors of the land, liſte at all or none (as appeareth) had he in ſuffering the forces of aduerſitie, whom the feare of it did ſo terrifie, that it dꝛoue him to his end. While therefore is the counſell of the comēdie-writer, and woꝛthy of imitation, that a man, when he is in beſt caſe and higheſt degꝛee of welfare, ſhould euen then meditate with himſelfe how to auaie with hardneſſe, with penurie, perils, loſſe, baniſhment, and other afflictions : for ſo ſhall he prepare himſelfe to beate them with patience when they happen : as ſouldiers trained by in militarie exerciſes at home, are ſo much the ſoꝛwarder for the field, ſitter to encounter their foes (with leſſe dread of danger) when they come abroad to be tried : and therefore it is wiſelle (& to the purpoſe) ſaid of Virgil :

But to returne to the princes affaires. When the
faine was once spzed abroad that **K.** Edward was
 fled the reime, an innumerable number of people re-
 sorted to the earle of **Warwicke** to take his part, but
 all **K.** Edwards trustie friends went to diuerse san-
 ctuaries, and amongst other his wiue quene **Eliza-
 beth** toke sanctuary at **Westminster**, and there in
 great penurie forsaaken of all hir friends, was deli-
 uered of a faire son called **Edward**, which was with
 small pompe like a poore mans child chiffered, the
 godfathers being the abbat and prioz of **Westmin-
 ster**, and the godmother the labie **Scrope**. [But what
 might be the heauinesse of this ladies hart (thinke
 we) upon consideration of so manie counterblasts of
 unhappinesse inwardlie conceived: **Hir** husband had
 taken flight, his adherents and hir friends sought to
 shroud themselves vnder the couert of a new protec-
 tor, the diuinen in distresse forsaoke not that simple re-
 suge which hir hard hap forced vpon hir; and (a kings
 wiue) wanted in hir necessitie such things as meane
 mens wiues had in superfluitie, & (a cozofue to a no-
 ble mind) a prince of renowned parentage was (by
 constraint of vnkinde fortune) not boughfated the so-
 lemnitie of chifferdome due and decent for so hono-
 rable a personage.]

The Kentithmen in this felon (whose minds be ever moueable at the change of princes) came to the suburbs of London, spoiled mansions, robbed barres-houses, and by the counsell of sir Gessrie Gates and other sanctuarie men, they brake vp the kings Bench and deliuered prisoners, and fell at Kitchiffe, Lime-house, & S. Katharins, to burning of houses, slaughter of people, and rauishing of women. Which small sparke had growne to a greater flame, if the earle of Marlowke with a great power had not suddenlie quenched it, and punished the offenders: which benefitt by him done, caused him much more to be esteemed and liked amongst the commons than he was before. When he had fettle all things at his pleasure, vpon the twelue daie of October he rode to the Tower of London, and there deliuered king Henrie out of the ward, where he before was kept, and brought him to the kings loddging, where he was serued according to his degree.

On the fix and twentieth day of the said moneth, the duke of Clarence accompanied with the earles of Marlowe and Shrewsburie, the lord Strange, and other lordes and gentlemen, some for feare, and some for loue, and some onelie to gaze at the wauning world, went to the Towler, and from thence brought king Henrie appareled in a long gowne of blew velvet, through London to the church of saint Paule, the people on euerie side the streets resiofing and crieng; God saue the king: as though ech thing had succeded as they would haue had it: and when he had offered (as kings vse to do) he was conuied to the bishops palace, where he kept his household like a king. Thus was the principallitie passed ouer sometimes to Henrie, sometimes to Edward; according to the waite of the partie preuailling: ambition and disdaine still casting fagots on the fire, whereby the heat of hatred gathered the greater force to the consumption of the peres and the destruction of the people. In the meane time, neither part could secretly possesse the regalitie, when they obtained it; which highmindednesse was in the end the overthrow of both principals and accessaries, according to the nature thereof noted in this discription by the poet:

*Fastus habet licet, offensifastus abundat,
Fastus ad interitum precipitare solet.*]

When king Henrie had thus reapedt and eff-
sions gotten his regall power and anthozitie, he cal-
led his high court of parlement to begin the six and
twentieth day of November, at Westminster, in the
S^c l. j. which

It. Edwards
friends take
sanctuary.

Queene Elizabeth
deliuered of a prince

Ab, Flem.

The Kentishmen make an hurlie burlie.

King Henrie
fetched out of
the Tower &
restored to his
kinglie go-
uernement,

¶ parlemens.

Edward
adjudged an
usurper.

which king Edward was adjudged a traitor to the countrie, and an usurper of the realme. His goods were confiscat and forfeited. The like sentence was given against all his partakers and friends. And besides this it was enacted, that such as for his sake were apprehended, and were either in captiuitie or at large upon suerties, should be extremelie punished according to their demerits, amongst whom was the lord Tiptoft earle of Worcester lieutenant for king Edward in Ireland, exercising there more extreme crueltie than princelie pietie, and namelie on

Abr. Fl. ex I.S.
pag. 725.
The earle
Tiptoft be-
headed.

The crowne
intailed.

two infants being sonnes to the earle of Desmond. [This earle of Worcester, being found in the top of an high thye, in the forest of Warbridge, in the countie of Huntingdon, was brought to London, and either for treason to him laid, or malice against him conceived, was atteinted, and beheaded at the Tower hill, and after buried at the Blacke friers.] Moreover, all statutes made by king Edward were clearlie revoked, and the crownes of the realmes of England and France were by authoritie of the same parlement intailed to king Henrie the first, and to his heires male; and for default of such heires, to remaine to George duke of Clarence, & to his heires male: and further, the said duke was enabled to be next heire to his father Richard duke of Yorke, and to take from him all his landes and dignities, as though he had bene his eldest sonne at the time of his death. Jasper earle of Penbroke, and John earle of Oxford, with diuerse other by king Edward atteinted, were restored to their old names, possessions, and ancient dignities.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S.
pag. 722, 723.
The earle of
Warwicke his
housekeeping.
Fabian.

The earle of
Warwicke in-
stituted go-
uernour of the
realme.

Beside this, the earle of Marwicke, as one to whom the common-wealth was much bounden [and ever had in great fauour of the commons of this land, by reason of the exceeding household which he daile kept in all countreies where euer he sojourned or late: and when he came to London, he held such an house, that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast, and euerie tauerne was full of his meat, for who that had any acquaintance in that house, he should haue had as much sod and rost as he might carrie vpon a long dagger] he [I fate] was made gouernour of the realme, with whom as fellow was associat George duke of Clarence. And thus was the state of the realme quite altered. To this parlement came the marquesse Montacute, excusing himselfe, that for feare of death he declined to take king Edwards part, which excuse was accepted. When quene Margaret vnder stood by hir husbands letters, that the victorie was gotten by their friends, the with hir sonne prince Edward and hir traine entered their ships, to take their vantage into England: but the winter was so sharpe, the weather so stormie, and the wind so contrarie, that she was faine to take land againe, and to deferre hir iournie till another season.

Jasper earle
of Penbroke.

About the same season, Jasper earle of Penbroke went into Wales, to visit his lands in Penbroke shire, where he found lord Henrie sonne to his brother Edmund earle of Richmond, hauing not full ten yeares of age; he being kept in maner like a captiue, but honorable brought vp by the ladie Herbert, late wife to William earle of Penbroke, beheaded at Banburie (as ye before haue heard.) This Henrie was borne of Margaret the onelie daughter and heire of John the first duke of Summerset, then not being full ten yeares of age, the which ladie though she were after ioined in marriage with lord Henrie sonne to Humfreie duke of Buckingham, and after to Thomas Stanleie earle of Derby, both being young and apt for generation, yet she had neuer any more children, as though she had done hir part to bring forth a man child, and the same to be a king (as he after was indeed) intituled by the name of Henrie

Margaret
countesse of
Richmond
and Derby.

the seventh (as after ye shall heare.)

The earle of Penbroke took this child, being his nephew, out of the custodie of the ladie Herbert, and at his returne brought the child with him to London to king Henrie the first, whom when the king had a good while beheld, he said to such princes as were with him: Lo, suerlie this is he, to whom both we and our aduersaries leauing the possession of all things shall hereafter giue counte and place. So this holie man shewed before the chance that should happen, that this earle Henrie so ordeined by God, should in time to come (as he did indeed) haue and enjoy the kingdome and whole rule of this realme of England. So that it might seme probable by the coherence of holie Henries predictions with the issue falling out in truth with the same; that for the time he was indured with a propheticall spirit. And suerlie the epistle of titile of holie is not for naught attributed vnto him, for it is to be read in wilters, that he was by nature giuen to peaceablenesse, abhorring blood and slaughter, detesting ciuill tumults, addicted to deuotion, deuie frequent in praier, and not eschewing so highlie of courtlie gallantnesse as stood with the dignitie of a prince. In consideration wherof, he procured against himselfe an apostasie of his people both native and forren, who revolted and fell from fealtie. And whie? The reason is rendred by the same wilter, namelie:

*Quod tales homines populus scelerator odit,
Fastidit, desestatur: non conuenit inter
Virtutem & vitium, lucem fugere tenebra.*

The earle of Marwicke, vnderstanding that his enemye the duke of Burgognie had receiued king Edward, and meant to aid him for recouerie of the kingdome, he first sent ouer to Calis foure hundred archers on horsebacke to make warre on the dukes countreies; and further, prepared foure thousand balli-ant men to go ouer shortly, that the duke might haue his hands euen full of trouble at home. And where ye haue heard that the erle of Marwicke was kept out of Calis at his fleeing out of England into France, ye shall note that within a quarter of an houre after it was knowne that he was returned into England; and had chased king Edward out of the realme; not onelie monsieur de Clauclere, but also all other of the garrison & towne shewed themselves to be his friends; so that the ragged staffe was taken vp and weene in euerie mans cap, some wore it of gold enameled, some of silver; and he that could haue it neither of gold nor silver, had it of whitish silke or cloth: such wauering minds haue the common people, bending like a red with euerie wind that bloweth.

The duke of Burgognie, hauing an armie ready at the same time to invade the frontiers of France, to recouer the townes of saint Quintines and Amiens, latelie by the French king taken from him, doubted to be hindered greatly by the Englishmen, if he should be constrained to haue warre with them: for the duke of Burgognie held not onlie at that season Flanders, but also Bulleine, and Wallemois, and all Artois, so that he was thereby in danger to receiue harme out of Calis on each side. Wherefore he sent ambassadores thither, which did so much with the counsell there, that the league was newlie confirmed betwixt the realme of England and the dukes countreies; onelie the name of Henrie put in the witting in stead of Edward. This matter hindered soe the sute of king Edward, daile suing to the duke for aid at his hands, the more earnestlie indeed, because of such promises as by letters were made vnto him out of England, from his assured friends there.

But duke Charles would not consent openlie to aid king Edward; but yet secretlie vnder hand by others he lent vnto him fiftie thousand florens of the

The ladie
being deuen
the first, at
Richmond
after king
Henrie the
second.

Ab. Fl.

W. Fleetwood.

the arrieth
on the coast of
Flanders.

Anno Reg. 11.
The earle of
Orkney.

The ragged
staffe.

the arrieth at
the head of
Quember.

the landeth at
Kamenburgh

The duke of
Burgognie
sent the
ambassadors
to Calis.

1471.
The earle of
Derby.

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Ab. Flema

Electwood.

the arriveth
the coast of
the 11th of
the 11th of

Ano Reg. 11.
the rank of
the 11th of

The ragged
flag.

The duke of
Burgogne
sunder
baldadoys to
Calis.

the arriveth at
the head of
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1471
the arriveth at
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cross of St. Andrew, and further caused foure great ships to be appointed for him in the haven of de Clere, otherwile called Camphire in Zelano, which in those daies was free for all men to come unto, and the duke hired for him foureteene ships of the Easterlings well appointed, & for the more suertie took a bond of them to serve him trulie, till he were landed in England, and sixtene daies after. The Easterlings were glad of this tournie, trusting if he got againe the possession of England, they should the sooner come to a peace, and obtaine restitution of their liberties and franchises, which they claimed of former time to have within this realme. The duke of Burgogne cared not much, on whose side the victorie fell, saving for payment of his monie: for he would not saie, that he was friend to both parties, and either part was frendlie to him.

In daies, as he was brother in law to the one, so was he of kin to the other, as by his grandmother being daughter to John of Gant duke of Lancaster. When therefore all king Edwards furniture and provision for his tournie were once readie, having now with him about two thousand able men of warre, beside mariners, he entered into the ships with them, in the haven before flishing in Zelano, upon the second day of March: and because the wind fell not good for his purpose, he tarried still aboard for the space of nine daies, before it turned meet for his tournie. But after that the wind once came about (as he wished) the sails were hoisted up on the 11 of March being monday, & forward they sailed, directing their course straight over towards the coast of Dorsetholke. On the next day being tuesday, & the twelfth of March, toward the evening, they roode before Cromer, where the king sent to land sir Robert Chamberleine, with sir Gilbert Debenham knights, and divers other, to the end they might discover the countrie, and understand how the people within the land were bent towards him, especiallie those countries there next adjoining.

Upon their returne, he understood that there was no suertie for him to land in those parties, by reason of the good order which the earle of Marlowe, and the earle of Oxford speciallie had taken in that countrie to resist him: for not onelie the duke of Dorsetholke, but all other the gentlemen (whome the earle of Marlowe had in anie suspicion) were by letters of privie seale sent for, or else enforced to find suertie for their losall demeanour towards king Henrie: yet those knights and other that were thus sent forth to make inquirie, were well received of their friends, and had good cheare. But after the king perceived by their report, how things stood thereabouts, he caused his ships to make course towards the north parts.

The same night following, a great storme of winds and weather rose, soze troubling the seas, and continued till the fourteenth day of that moneth being thursday, on the which day with great danger, by reason of the tempestuous rage and torment of the troubled seas, he arrived at the head of Humber, where the other ships were scattered from him, each one severed from other; so that of necessitie they were driven to land in sundre where they best might, for doubt to be cast awate in that perillous tempest. The king with the lord Hastings his chamberleine, and other to the number of five hundred men being in one ship, landed within Humber on Holderness side, at a place called Haulenburgh, even in the same place where Henrie erle of Derby, after called king Henrie the fourth landed, when he came to depriue king Richard the second of the crowne, and to usurpe it to himselfe.

Richard duke of Glocester, and three hundred men

in his companie, took land in another place foure miles distant from thence, where his brother king Edward did land. The earle Rivers, and with him two hundred men, landed at a place called Poole, foureteene miles from the haven where the king came on land. The residue of his people landed some here some there, in place where for their suerties they thought best. On the morrow, being the sixteenth of March, now that the tempest ceased, and everie man being got to land, they drew from everie of their landing places towards the king, who for the first night was lodged in a poore villiage, two miles from the place where he first set foot on land. (As for his traine, though the season of the yeere was naturallie cold, & therefore required competent refection by warmth, it is to be supposed, that all their lodgings were hard enough, with the principals provision was soze enough. But what of that? Better (in cases of extremite) an hard shift than none at all.)

Touchoing the folks of the countrie, there came few or none to him. For by the incensing of such as had bin sent into those parts from the erle of Marlowe, and other his aduersaries, the people were thewolle induced to stand against him. But yet, in respect of the good will that manie of them had borne to his father, they could have bene content, that he should have inioied his right to his due inheritance of the duchie of Yorke, but in no wise to the title of the crowne. And hereupon they suffered him to passe, not seeking to annoie him, till they might understand more of his purposed meaning. The king, perceiving how the people were bent, noised abroad that he came to make none other chalenge but to his inheritance of the duchie of Yorke: and withall ment to passe first into the citie of Yorke, and so forward towards London, to incounter with his aduersaries that were in the south parts.

For although his nearest waite had bene thorough Lincolnshire: yet because in taking that waite he must have gone againe to the water, in passing over Humber; he doubted least it would have bin thought that he had withdrawne himselfe to the sea for feare. And to avoid the rumors that might have bene spread thereof, to the hinderance of his whole cause, he refused that waite, and took this other, still yuting it (as before we said) that his coming was not to chalenge the crowne, but onelie to be restored unto his fathers right and inheritance of the duchie of Yorke, which was descended to him from his father. And here it seemed that the colour of justice hath ever such a force in it selfe amongst all men, that where before few or none of the commons could be found that would offer themselves to take his part: yet now that he did (as they thought) claime nothing but that which was his right, they began straight to have a liking of his cause.

And where there were gathered to the number of six or seven thousand men in diverse places, under the leading chieftie of a priest and of a gentleman called Martine de la Mare, in purpose to have stopped his passage: now the same persons took occasion to assist him. And when he perceived mens minds to be well qualified with this feined devile, he marched forth till he came to Beverleie, which stood in his direct waite as he passed toward Yorke. He sent also to Kingston upon Hull, distant from thence six miles, willing that he might be there received: but the inhabitants, who had bene laboured by his aduersaries, refused in anie wise to grant thereunto.

The earle of Marlowe advertised by messengers of king Edwards arrivall, and of his turning toward Yorke, with all hast wrote to his brother the marquesse Montacute, who had laine at the castell of Domfret all the last winter with a great number of

Martine de la Mare
la Mare or
Martine of
the sea.

He passeth to
ward Yorke.

of

See before
page 664.

Ed. Edward
without inter-
ruption pas-
sed forward
to York.

Thomas Co-
niers recorder
of York.

Ed. Edward
coming to
York.

He receiveth
an oth.

of soldiers, willing him to consider in what case their affaires stood, and thereupon with all speed to set upon king Edward, or else to keepe the passages, and to staie him from comming anie further forward, till he himselfe as then being in Warwicke thre buis to assemble an armie, might come to his aid with the same. [Thus laboured the earle of Warwicke by policie and puissance, as well of his owne as others power, to further his owne purpose, hauing sworne in heart a due performance of that, which he had solemnlie vowed and promised before.]

But this notwithstanding, although there were great companies of people of the countries there abouts assembled, yet they came not in sight of the king, but suffered him quietly to passe; either because they were persuaded that he went (as he in outward words pretended) not to claime anie title to the crowne, but onelie his right to the duchie of Yorke; or else for that they doubted to set upon him, although his number were farre vnquall to theirs; knowing that not onelie he himselfe, but also his companie were minded to sell their liues dearelie, before they would shynke an inch from anie that was to incounter them. It maie be that diuerse of the captiues also were corrupted: and although outwardlie they shewed to be against him, yet in heart they bare him right good will, and in no wise minded to hinder him. So forward he marched, till he came to Yorke, on a monday being the eighteenth day of March.

Before he came to the citie by the space of thre miles, the recorder of Yorke, whose name was Thomas Coniers (one knotone in deed not to beare him anie faithfull good will) came vnto him; & gaue him to vnderstand, that it stood in no wise with his swerthe, to presume to approach the citie: for either he should be kept out by force, or if he did enter, he should be in danger to be cast away by his aduersaries that were within. King Edward neuertheless, sith he was come thus farre forward, knew well enough there was no going backe for him, but manfullie to proceed forward with his begun iournie, and therefore kept on his way. And shortly after there came to him out of the citie, Robert Clifford, and Richard Burgh, who assured him that in the quarrell which he pretended to pursue, to wit, for the obtaining of his right to the duchie of Yorke, he should not faile but be receiued into the citie.

But immediatlie after came the said Coniers againe, with the like tale and information as he had brought before. And thus king Edward one while put in comfort, and another while discouraged, marched forth till he came to the gates of the citie, where his people staied; whilst he and about fiftene or seuentene other such as he thought meetest, went forth and entered the citie with the said Clifford & Burgh. And (as some write) there was a priest readie to saie masse, in which masse time the king receiued the sacrament of the communion, & there solemnlie swore to keepe and obserue two speciall articles: although it was farre unlike that he minded to obserue either of them: the one was that he should vse the citizens after a gentle and courteous maner: and the other, that he should be faithfull and obedient vnto king Henries commandements.

For this wilfull perjurie (as hath bene thought) the issue of this king suffered (for the fathers offense) the deprivation not onelie of lands and worldly possessions, but also of their naturall liues, by their cruell uncle R. Richard the third. [And it may well be. For it is not likelie that God, in whose hands is the bestowing of all soueraintie, will suffer such an indignitie to be done to his sacred maieste, and will suffer the same to passe with impunitie, And surely, if an oth among priuate men is religi-

ouslie to be kept, sith in the same is an exact triall of faith and honestie; doubtlesse of princes it is verie nicelie and perfectlie to be obserued: yea they should rather susteine a blemish and disgrace in their realtie, than presume to go against their oth and promise, speciallie if the same stand vpon conditions of equalitie: other wise they proue themselves to be impugnors of fidelitie, which is a iewel surpassing gold in price and estimation, as the poet prudentlie saith:

Charior est auro non simulate fides.

When king Edward had thus gotten into the citie of Yorke, he made such meanes among the citizens, that he got of them a certeine summe of monie; and leauing a garison within the citie contrarie to his oth, for feare least the citizens after his departure, might hapilie moue some rebellion against him, he set forward the next day toward Doncaster, a towne ten miles from thence, belonging to the earle of Northumberland. The next day he took his waie toward Wakefield and Sendall, a castell and lordship belonging to the inheritance of the dukes of Yorke, leauing the castell of Pomfret vpon his left hand, where the marques Montacute with his armie laie, and did not once offer to stop him.

Whether the marques suffered him to passe by so, with his good will or no, diuerse haue diuerslie coniectured. Some thinke that it lay not in the power of the marques greatlie to annoie him, both for that the king was well beloued in those parties; & againe, all the lords & commons there for the most part were towards the earle of Northumberland, and without him or his commandement they were not willing to stirre. And therefore the earle in sitting still and not moving to and fro, was thought to do king Edward as good seruice as if he had come to him, and raised people to assist him; for diuerse hapilie that should haue come with him, remembryng displeasures past, would not haue bene so faithfull as the earle himselfe, if it had come to the lumpe of anie hazard of battell.

About Wakefield and the parts there adioining, some companie of his frends came to him, whereby his power was increased; but nothing in such numbers as he looked for. From Wakefield he crossed on the left hand, so to come againe into the high waie, and came to Doncaster, and from thence vnto Nottingham. Here came to him sir William Barre, and sir James Harrington, with six hundred men well armed and appointed: also there came to him sir Thomas Burgh, & sir Thomas Montgomerie with their aids, which caused him at their first comming to make proclamation in his owne name, to wit, of R. Edward the fourth, boldly affirming to him, that they would serue no man but a king.

Whilst he remained at Nottingham, and also before he came there, he sent abroad diuerse of his auant contrers to discourge the countrie, and to vnderstand if there were anie power gathered against him. Some of them that were thus sent, approached to Spetwarke, and vnderstood that within the towne there, the duke of Excester, the earle of Orenford, the lord Warbolse, and other were lodged with a great power to the number of foure thousand men, which they had assembled in Essex, Northfolke, Suffolke, and in the shires of Cambridge, Huntington, and Lincoln. The duke of Excester, and the earle of Orenford, with other the chiefe captiues, aduertised that king Edwards foreriders had bene afore the towne in the evening, supposed hereof that he and his whole armie were comming towards them.

Whereupon, they not thinking it good to abide longer there, determined with all speed to dislodge, and so about two of the clocke after midnight they departed from Spetwarke, leauing some of their people

Ed. Edward
coming to
Doncaster.

The earle of
perwarke the
souveraine.

Ed. Edward
coming to the
gate of War-
wicke to fight.

He cometh to
Warwicke.

He treateth for
peace.

The duke of
Excester and
the earle of
Orenford.

in. Reg. II.

Dom. 1471.

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ple behind, which either shal awake from them, and
tard of purpose, or could not get awake so soon as
their fellows. In deed the foreriders that so discou-
red them within the towne of Newmarke, advertised
the king thereof in all post haste, who incontinentlie
assembled his people, and forthwith marched to-
wards them; but before he came within three miles of
the towne, he had knowledge that they were fled
and gone from Newmarke. Whereupon he returned a-
gain to Nottingham, intending to keepe on his nee-
rest waie towards the earle of Warwicke, whome he
understood to be departed from London, and to be
come into Warwicke shire, where in the countreies
adjoining he was busied in levelling an armie, with
the which he purposed to distress him.

The king then from Nottingham came to Lei-
cester, where three thousand able men, and well furni-
shed for the warre came unto him. These were such
as he knew would live and die in his quarrell, the
most part of them belonging unto the lord Hastings
the kings chamberlaine. And thus he, being more
strongly accompanied than before, departed from
Leicester, and came before the walls of the citie of
Coventrie, the nine and twentieth daie of March. The
earle of Warwicke was withdrawne into this citie,
keeping himselfe inclosed therein with his people,
being in number six or seven thousand men. The
king sent to him, and willed him to come forth into
the field, and there to make an end of the quarrell in
plaine battell; but the earle at that present refused
so to do.

For although, under pretence of king Henries
anthonie, he was reputed the kings generall lieute-
nant of the whole realme, whereby he had got such
power together, as was thought able enough to
match with the king for number; yet because he doub-
ted how they were bent in his favour, he durst not
commit the matter unto the doubtful chance of
battell, till he had more of his trustie friends about
him. The king therefore three daies together prou-
oked him to come forth, but when he saw it would not
be, he removed to Warwicke an eight miles from
Coventrie, where he was received as king, and so
made his proclamations from that time forth in all
places where he came, under his accustomed name
and title of king.

He lodged here at Warwicke, the rather (as was
thought) to provoke the earle to issue forth of Co-
ventrie to give him battell, howbeit that denie nothing
availed. But yet there came daile diverse persons
on the earls behalfe to treat with the king about a
peace, that some good composition might have bene
concluded; & the king for the advancement of peace
and tranquillitie within the realme, offered large
conditions; as a free pardon of life to the earle, and
all his people, with many other beneficiall articles
on their behalves, which to manie seemed verie reason-
able, considering their heinous offenses. But the
earle would not accept any offers; except he might
have compounded so as it pleased himselfe, & as was
thought in no wise to stand with the kings honour,
and libertie of his estate.

In this meane while, the earle of Warwicke still
looked for the duke of Clarence, who by the said earls
appointment had assembled a power of men of war
about London; but when the earle perceived that the
duke lingered forth the time, and did not use such di-
ligence as was requisite, as one that had bene in
doubt of warre or peace, he began to suspect that the
duke was of his brother corrupted, and therein he
was nothing deceived. For true it is, that whilest the
king was as yet beyond the seas, in the dominion of
the duke of Burgonie, the duke of Clarence began
to weie with himselfe the great inconvenience into

the which as well his brother king Edward, as him-
selfe and his yonger brother the duke of Gloucester
were fallen, through the dissention betwixt them:
(which had bene compalled and brought to passe by
the politike working of the earle of Warwicke and
his complices.)

As first the dissentering of them all from their right
full title to the crowne; secondlie the mortall and de-
testable war that could not but insue betwixt them,
to such mischance, that to whether part the victorie in-
clined, the victor should remaine in no more suertie
of his owne person or estate after the upper hand got,
than before; and thirdlie he well perceived alreadie,
that he was had in great suspicion, and not heartilie
beloued of any the lords and rulers that were as-
sured partakers with king Henrie and the Lancastrian
faction: insomuch they sticke not daile to go a-
bout to breake and make void the appointments, ar-
ticles, and covenants, made and promised to him,
and of likelihood would daile more and more intend
thereto: for in truth he saw, that they purposed no-
thing so much as the destruction both of him and all
his blood.

All which things throughlie considered, with ma-
nie other as they were laid afoze him by right wise
and circumspect persons, which in this behalfe had
conference with him, he consented that by some se-
cret waies and meanes a reconciliation might be
had betwixt him and his brethren, the king and the
duke of Gloucester. The which to bring to some good
and full effect, these honorable personages following
became dealers therein. First of all the duchess of
Borgie their mother, the duchess of Excester, and the
duches of Suffolke their sisters; the lord cardinal of
Canturburie, the bishop of Bath, the earle of Essex;
but most speciallie the duchess of Burgonie their
sister also, and diverse other right wise and prudent
personages, who wrought by mediation of certeine
preests, and others, such as they bled for messengers
betwixt them.

Finallie, by the earnest travell and diligence shew-
ed by the said duchess of Burgonie (who incessantlie
sent to and fro such hir trustie messengers now to the
king being on that side the seas, and then to the duke
remaining here in England) at length they were
made friends, and a perfect agreement concluded
and ratified, with assurance betwixt them so strong-
lie as might be. To the furthering whereof the kings
chamberlaine the lord Hastings failed not to do his
best, so as by his good diligence, it was thought the
king was the sooner induced to wish to some ef-
fones in true friendship with his said brother of
Clarence. And as it well appeared, the duke of Cla-
rence acquitted himselfe faithfully therein.

For hearing now that his brother king Edward
was landed and coming forthward towards Lon-
don, he gathered his people, outwardlie pretending
to passe with them to the aid of the earle of War-
wicke against his brother: although inwardlie he
meant the contrarie, and so accompanied with about
four thousand men, he marched forth towards the
place where he thought to find his brother. King Ed-
ward being then at Warwicke, and understanding
that his brother of Clarence approached, in an after-
none issued forth of that towne with all his forces,
and passed on till he came into a faire large field three
miles distant from Warwicke towards Banburie,
where he might behold his brother of Clarence in
good array of battell, comming towards him.

When they were now within halfe a mile appro-
ched together, the king placed his people in order of
battell under their baners, and so left them standing
still, and appointed them to keepe their ground, whilest
he taking with him his brother of Gloucester, the lord
Scilly, Rivers,

R. Edward
cometh to
Leicester.

Charles of
Warwicke in
Coventrie.

R. Edward
proceedeth the
west of War-
wicke to fight.

He cometh to
Warwicke.

3 traites for
peace.

The duke of
Clarence.

Duchess bled
for priuie
messengers.

R. Edward
and his bro-
ther of Cla-
rence recon-
ciled by me-
diating to the
earle of War-
wicke.

The dissenti-
lation of the
duke of Cla-
rence,

The brethren
meet lovinglie
together.

Buchan, in
p. 41. 133.

Rivers, the lord Hastings, & a few other, went forth to meet his brother of Clarence: and in like sort the duke of Clarence took with him a few of the nobilitie that were about him, and leaving his armie in good order, departed from them to meet the king, and so they met betwixt both the hoasts, with so sweet salutations, loving demeanour, and good countenances, as better might not be devised betwixt brethren of so high and noble estate. And what a hearts joy was this to the people, to see such an accord and mutuall attonement betwene these peeres! It was the onelie pleasure in the world, to the which all other compared are but countrefet, and that doth the psalmist testifie,

*Nil charitate mutua fratrum, nihil
Incundum concordia.*

Besides this, the like friendlie intertainment, and courteous demeanour appeared in the salutations of other noble men that were on them attendant; whereof all such as saw it, and loved them, greatlie rejoiced; giving God thanks for that sofull meeting, brittle, and concord, appearing thus manifestlie betwixt them: and herewith the trumpets and other instruments sounded, & the king withall brought the duke unto his armie, whom he saluting in most courteous wise, welcomed them into the land; and they humbly thanking him, did to him such reverence as appertained to the honour of such a worthy personage. This was a goodlie and a gracious reconcilment, beneficiall to the princes, profitable to the peeres, and pleasurable to the people, whose part had bene depeest in dangers and losse, if discord had not bene discontinued.

This done, the king leaving his hoast againe, keeping their ground with the same few persons which he took with him before, went with his brother of Clarence unto his armie, and saluting them with sweete and courteous words, was sofullie of them welcomed: and so after this, they all came togither joining in one. And either part shewing themselves glad thus to meet as friends with the other, they went lovinglie togither unto Warwicke with the king, where and in the countrie thereabouts they lodged, as they thought stood most with their ease and safeties. Herewith the duke of Clarence desired above all things to procure some good and perfect accord betwixt his brother the king, and the earle of Warwicke.

The duke of
Clarence see-
keth to make
peace betwixt
the king and
the earle of
Warwicke.

In this was he the more studious, because he saw that such an accord should bring great quietnesse to the land, and delivier the common-wealth of manie dangers that might insue by reason of such numbers of partakers, as well lords as other that were confederat with the earle. The said duke treated with the king present, and sent messengers unto Conventrie to the earle, moving as well the one as the other most instantlie to frame their minds unto a pacification. The king at the instance of his brother was contented to offer large conditions, and verie beneficiall for the earle and his partakers, if they would have accepted them.

But the earle, whether bitterlie despairing of his owne safetie, if he should agree to any peace; or else happlie for that he thought it stood with his honour to stand unto such promises and covenants as he had made with the French king, and with the queene Margaret, and his sonne prince Edward (to whom he was bound by oth not to shew any favour from the same) he refused all manner of such conditions as were offered. In much that when the duke had sent to him, both to excuse himselfe of the same which he had done, and also to require him to take some good waie with king Edward, now while he might, the earle after he had patientlie heard the dukes message, he seemed greatlie to abhorre his unfaithfull dealing, in

turning thus from his confederats and allies, contrary to his oth and fidelitie.

To the messengers (as some write) he gave none other answer but this, that he had rather be like himselfe, than like a false and perfured duke; and that he was fullie determined neuer to leave warre, till he had either lost his owne life, or bitterlie subdued his enemies. As it was thought, the earle of Devonshires persuasion wanted not, to make him the more listlie to hold out; and rather to trie the bittermost hazard of warre, than to agree to acknowledge king Edward for his lawfull sovereign lord and king. Whereupon no appointment nor any agreement at all could be brought to passe; and so all that treatie, which the duke of Clarence had procured, brake off & toke none effect. There came to the earle of Warwicke, whilste he lay thus at Conventrie (besides the earle of Devonshires) the duke of Gloucester, and the lord marquisse Montacute, by whose coming that side was greatlie strengthened, and the number much increased.

The king, upon consideration hereof, and perceiving he could not get the earle to come forth of Conventrie, departed from Warwicke, and escones the loving himselfe with his people before the citie of Conventrie, desired the earle and his power to come forth into the fields, that they might end their quarrell by battell: which the earle and the other lords with him bitterlie refused as then to do. This was the first of April being fridaie. The king hereupon was resolved to march towards London, where his principall adherentie king Henrie remained, using his kinglie authority by diversie such of the nobilitie as were about him, whereby king Edward was barred and dis-appointed of manie aids and assistants, which he was sure to have, if he could once breake that force of the royal authority, that was still thus exercised against him in king Hentries name.

Wherefore (by the aduise of his brethren and others of his counsell) accordinglie as it had bene ordained before this his last setting forth from Warwicke, he kept on his waie towards London, coming to Dantrie on the saturday at night: & on the morrow being Palmesunday, he heard service in the church there, & after rode to Northampton, where he was sofullie received. From thence he took the next way towards London, leaving continuallie behind him (as he passed forth) a competent band of speares and archers, to heat backe such of the earle of Warwicks people, as peradventure he might send abroad to trouble him and his armie by the waie. Which providence and foresight he thought it not unnecessary to use; for that he knew well enough, that the heart of an enimie, friend in the fire of hateful hostility, will pretermitt no opportunitie, either of time or place to laie in wait for his destruction, against whom he beareth an inward grudge, with a desire of vengeance to the death.

In this meane while, that things passed in manner (as before we have heard) Edmund duke of Summerset, & his brother John marquisse Dorset, Thomas Courtneie earle of Devonshires, and others being at London, had knowledge by advocations out of France, that queene Margaret with her sonne prince Edward, the countesse of Warwicke, the pils of St. Johns, the lord Wenlocke, and diversie others their adherents and partakers, with all that they might make, were ready at the sea side, purposing with all speed to saile over into England, and to arrive in the west countrie. Whereupon they departed forth of London, and with all hast possible drew westward, there to raise what forces they could, to come with those their friends, immediatlie after they should once come on land, and so to assist them against king Edward.

Edward and his partakers.

True it is, that the quene with hir sonne, and the other persons before mentioned, took their ships, the four and twentieth daie of March, continuing on the seas before they could land (thorough tempests and contrarie winds) by the space of twentie daies, that is, till the thirteenth of Aprill: on which daie, or rather on the fourteenth, they landed at Westmouth, as after shall appeare. But now touching king Edwards proceeding forward on his iourne toward London, ye haue to vnderstand, that vpon the Tuesday the ninth of Aprill he came to saint Albons, from whence he sent comfortable aduertisements to the quene his wife remaining within the sanctuarie at Westminster, and to others his faithfull friends in and about London, to vnderstand by couert meanes how to deale to obtaine the fauour of the citizens, so as he might be of them receiued.

The earle of Marlowe, vnderstanding all his doings and purposes, wrote to the Londoners, willing & charging them in arie wise to keepe king Edward out of their citie, and in no condition to permit him to enter: and withall he sent to his brother the archbishop of Poike, willing him by all meanes possible to persuade the Londoners not to receiue him; but to defend the citie against him for the space of two or thre daies at the least: promising not to faile but to come after him, and to be ready to assaile him on the backe, not doubting but wholie to distresse his power and to bring him to utter confusion. The archbishop hereupon, on the ninth of Aprill, called vnto him at Paules, all such lords, knights, and gentlemen, with others that were partakers on that side, to the number in all of six or seauen thousand men in armour.

Herevith also he caused king Henrie to mount on horsebacke, and to ride from Paules thorough Cheape downe to Watpoeke, & so to fetch a compass (as the custome was when they made their generall processions) returning backe againe to Paules vnto the bishops palace, where at that time he was lodged. The archbishop supposed, that shewing the king thus riding thorough the streets, he should haue allured the citizens to assist his part. True it is, the mayor & aldermen had caused the gates to be kept with watch and ward: but now they well perceived that king Henries power was too weak, as by that they saw it had well appeared, so to make full resistance against king Edward, and so not for them to trust vnto, if king Edward came forward, and should attempt to enter the citie by force: for it was not unknowne vnto them, that manie of the worshipfull citizens, and others of the commons in great numbers, were faine bent to aid king Edward, in all that they might, as occasion served.

Thus, that thorough lone that manie bare to king Edward, and that thorough feare that diuerse stood in, least the citie being taken by force might happlie haue bene put to the sacche, with the losse of manie an innocent mans life, the mayor, aldermen, and others the worshipfull of the citie fell at a point among themselves, to keepe the citie to king Edwards use, so as he might haue free passage and entrie into the same at his pleasure. The archbishop of Poike, perceiving the affections of the people, and how the most part of them were now bent in fauour of king Edward vpon the said kings approach towards the citie, he sent forth secretly a messenger to him, beseeching him to receiue him againe into his fauour, promising to be faithfull to him in time to come, and to acquit this good turne hereafter with some singular benefit and pleasure.

The king, vpon good causes and considerations therevnto him moving, was contented to receiue him againe into his fauour. The archbishop hereof

assured, reioiced greatly, well & truly acquitting him concerning his promise made to the king in that behalf. The same night following was the Tower of London recovered to king Edwards use. And on the morowe being Thursday, and the eleuenth of Aprill, king Edward quietly made his entrie into the citie with his power, hauing five hundred noble gunners marching foremost, being strangers, of such as he had brought ouer with him. He first rode vnto Paules church, & from thence he went to the bishops palace, where the archbishop of Poike presented himselfe vnto him, and hauing king Henrie by the hand, deliuered him vnto king Edward, who being seized of his person, and diuerse other his aduersaries, he went from Paules to Westminster, where he made his deuout prayers, giuing God most heartie thanks for his safe returne thither againe.

This done, he went to the quene to comfort hir, who with great patience had abidden there a long time, as a sanctuarie woman, for doubt of hir enemies; and in the meane season was deliuered of a young prince, whome she now presented vnto him, for his great hearts reioicing & comfort. From Westminster the king returned that night vnto London againe, hauing the quene with him, and lodged in the house of the duchesse his mother. On the morowe being good Friday, he tooke advice with the lords of his blood, and other of his counsell, for such business as he had in hand; namelie, how to subdue his enemies as sought his destruction. Thus with consultation preuenting his actions, he obtained fortunate successe, wherewith his hart was the more advanced to some issue with his aduersaries, whome (rather than they should triumph ouer him) he was resolute minded to vanquish, if his proceedings might proue prosperous as his present good lucke.

The earle of Marlowe, calling himselfe lieutenant of England, vnder the pretended authoritie of king Henrie, hoping that king Edward should haue much ado to enter into London, marched forth from Couentrie with all his puissance, following the king by Northampton, in hope to haue some great advantage to assaile him, speciallie if the Londoners kept him out of their citie, as he trusted they would; for then he accounted himselfe sure of the upper hand: or if he were of them rescued, yet he hoped to find him vnprepared in celebrating the feast of Easter, and so by setting vpon him on the sudden, he doubted not by that meanes to distresse him. But king Edward, hauing intelligence of the earles intention, provided all things necessarie for battell, & hearing that the earle of Marlowe was now come vnto saint Albons with his armie, he determined to march forth to encounter him before he should approach neare the citie.

The earle of Marlowe, accompanied with John duke of Excester, Edmund duke of Summertset, John earle of Oxford, and John Penill marquisse Montacute his brother, vnderstanding that king Edward was not onelie receiued into London, but also had got king Henrie into his hands, perceived that the result of the matter must needs be committed to the hazard of battell, and therefore being come to the towne of saint Albons, he rested there a while, partly to refresh his soldiers, and partly to take counsell how to proceed in his enterprise. At length, although he knew that his brother the marquisse Montacute was not faine well persuaded with himselfe, to like of his quarrell which they had in hand, yet the brotherlie affection betwixt them tooke auaile all suspicion from the earle, and so he utterly resolved to giue battell, meaning to trie thereto all his might, not to prosecute that with the sword, which he had so

The Tower recovered to king Edwards use. Edward entereth into London.

King Henrie is deliuered to him.

The earle of Marlowe followeth the king.

Edw. Hall

The Londoners refuse to receiue king Edward.

kennele bolued to down his word.]

Yerbyon remoued they towards Barnet, a towne standing in the midwaie betwixt London and saint Albons aloft on a hill; at the end whereof towards saint Albons there is a faire plaine for two armies to meet vpon, named Gladmoze heath. On the further side of which plaine towards saint Albons the earle fight his campe. King Edward on the other part, being furnished with a mightie armie (hauing ioined to that poluer which he brought with him certeine new supplies) vpon Easter euen the thirtieth of Aprill in the after none marched forth, hauing his said armie diuided into foure battells. He toke with him king Henrie, and came that euening vnto Barnet, ten small miles distant from London; in which towne his foreriders finding certeine of the earle of Warwikes foreriders, beat them out, & chased them somewhat further than halfe a mile from the towne, where, by an hedge side they found readie assembled a great number of the earle of Warwikes people.

The king after this comming to Barnet, would not suffer a man to remaine in the towne (that were of his host) but commanded them all to the field, and with them drew toward his enemies, and lodged with his armie more nere to them than he was aware of, by reason it was darke, so as he could not well discern where they were incamped, fortifying the field the best he could for feare of some sudden inuasion. He toke his ground not so enen afore them as he would haue done, if he might haue discovered the place where they had lien; and by reason thereof he incamped somewhat afooe slips of them, causing his people to keepe as much silence as was possible, [least making any noise with the buseling of their armour and weapons or otherwise with their tongues, the enimie might haue come to some knowledge of the kings private purpose, and so by preuention haue disappointed his policie by some ppointed deuise; which because they wanted for the present time, it turned to their disadvantage; after the old prouerbe:

Nescit prodere qui nescit prouideri esse.]

They had great artillerie on both parts, but the earle was better furnished therewith than the king, and therefore in the night time they shot off from his campe in maner continually; but doing little hurt to the kings people, till ouershotting them, by reason they late much narer than the earle or any of his men did esteem. And such silence was kept in the kings campe, that no noise betrayed them where they late. For so the end it should not be knowne to the enemies, how nere the king with his armie was lodged vnto them, the king would not suffer any of his gunnes to all that night to be shot off, least thereby they might haue gessed the ground, and so leuelled their artillerie to his annoyance.

Careles on the next morning betwixt foure and five of the clocke, notwithstanding there was a great mist that letted the sight of both parts to discover the fields, the king aduanted his banners, and caused his trumpets to sound to the battell. On the other part, the earle of Warwike, at the beie beake of the daie, had likewise set his men in order of battell in this maner. In the right wing he placed the marquisse Montacute, and the earle of Arford with certeine horsemen, and he with the duke of Gloucester toke the left wing. And in the middell betwene both, he set archers, appointing the duke of Summarset to guide them as their chiefeine. King Edward had set the duke of Gloucester in the foreward. The middell ward he himselfe with the duke of Clarence, hauing with them king Henrie, his sole & gouerne. The lord Hastings led the reerward, and beside these three battells, he kept a compaignie of fresh men in store, which did him great pleasure before the end of

the battell.

Here is to be remembred, that aswell the king on his part, as the earle of Warwike on his, used manie comfortable words to encourage their people, not forgetting to set forth their quarrels as iust and lawfull; the king naming his aduersaries traitors and rebels, & the earle accounting him a tyrant, & an inuious usurper. But when the time came that they once got sight either of other, the battell began verie sharpe and cruell, first with shot, and after by ioining at hand blowes. Yet at the first they toined not front to front, as they should haue done, by reason of the mist that toke auaie the sight of either armie, and suffered the one not to discern perfectly the order of the other; insomuch that the one end of the earle of Warwikes armie ouerrought the contrarie end of the kings battell which stood westward, and by reason thereof (through the balliance of the earle of Arford which led the earles toward) the kings people on that part were ouermatched, so that manie of them fled towards Barnet, and so to London, bringing newes that the earle of Warwike had towne the field.

[Which report happlie might haue bene iustified and fallen out to be true, had not preposterous fortune happened to the earle of Arford and his men, who had a sharre with streames on their lueries; as king Edwards men had the sunne with streames on their lueries: whereupon the earle of Warwikes men, by reason of the mist not well discerning the badges so like, shot at the earle of Arfords men that were on their owne part, and then the earle of Arford and his men cried treason, and fled with eight hundred men.]

But touching the kings people which were pursued in the chase as they fled, and were put to the worst, manie were wounded, and manie slaine outright. But the residue of those that fought in other parts could not perceiue this distress of the kings people, because the thicke mist would not suffer them to see any space farre off, but onelie at hand; and so the kings battell that saw not any thing what was done beside them, was nothing discouraged. For (as few excepted that stood next to that part) there was not any one that wist of that discomfort; and the other of the earle of Warwikes men, that fought in other places somewhat distant from them, were nothing the more encouraged by this prosperous successe of their fellows, for they perceived it not. And in like sort as at the west end the earles battell ouer-
reached the kings, so at the east end the kings over-
reached the earle, and with like successe put the earles people in that place to the worst.

At length after long fight, and greater slaughter made on both sides, king Edward hauing the greater number of men (as somewhat before, though other as firme the contrarie began some what to preuaile; but the earle on the other side remembering his ancient fame and renowne, manfully stucke to it, and encouraged his people, still supplying with new succors in places where he saw expedient) was in the fight renewed more cruell, fierce, & bloodie than before, insomuch that the battell remained still doubtful, though they had fought from morning till it was now far in the daie. King Edward therefore willing to make a rend of so long a contest, caused new poluer of fresh men (which he had for this purpose kept in store) to set on his enemies.

The earle of Warwike was nothing abashed herewith, but understanding that this was all the residue of king Edwards power, comforted his men to beare out this last brunt, and in so doing the victorie was side on their side, and the battell at an end; but king Edward so manfully and valiantly assailed his aduersaries, in the middle and strongest part of

Gladmoze
heath.

The ordering
of the kings
armie.

Edward
lodged before
his enemies.

Artillerie.

A good policie.

Edw. Hall.

The order of
the battell of
both sides.

An.

The earle
of Warwike
dunne.

The mar-
quisse Mont-
acute slaine
Ab. Flem.

The battell
of the earle of
Arford.

Ab. Flem. 13.
pag. 77.

Ab. Fl. ex
pag. 77.

The name
slaine at
the field.

The manly
courage of the
earle of War-
wike.

The duke
of Summar-
set and the
earle of Arford,
Ab. Flem.

The duke
of Gloucester.

Ab. Flem.

In Reg. 11.

of their battell, that with great violence he bare
downe all that stood in his waie; for he was followed
and assisted by a number of most hardie and faithfull
men of warre, that shewed notable proofe of tried
manhood in that instant necessitie. The earle of
Warwicke (when his souldiers all wearied with long
fight, and soe weakened with woundes and hurts re-
celined in the battell) gaue little heed to his words (be-
ing a man of an inuincible stomack) rushed into the
middest of his enimies, whereas he (aduenturing so
farre from his companie, to kill and slea his aduersa-
ries, that he could not be rescued) was amongst the
preasse of his enimies stricken downe and slaine.

The marquessle Pontacute, thinking to succour his brother, was likewise overthworne and slaine, with manye other of good calling, as knights and esquires, befere other gentlemene. [But some saie that the said marquessle, having agreed pyllie with king Edward, did weare his luerie, whome one of his brother the earle of Warwicks men espiong, fell vpon him and killed him outright.] Some wyite that this battell was so dyuene to the vttermoost point, that king Edward was constrained to fight in his owne person, and that the earle of Warwike, which was wont euer to ride on horsebacke from place to place, and from ranke to ranke, comforting his men, was now aduised by the marquessle his brother, to leaue his horse, and to trie the extremitie by hand strokes, [which may be probable & likelie. But by the report of some it seemeth that he was not slaine in the heat of the conflict, among the rout of the fighting men, but afterwards in this sort. For when he saw the kings power periaile and his owne foze impaired and past hope of good speed, with the slaughter of his adherents (gentlemen of name) and himselfe in the verie mouth of the enimie in possibilitie to be denoured, he kept vpon a horse to flie, and comming into a wood where was no passage, one of king Edwards men came to him, killed him, and spoiled him to the naked skin. Sir William Cirrell knight was killed on the earle of Warwicks part.]

On both parties were slaine (as Ed. Hall saith) ten thousand at the least, where Fabian saith but fifteene hundred and somewhat above. After whiche that there died in all about thre thousand. Upon the kings part were slaine, the lord Crumwell, the lord Saine, the lord Montions sonne and heire, sir Humfre Bourcier lonie to the lord Berners, and diuerse other knights, squiers, and gentlemen. The batell ended the space of thre hours herie doubtfull by reason of the mist, and in skirmishing and fighting, now in this place, now in that, but finallie the victorie fell on the kings side; and yet it could not be esteemed that his holie armie passed nine thousand fighting men (as some write) where his aduersaries (as by the same writers appeareth) were farre about that number. But because those that so write, seeme altogether to fauor king Edward, we maie beleue as we list.

The duke of Summerfet, and the earle of Orford fled in companie of certeine northerne men, which had bene at the battell, and (as some wyte) the earle of Orford kept forth with them, and retired after into Scotland. But yet as well the duke of Summerfet, as the said earle of Orford, in fleeing toward Scotland, changed their purpose upon the waie, and turned into Wales to Jasper earle of Penbrok. The duke of Crefester being stricken downe and sore wounded, was left for dead in the field, amongst other the dead bodies, because he was not known, and by reason the reof committing to himselfe, got up, and in great danger escaped unto Welfminster, and there toke sanctuary. [But some say, that after he had lien in the field, spoiled, wounded, and (to say to) void of life, from seven of the clocke in the morning,

till foure at after none, he was caried to a seruants
house of his there by (named Authland) where (after
his wounds were searched and dyessed by a surgian)
he was conueied into Westminster sanctuarie.]

King Edward hauing got this viciozie, refreshing himselfe and his people a while at Barnet, returned the same daie vnto London, like a triumphant conqueror, leading with him king Henric as a captiue prisoner : & fo making a solemne entrie at the church of saint Paule, offred his standard. The dead bodies of the earle and marques were brought to London in a coffin, & before they were buried, by the space of three daies laie open visaged in the cathedrall church of S. Paule, to the intent that all men might easilie perceiue, that they vnseineable were dead. The common buzzet ran, that the king was not so ieiuous of the erles death, as sorrowfull for the losse of the marques, whoin he full well knew (and no lesse was euident to other) to be his faithfull friend and well-willer ; for whose onelie sake, he caused both their bodies to be buried with their ancestors in the priorie of William.

On the tuesdaye in Easter weeke came know-
ledge to king Edward, that quene Margaret the
wife of king Henrie, with hir sonne prince Edward
was landed vpon Easter day at Weimouth in Dor-
setshire, accompanied with John Longbrother prioz
of saint Johns, commonlie called lord tresauror of
England, who went ouer into France to fetch them :
also the lord Wenloche, a man made onelie by king
Edward, beside diuerse other knights and esquiers,
of whome part had bene long forth of the realme,
and part newlie gone ouer thither to them, in com-
panie of the lord tresauror. They toke their ships at
Hundue, the foure and twentieth of March (as before
you haue heard) but through contrarie winds and
tempestes, they were driuen backe, and constrained to
abide for conuenient wind.

Now, although it came sometimes about fifteen
for their purpose, yet it continued not long in that
end; so as if thereupon they took the sea at any time,
they were forced to returne backe againe to land, yet
they could passe halfe the way ouer. And thus being
diuerse times vnder saile, in hope to passe the seas hi-
ther into England, they were still diuen backe a-
gaine, till the thirtieth of Aprill being Easter euen-
on which day the wind comming fauorablie about,
they took the seas, and sailed forward towards this
land. The countesse of Warwicke, hauing a ship of ad-
uantage, arriued before the other at Dorsetmouth,
and from thence she went to Southhampton, mea-
ning to haue gone to Wilemouth, where she vnder-
stood that the queene was landed: but here had she
knowledge of the losse of Warner field, and that hir
husband was there slaine. Whereupon she went no
further towards the queene, but secretlie got hir ouer
the water into the new forest, and took sanctuarie
within the abbey of Beaulieu.

Quene Margaret, and hir sonne prince Edward, with the other that landed at Welmouth, went from thence to an abbeye nere by called Cerne. Whither came vnto them Edmund duke of Summerset, and Thomas Conrincie earle of Denonshire, with others, and welcommed them into England, confirming the quene in the best maner they could, and willed hir not to be paire of god successe; for albeit they had lost one field (whereof the quene had knowledge) the same day being mondaye in eafter weeke, the fifteenth of Aprill, and was therefore right forowfull) yet they doubted not but to assemble such a puissance (and that verie shortly) south of diuerse parts of the realme, as being faithfull, and wholy bent to spend their liues, and shed the best blond in their bodies for hir sake, & hir sonnes, it should be hard for king Edward to resist them with all the powler he had & could.

Edw. Hall.

Queene Mary
garet landeth
with a power
out of France

The countesse
of warwike
taketh sanctu-
arie.

The duke of
Summerfet,
and the earle
of Deuonshyre
cōsoyt quene
Margaret.

Edw. Hall.

The feare
which quene
Margaret
had for hir
sonne.

could make.

The presence of these noble men greatlie comforted hir, and relieved hir of the sorowes that in manner overwhelmed hir pensive heart: for she doubted for the end of all these proceedings, the which they concluded to follow upon the advancement of hir and hers. Speciallie it misgaue hir, that some evil should chance to hir sonne prince Edward, for she greatlie feared not of hir owne perill (as she hir selfe confessed) and therefore she would gladlie have had them either to have deferred the battell till a more convenient time: or else that hir sonne might have bene conveyed over into France againe, there to have remained in safetie, till the chance of the next battell were tried: but they being of a contrarie mind, and namelie the duke of Summerfet, she at length consented unto that which they were resolved upon.

Thus euerie man being bent to battell, gathered his power by himselfe, first in Summerfetshire, Dorsetshire, and part of Wiltshire, and after in Devonshire and Cornewall. For the better incouraging of which countries to ioine with them in their quarrell, they repaired to Excester. Here they sent for sir John Arundell, and sir Hugh Courtenie, and manie other in whom they had anie confidence. To be short, they wrought so, that they raised the whole powers of Cornewall and Devonshire, and with a great armie departing forth of Excester, they toke the right waie to Glasfenburie, and from thence to Bath, raising the people in all parts where they came: for those countries had bene so laboured, first by the earle of Marwick, and after by the duke of Summerfet, and the earle of Devonshire (which two noble men were reckoned as old inheritors of the same countries) that the people seemed there greatlie inclined to the fauor of king Henrie.

Edward
feareth for
ward against
his enemies.

King Edward, being at London, was dailie advertised by faithfull espials of all the doings of his aduersaries, and was in no small agonie, because he could not learne what waie his enemies ment to take: for he purposed to encounter them in one place or other, before they should approach nere to London. And upon such resolution, with such an armie as he had got about London, furnished with all artillerie and other provisions necessarie, he set forward the nineteenth of Aprill, and came to Windesore, where he staid a season, as well to celebrate the feast of saint George, as to abide the coming of such hands as he had appointed to repaire thither unto him, making there his generall assemble.

The enemies to mask him the more, sent forth their foreriders unto sundrie townes, both a swell to raise people in the countries about, as to make the king beleue that their purpose was to passe those waies, where they ment not once to come. And hereupon when they departed from Excester, they sent first their foreriders straight to Shasseburie, and after to Salisburie, and then they toke the straight waie to Taunton, Glasfenburie, and after to Wells, where howering about in the countrie, they sent another time their foreriders to a towne called Puell, and to Wuton, as if their meaning had bene to draw towards Reading, and so through Warkeshire, and Dorsetshire to have marched straight to London, or else to have set upon the king at some advantage, if it were offered.

But king Edward, considering aduisedlie of the matter, perceived well that they being in an angle of the realme, if they ment to go to London, they must either hold the straight waie forth by Salisburie, or else drawing up to the sea side, passe alongst through Hampshire, Sussex and Kent; or happilie if they mistrusted their owne strengths, as not able to

match with his puissance, they would then slip on the left hand, and draw towards Cheshire, and Lancashire, there to increase their forces, and peradventure by the waie to ioine with a power of Welshmen, under the leading of Jasper earle of Penbrooke, who had bene sent into Wales long afore, to frame and put in a readines the people there to assist king Henries friends at their coming thitherwards. And such was there purpose in deed, for they had great confidence in such aid, as they trusted to haue of the Cheshire and Lancashire men.

King Edward, meaning to approach nere unto them, that he might the sooner make waie to stop them of their passage, on which hand soeuer they drew, departed from Windesore the morrow after saint Georges day, being the fourte and twentieth day of Aprill, keeping forth his iournie, till on saturday the twentieth and seventh of Aprill he came to Abington, where he laie sundae all daie. On mondaie he marched forward to Chichester, where he had sent advertisement, that they intended to be at Bath the next daie being tuesday, and on wednesday to come forward to giue him battell. Whereupon king Edward, desirous to see his people in order of battell, drew them forth of the towne, and incamped in the field thre miles distant from thence, still busieng himselfe about his necessarie affaires, allowing no time to idleness or loitering: for he knew that there was no waie more expedite and readie to fire him in trauell, than to be giuen to negligence and sloth, the two wearers of well doing, as the old saying is:

Desidia pressus erit in studio citofessus.

On the morrow, hearing no certaintie of their coming forward, he marched to Spalnesburie, still seeking to encounter them: but here he had knowledge, that they hauing changed their purpose, meant not to giue him battell; and therefore were turned aside, and gone to Wiltshire, where they were receiued, relieved, and well refreshed by such as fauoured their cause, as well with vittells, men, and monie, as good store of artillerie. Whereupon they were so incouraged, that the thursdaie after they toke the field againe, purposing to giue king Edward battell indeed; and for the same intent had sent their foreriders to a towne, distant from Wiltshire nine miles, called Sudburie, appointing a ground for their field, a mile from the same towne, toward the kings campe, called Sudburie hill.

The king herof advertised, the same thursdaie, being the first of Maie, with his armie faire ranged in order of battell, came towards the place by them appointed for their field: but they came not there. For hearing that king Edward did thus approach, upon a new change of resolution, they left that waie: albeit some of their herbingers were come as farre as Sudburie towne, and there surprised five or six of the kings partie, which were rashlie entred that towne, attending onelie to prouide lodgings for their masters. The lords thus hauing effones changed their purpose, not meaning as yet to fight with the king, directed their waie straight towards Warkeshire, trauelling all that night. From Warkeshire they marched forward towards Gloucester.

The king in the meane time, on the thursdaie in the after none, came to the same ground called Sudburie hill, and there staid a certaine space, sending forth scowlers, to hearken what they might discover of the enemies, whome he toke to be some where at hand. But when he could not heare anie certaintie of them, he advanced forward, leading his vanguard in a ballie beyond the hill, towards the towne of Sudburie, and laie himselfe (with the residue of his people) at the same place, called Sudburie hill. About thre of the cloke after midnigh, he was

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Gloucester,
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The prince
where he lay
incamped.

advertised, that his enemies had taken their waie by Berkeley, towards Gloucester. Whereupon, taking aduise of his counsell what was best to do, he was counselled to send some of his seruants with all speed vnto Gloucester, to Richard Beauchampe, sonne and heire to the lord Beauchampe of Powike, to whome he had (before this present) committed the rule and custodie of the towne and castell of Gloucester.

The king sent therefore with all speed vnto him, commanding him to do his best to defend the towne and castell against his enemies, if they came to assault the same, as it was supposed they intended: and if they so did, he promised to come with his whole armie presentlie to the rescue. The messengers did their diligence, and so being sofallie receiued into Gloucester the towne and castell, by the vigilant regard of the said Richard Beauchampe, was put in safe keeping. And this message was done in good time, for true it is, there were diuerse in the towne, that could haue bene well contented that the quene, and the lords with hir, should haue bene receiued there, and would haue aduencured to haue brought it to passe, if they had not bene thus prevented.

Againe, the quene and the lords with hir had good intelligence, with diuerse in the towne, so as they were put in great hope to haue entred the same: whereupon they trauelled their people right soe all that night and morning, conning before the towne of Gloucester vpon the fridaie about ten of the clocke. And when they perceiued that they were disappointed of their purpose, and their entrie flatlie denied, they were highlie therewith displeased; for they knew verie well, that diuerse within the towne bare their good willes towards them: but after they had vled certeine menacing braueries, and made a shew as if they had meant to assault the gates and walles, & so to haue entred by force, they departed their waies, marching with all speed possible towards Tenkesburie.

Gloucester, where it was assaulted.

It might be marvelled at, whie they attempted not the winning of Gloucester indeed, considering the friends which they knew they had within it. But the cause which moued them chafie to forbeare, was, for that as well they without, as the other within the towne, knew that king Edward approached at hand, and was readie to set vpon them on the backes, if they had once begun to haue assaulted the towne; and so, neither they within the towne that were the kings friends doubted the enemies forces, nor the enemy indeed durst attempt anie such enterprise against them. About foure of the clocke in the afternoon, they came to Tenkesburie, hauing trauelled that night last past, and that daie, six and thirtie long miles, in a foule countrie, all in lanes and stonie waies, betwixt woods, without anie good refreshing, so that as well the men as the horses were right wearie.

A long march.

And where the more part of their armie consisted of footmen, the capitaines could not haue gone anie further, except they would haue left their footmen behind them, and so of necessitie they were drinen to staie there, determining to abide the aduenture that God would send them. For well they knew that the king followed them verie nere at hand, so as if they should haue gone further, and left the most part of their companie behind, as it could not otherwise haue chanced, he would haue bene readie to haue taken the aduantage wholie, so to distresse them. Whereupon they pight their field in a close, euen hard at the townes end, hauing the towne and the abbacie at their backes; and dircallie before them, and vpon each side of them, they were defended with cumber, some lanes, deepe ditches, and manie hedges, beside hills and dales, so as the place seemed as noisome as

The place where the lords camped.

might be to approach vnto.

The king on this fridaie, verie erlie in the morning, aduanced his standards, and in good order of battell hauing diuided his armie into thre wards, marched through the plaines of Cotteswold. The daie was verie hot, and hauing in his armie about thre thousand footmen, he trauelled with them and the residue thirtie miles and more. By all which waie, they could find neither horsemeat, nor mans meat, no not so much as water for their horses, except one little brooke, of the which they receiued no great reliefe; for what with the horses and carriages that passed thorough it, the water became so troubled, that it serued them to no vse: and still all that daie king Edward with his armie was within five or six miles of his enemies, he in the plaine countrie, and they among the woods.

The painful march of king Edward with his armie.

King Edward had euer good espials, to aduertise him still what his enemies did, and which waie they toke. At length he came with all his armie vnto a village called Chilttenham, like a five miles distant from Tenkesburie, where he had certeine knowledge that his enemies were already come to Tenkesburie, and were incamped there, purposing to abide him in that place, and to deliuer him battell. King Edward thereupon made no long delai, but toke a little resceion himselfe, and caused his people to do the like, with such prouision of vittells as he had appointed to be conueied forth with him for the reliefe of himselfe and his armie. This done, he set forward towards his enemies, and lodged that night in a field not past thre miles distant from them.

Chilttenham.

On the morrow being saturday, and fourth of Maie, he drew towards his enemies, and marshalled his armie, diuided into thre battells in this sort. He put his brother the duke of Gloucester in the foreward, and himselfe in the middle-ward. The lord Marques, and the lord Hastings led the reer-ward. Where with he approached the enemies campe, which was right hard to be assailed, by reason of the deepe ditches, hedges, trees, bushes, and cumberfome lanes, wherewith the same was fenced, both a front, and on the sides, so as the king could not well approach them to anie aduantage: and to be the better in a readinesse to beat backe the kings power, when he should come to assault them, they were imbattelled in this order.

The ordering of king Edwards battell.

The duke of Summerfet, and his brother the lord John of Summerfet led the fore-ward. The middle-ward was gouerned by the prince, vnder the conduct of the lord of saint John, and the lord Wenlocke (whome king Edward had aduanced to the degree of a baron.) The reer-ward was appointed to the rule of the earle of Deuonshire. Thus may yee perceiue, that king Edward was put to his shifts, how (to anie aduantage) to assault his enemies. Nevertheless, he being well furnished with great artillerie, the same was aptlie lodged to annoie the enemies, that they receiued great damage thereby; and the duke of Gloucester, who lacked no policie, galled them greuouslie with the shot of arrowes: and they rewarded their aduersaries home againe with like payment, both with shot of arrowes, and great artillerie, although they had not the like plentie of guns as the king had. The passages were so cumberfome, that it was not possible to come vpon anie euen hand, to ioine at handblowes.

The ordering of the lords host.

The duke of Gloucester.

Tenkesburie field.

The duke of Gloucester, vpon a politike purpose (as some haue written) recoiled backe with all his companie, which when the duke of Summerfet perceived, either moued therewith; or else bicause he was too sore annoied with the shot in that place where he and his fore-ward stood, like a knight more courageous than circumspect, came out of his strength with his whole battell, and aduanced himselfe some what

The duke of Summerfet.

what aside slips the kings bowward, and by certeine passages afoze hand, and for that purpose prouided (to the kings part, although unknowen) he passed a lane, and came into a faire open close right before the king, where he was imbattelled, not doubting but the prince and the lord Wenlocke, with the middle-ward, had followed tust at his backe. But whether the lord Wenlocke dissembled the matter for king Edwards sake, or whether his hart serued him not, still he stood, and gaue the looking on.

Edw. Hall.

The king, (as other haue) the duke of Glocester, taking the aduantage that he aduantaged for, turned againe face to face vnto the duke of Summerfet his battell, and winning the hedge and ditch of him, entered the close, and with great violence put him and his people by towards the hill from whence they were descended. Here is to be noted, that when the king was come before his enemies, yet he gaue the onset, he perceived that vpon the right hand of their campe there was a parke, and much store of wood growing therein; and doubting least his aduersaries had laid an ambush within that wood, he chose forth of his companies two hundred speares, commanding them to keepe a file, like a quarter of a mile from the field, to attend vpon that corner of the wood out of the which the ambush, if anye were, was to issue, and to encounter with them, as occasion serued: but if they perceived that there was no ambush at all, then to imploye their seruice as they should see it expedient and behoouefull for the time.

The politike foresight of the king.

This politike prouision for danger that might haue ensued (although there was none that waile forth) serued yet before the end of the battell, to great god purpose. For when those speares perfectlie understood that there was no ambush within the wood, and withall saw convenient time to imploye themselves, they came and brake with full randon vpon the duke of Summerfet and his bowward a flanke, in so violent wise vpon the sudden, that where they had before mough to doe with those with whom they were first matched, now with this new charge giuen on them by those two hundred speares, they were not a little dismayed; and to conclude, so discouraged, that freightwaie they toke them to flight. Some fled into the parke, other into the meadowe there at hand, some into the lanes, & some hid them in ditches, each one making what shift he could, by the which he hoped best to escape: but manie neuerthelesse were beaten downe, slaine, and taken prisoners.

The battagard of the lords distressed.

The duke of Summerfet seeing this vnfortunate chance, as some write, turned to the middle-ward, and there finding the lord Wenlocke standing still, after he had reuiled him, and called him traitor, with his ar he stroke the bzaines out of his head. The duke of Glocester pursuing after them that fled with the duke of Summerfet to their campe, where the rest of their armie stood, entered the trench, and after him the king, where he bare himselfe so knightlie, that thereupon the quenes part went to woracke, and was put to flight; the king and other falling in chase after them, so that manie were slaine, but especiallie at a mill in the meadowe fast by the towne a great sort were drowned. Manie ran towards the towne, some to the church, and diuerse to the abbey, and other to other places, where they thought best to saue themselves. [This was the last fought field or pight battell tried betwene the potentats of this land in king Edward the fourths daies (which chanced on the fourth of Maie, being saturday, in the eleauenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord, 1471) as Anglorum praelia affirmeth, saieing: *ultima postrema locus est Tewkesburia pugna.*]

Abr. Flem.

Edw. Hall.
Prince Edward taken.

In the winning of the campe, such as stood to it were slaine out of hand Prince Edward was taken

as he fled towards the towne, by sir Richard Cross, and kept close. In the field and chase were slaine, the lord John of Summerfet, called marquisse Dorset, Thomas Courtenie earle of Denonshire, sir John Welues, sir Edward Hampden, sir Robert Whittingham, and sir John Leukerier, with three thousand others. After the field was ended, proclamation was made, that whosoever could bring forth prince Edward alieue or dead, should haue an annuite of a hundred pounds during his life, and the princes life to be saued, if he were brought forth alieue. Sir Richard Cross, nothing mistrusting the kings promise, brought forth his prisoner prince Edward, being a faire and well proportioned young gentleman; whom when king Edward had well aduised, he demanded of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter into his realme with banner displayed.

Sir Richard Cross vnto the prince in hope that his life should be saued.

Wherevnto the prince boldly answered, saieing; To recouer my fathers kingdome & heritage, from his father and grandfather to him, and from him after him to me lineallie descended. At which words king Edward said nothing, but with his hand thrust him from him, (as some saie) stroke him with his gantlet; whom incontinentlie, George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Glocester, Thomas Greie marquisse Dorset, and William lord Hastings that stood by, suddenlie murdered: for the which cruell act, the more part of the doers in their latter daies dranke of the like cup, by the righteous iustice and due punishment of God. His bodie was homelie interred with the other simple corpses, in the church of the monasterie of blacke monks in Tewkesburie.

After the victorie was thus achieved, the king repaired to the abbey church there, to giue God thanks for that good successe, which it had pleased him to bestow on him with; and there finding a great number of his enemies, that were fled thither to saue themselves, he gaue them all his free pardon; albeit there was no franchise there for rebels, but that he might haue commanded them to haue bene drawn forth without breach of anye liberties of that church. He granted also that the dead bodie, as well of the lords as other, slaine in that battell, might be buried in the same church, or else where it pleased their friends or seruants, without anye quartering & heading, or setting vp the heads or quarters in any publicke places. [The patience and clemencie of this good king, who (besides the putting vp of wrongs done to him by violence of foes without vengeance) freely forgave the offenders, and did so honorable temper his affections!]

There were found in the abbey and other places of the towne, Edmund duke of Summerfet, John Lonsfrother lord priore of S. John, sir Thomas Kelsham, sir Gervais Clifton, and diuerse other knights and esquiers, which were apprehended, and all of them being brought before the duke of Glocester, sitting as constable of England, and the duke of Northfolke, as marshall in the middell of the towne, they were arreigned, condemned, and iudged to die; and so vpon the tuesday, being the seventh of Maie, the said duke and the lord priore, with the two forenamed knights, and twelue other knights, were on a scaffold, set vp in the middle of the towne for that purpose, beheaded, and permitted to be buried, without anye other dismembryng, or setting vp of their heads in anye one place or other.

The bodies of the duke of Summerfet and others beheaded.

The same tuesday, the king departed from Tewkesburie towards Worcester, and by the waie had knowledge that quene Margaret was found in a poore house of religion, not far from thence, into the which she was withdrawen for safegard of hir selfe, on saturday in the morning, being the daie of the battell. She was after brought to London as prisoner,

The bodies of the duke of Gloucester and others beheaded before London with an armie.

Quene Margaret taken.

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Rebellion in the north pacified.

The earle of Northumberland.

Thomas Grey will battard Fauconburg.

m.1471.

Probleme Name

An. Reg. 11.

ner, and so kept, till his father ransomed him with great summes of monie, which he bestowed of Lelwes the eleventh king of France. And because he was not able to make repayment thereof, he sold unto the said Lelwes (as the French writers affirme) the kingdomes of Naples, and both the Sicils, with the countie of Provence. King Edward being at Worcester, had advertisements brought forth of the north parts, that the people there were about to assemble in armour against him, in favour of king Henrie: whereupon he left the right way to London, and rode to Coventrie, meaning to increase the number of his people, and so with a puissant armie to go northwards.

Whereupon, comming to Coventrie the eleventh of Maie, and remaining there three daies, he well refreshed such as had bene with him at Teukesburie field. Whither was brought to him quene Margarete, from whence she was conveyed to London, there to remaine in safe keeping (as before you have heard.) Whilst he was busie in sending abroad unto his friends to leaue an armie, he was advertised that the commotion in the north was pacified. For after it was knowne abroad, how he obtained the victorie, as well at Teukesburie, as at Barnet, and in manner subdued all his enemies, the captains that had stirred the people to that rebellion, began to quail, and forsooke their companies.

Duerse of them made sute to the earle of Northumberland, that it might please him to be a mediator to the king for their pardon; so that now, there was no rebellion in all the north parts, but that as well the citie of York, as all other places, were at the kings commandement, ready in all things to obey him as true and loiall subiects. And this was confirmed by the earle of Northumberlands owne mouth, who on the fourteenth of Maie came to the king, as yet remaining at Coventrie: by reason whereof it was not thought needfull, that the king should trauell anie further northward at that time, either about the pacifying of the people, or to see execution done upon the offenders, sith all was there in good tranquillitie and quiet.

But now when all things seemed to be at rest, and no rebellion after so happie victories doubted, newes came to him before his coming to Coventrie, from the lords of his blood, abiding at London, that one Thomas Beull, bastard sonne to that valiant captaine the lord Thomas Fauconbridge (who had lately before bene sent to the sea by the earle of Marwick, and after fallen to practise piracie) had spoiled duerse merchants ships, Portugals and others, in breach of the ancient amitie that long had continued betwixt the realms of England and Portugall; and furthermore, had now got to him a great number of mariners, out of all parts of the land, and manie traitors and misgouerned people from each quarter of the realme, beside duerse also forth of other countries that delighted in theft and robberies, meaning to worke some exploit against the king.

And verelie, his puissance increased daily, for having bene at Calis, and brought from thence into Kent manie euill disposed persons, he began to gather his power in that countie, meaning (as was thought) to attempt some great and wicked enterprise. After the kings comming to Coventrie, he receiued advertisements, that this bastard was come before London, with manie thousands of men by land, and also in ships by water, purposing to rob and spoile the citie. Manie Kentishmen were willing to assist him in this mischieuous enterprise, and other were forced against their wills to go with him, or else to aid him with their substance and monie, inasmuch that within a short time, he had got together sixtene

or seuentene thousand men, as they accompted themselves.

With these he came before the citie of London the twelue of Maie, in the quarrell (as he pretended) of king Henrie, whome he also meant to haue out of the Tower, & to restore him againe. unto his crowne & roiall dignitie. And for that intent, he required to enter the citie with his people, that receiuing king Henrie forth of the Tower, they might passe with him through the citie, and so to march streight towards king Edward, whose destruction they vowed to pursue, with all their bittermost inuencions. But the maiors and aldermen of the citie would not in anie wise agree to satisfie their request herein, butterlie refusing to receiue him or anie of his companie into the citie.

King Edward from time to time by posts was informed of all these doings, & by aduise of his council, the fourteenth of Maie, sent to the succours of the maiors and aldermen sixtene hundred of the choicest souldiers he had about him, that they might helpe to resist the enemies, till he had got such an armie together as was thought necessarie, meaning with all conuenient speed to come therewith to the rescue of the citie, and preservation of the quene, prince, and his daughters, that were within the Tower, not in verie good safeguard, considering the euill dispositions of manie within the citie of London, that for the favour they had borne to the earle of Marwick, and desire to be partakers of the spoile, cared not if the bastard might haue attained to his full purpose and wished intent.

On the sixteenth of Maie, king Edward set forth of Coventrie towards London. But here ye haue to vnderstand, that when the bastard could not be receiued into the citie, neither by gentle persuasions, nor greuous threatnings, he made semblance to passe ouer the Thames at Kingston bridge, ten miles from London, and thitherwards he drew with his whole power by land, leauing his ships afore saint Katharines and thereabouts. His pretense was, to spoile and deströie Westminster, and the suburbs of the citie on that side, and after to assault the citie itselfe, to trie if he might enter by force, and so to be renewed of the citizens that had refused to receiue him. [Notwithstanding all which stirring of coles & proud port, with haughtinesse of hart & violence of hand thinking to beate downe the people, as an inundation of flowing of water streams doth all before it: yet he came short of his purpose, & pulled vpon his owne pate small destruction: though he thought himselfe a man ordeined to glorie, & was tickled with the like flattering persuasion that one had in his hart, who said:

Magnum iter ascendo, sed dat mihi gloria vires.

Now as he was on wards vpon his toynie, he was advertised, that king Edward was preparing to come for wards against him, assisted in manner with all the great lords of the realme, and others in great number, more than he had bene at anie time before. By reason whereof, doubting what might follow, if passing the river he should fortune so to be inclosed, that he should be diuinen thereto to incounter with the kings power at such odds, he thought it best to alter his purpose; and so returning, came backe againe before London, & mustered his people in St. Georges field, ranged and placed in one entier battell.

And to the intent they might worke their purpose best, before the kings comming to the rescue, they resolved with all their forces to assault the citie, and to enter it if they could by plaine strength, that putting it to the sacke, they might conueie the riches to their ships, which lay in the river betwixt saint Katharines and Blacketwall, nere to Ratcliffe. Whereupon having brought certeine peces of artillerie forth

Succours sent to the citie of London.

The bastards purpose to spoile the suburbs of London.

Prop. lib. 4.

The bastard altereth his purpose.

Sir Richard Crofts believeth the prince in hope that his life should have bene saved.

»

» Prince Edward was there.

Rebellion in the north parts.

Character of Northumberland.

Thomas Beull, bastard sonne to that valiant captaine the lord Thomas Fauconbridge.

The duke of Summerville & others before.

The bastard sonne to that valiant captaine the lord Thomas Fauconbridge.

Queen Dowager taken.

The bassard
meaneth to
enter the cite
by force.

of their ships, they planted the same alongst the water side, right over against the citie, and shot off lustilie, to annoy the citie within so much as was possible.

But the citizens on the other side lodged their great artillerie against their adversaries, and with violent shot therof so galled them, that they durst not abide in any place alongst the water side, but were driven even from their owne ordinance. Yet the bassard not meaning to leave any waie unassailed that might advance his purpose, appointed a great number of his retinue to set fire on the bridge, so to open the passage, and to enter into the citie that way forth; and withall, he caused about three thousand other to passe by ships over the Thames; giving order, that when they were got over, they should divide themselves into two battels, the one to assault Algate, and the other Bishops gate, which order accordingly was executed.

Algate and
Bishops gate
assaulted.

For they did their best at both places to force the gates, not sparing to bend and discharge such guns as they had brought with them against the same, nor ceasing with arrowes to annoy those that there stood at defense: whereby much hurt was done, as well at the one place as the other, fire being set on both the gates, in purpose to have burnt them up, and so to have entered. The fire which they had kindled on the bridge little availed them, although they burnt there to the number of a threescore houses. For the citizens had laid such peeces of ordinance directlie in their waie, that although the passage had bene whole open, they should have had hard entering that waie forth. The maiors, aldermen, and other worshipfull citizens were in good arraie, and each man appointed and bestowed where was thought needfull.

Houses burnt
on the bridge.

The earle of Essex, and manie knights, esquires, and gentlemen, with their friends and servants, came to aid the citizens, taking great paine to place them in order, for defense of the gates and walles: and furthermore, devised how and in what sort they might make a sallie forth upon the enemies to distresse them: and suerlie, by the intermingling of such gentlemen and lords servants in euerie part with the citizens, they were greatlie incouraged to withstand their enemies. Yet the rebels, under the leading of one Spilsing, bare themselves so scuttie at Algate, that they wan the bulwarks there, and drove the citizens backe within the portculice, & entered with them, to the number of six or eight: but some of them were slaine with the fall of the portculice that was let downe upon them, to keepe the residue out, and those that were entered within the gate were suddenlie dispatched.

Where with they lashed frelie the one part at the other with guns and bolles, although no great hurt was done with shot; till at length Robert Bassett alderman (that was appointed to the keeping of this gate, with the most part of the citizens) and the recorder, named Wilselike, either of them being well armed in strong iaches, commanded the portculice to be drawn up, and maintainantlie rushed forth upon their enemies, putting them backe unto saint Botolphes church. At the same instant, the earle Rivers, having got together a foure or five hundred men, well chosen and apparelled for the warre, issued forth at the posterne by the Tower, and assailing the Benthemen, even upon the point as they were thus put backe, mightilie laid upon them.

The ballancie
of Robert
Bassett alderman.

And first he plaged them with the swift and thicke flight of his arrowes, and after joining with them at hand strokes, slue and toke manie of them prisoners; so that the rebels were fullie put to flight, and followed first to Wile-end, and from thence some unto Poplar, some to Stratford, and Stepnith, and in maner each waie forth about that part of the citie, the chase being followed for the space of two miles in length. Manie of them were of Essex, and so made their course homewards; but the more part of them fled to the water side, and getting to their ships, passed over the Thames to the rest of their companie. The other likewise that were busie to assault Bishops gate, when they understood that their fellows were discomfited and fled from Algate, they likewise slipped awaie, and made the best that they could to save themselves.

There were a sequen hundred of them that fled from Algate, and other places, slaine outright, beside the prisoners. And yet there were fiers burning all at once at Algate, Bishops gate, & on the bridge, and manie houses consumed with the same fiers. But now the bassard, under whose that companie was directed that had set fire on the bridge, when he saw that he might not prevaile, and understood the small successe of those which he had set over the Thames, he withdrew also, and left the bridge. Here the hardie manhood of Rafe Josselin alderman is not to be passed with silence; who (after he had valiantlie resisted the bassard & his band that assaulted the bridge) upon their retire sallied forth upon them, and following them in chase alongst the water side, till they came beyond Kitchcliffe, slue and toke verie manie of them.

The bassard notwithstanding gathered his companies together, and with such as were willing to remaine with him incamped on Blackheath, by the space of three daies next ensuing, to wit, the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth of Maie, offering despairing of his wished preie, sith he had bene repelled from London, to his bitter confusion. And now to conclude, hearing that king Edward was coming with a right puissant armie, the said bassard and his people durst no longer abide; but brake up and dispersed themselves, some one waie, and some another. They of Calis got them thither againe with all speed, and such as were of other countries repaired likewise to their homes, and manie of the Benthemen went also to their houses. The bassard with his mariners, and such riotous rebels, robbers, and wicked persons, as sought nothing but spoile, got them to Shipbourn, and with all their vessels dyed downe to the coast.

King Edward, having assembled an armie of thirtie thousand men (as some write) and accompanied in maner with all the great lords of England, came to London the one and twentieth of Maie, being tuesday, where he was honourable receiued by the maiors, aldermen, and other worshipfull citizens: where even upon their first meeting with him he dubbed divers of them knights; as the maiors, the recorder, & other aldermen, and worshipfull commoners of the citie, which had manfullie and valiantlie acquit themselves against the bassard. Ifauncybolde & his wicked companie of rebels. Whereover, here is to be remembered, that poore king Henrie the first, a little before deprived (as ye have heard) of his realme and imperfall crowne, was now in the Tower spoiled of his life, by Richard duke of Gloucester (as the constant fame ran) who (to the intent that his brother king Edward might reigne in more sueritie) murdered the said king Henrie with a dagger.

Howbeit, some writers of that time, favouring altogether the house of York, have recorded, that after he understood what losses had chanced unto his friends, and how not onelie his sonne, but also all other his chiefe partakers were dead and dispatched, he took it so to hart, that of pure displeasure, indignation, and melancholie, he died the three and twentieth of Maie. The dead corps on the Ascension even was conveyed with billes and glaives pompositie (if you

John
die manhood
of Rafe Josselin
alderman is not
to be passed
with silence;

The bassard
incamped on
Blackheath

Canonizing
of kings,
date.

Ab. Pl. ex l. 1.
p. 730, 731,
&c.

Edw. Hall
King Henry
the first was
murdered in the
Tower.

An. Reg. 11.

The nine and
twentieth of
June.

you will call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower to the church of Saint Paule, and there laid on a bier of cotten bare faced, the same in presence of the beholders did bled; where it rested the space of one whole daie. From thence he was caried to the Blackfriars, and bled there likewise: and on the next daie after, it was conueied in a boat, without priest or clerke, to the tower, singing or saying, into the monastrie of Chertsey, distant from London fiftene miles, and there was it first buried: but after, it was removed to Windesore, and there in a new vault, newlie intombed. He reigned eight and thirtie yeares, six moneths and od daies, and after his readeption of the crowne six moneths. He liued two and fiftie yeares, hauing by twice one onclie sonne, called Edward, prince of Wales.

He was of a fæmelie stature, of bodie slender, to which proportion all other members were answerable; his face beautifull, wherein continuallie was resident the bountie of mind, with the which he was inwardlie indured. Of his owne naturall inclination he abhorred all the vices as well of the bodie as of the soule. His patience was such, that of all the injuries to him done (which were innumerable) he neuer asked vengeance, thinking that for such aduersitie as chanced to him, his finnes should be forgotten and forgiven. What losses soeuer happened vnto him, he neuer esteemed, nor made anie account thereof; but if anie thing were done, that might sound as an offense towards God, he sore lamented, and with great repentance sought for it.

So then verie unlike it is, that he died of anie wrath, indignation, and displeasure because his businesse about the keeping of the crowne on his head toke no better successe: except peraduenture ye will saie, that it grieved him, for that such slaughters and mischeues as had chanced within this land; came to passe onclie through his folie and default in government: or (that moze is) for his fathers, his grandfathers, and his owne vniust vsurping and deteining of the crowne. But howsoeuer it was, for these before remembred, and other the like properties of reputed holinesse, which was said to rest in him, it pleased God to worke miracles for him in his life time, as men haue listred to report.

By reason whereof, King Henric the seauenth sued to Pope Iulio the second, to haue him canonized a saint. But for that the canonizing of a king seemed to be moze coslie than for a bishop, the said king left off his sute in that behalfe; thinking better to saue his monie, than to purchase a new holie daie of saint Henric with so great a price, remitting to God the iudgement of his will and intent. ¶ But because princes princelie qualified, can not be too highlie praised, I will here record a collection of his commendable conditions, doings, and sayings, as I find them set downe to my hand, to his perpetuall renowne; and right wortheie of imitation, not onclie of such as are singled out from among infinite thousands, to be magnified with roialtie; but also of priuat and meane men that conuerse and liue one with another in the world.

This king hauing inioied as great prosperitie as fauourable fortune could afford, & as great troubles on the other side as the frowning could poure out; yet in both the states he was patient and vertuous, that he made be a patterne of most perfect vertue, as he was a wortheie example of fortunes inconstancie. He was plaine, bright, farre from fraud, wholely giuen to praier, reading of scriptures, and almesdeeds; of such integritie of life, that the bishop which had bene his confessor ten yeares, auouched that he had not all that time committed anie mortall crime: so continent, as suspicion of vnchast life ne-

uer touched him: and hauing in Chastmasse a shew of yong women with their bare breasts laid out presented before him, he immediatlie departed with these words: Fie, fie, for shame; forsooth you be to blame.

Before his marriage, he liked not that women should enter his chamber, and for this respect he committed his two brethren by the mothers side, Jasper and Edmund, to most honest & vertuous prelates to be brought up. So farre he was from couetousnesse, that when the executors of his vnclie the bishop of Winchester, surnamed the rich cardinall, would haue giuen him two thousand pounds, he plainelie refused it, willing them to discharge the will of the departed, and would scarceleie condescend at length to accept the same summe of monie toward the indowing of his colleges in Cambridge & Eaton. He was religionlie affected (as the time then was) that at principall holidaies, he would weare sackcloth next his skin. Wh he used none, but in most earnest matters these words: Forsooth and forsooth.

He was so pitifull, that when he saw the quarter of a traitor against his crowne ouer Crislegate, he willed it to be taken awaie, with these words: I will not haue anie christian so cruellie handled for my sake. ¶ Anie great offenses he willingly pardoned, and receiuing at a time a great blow by a wicked man which compassed his death, he onclie said; Forsooth forsooth, ye doe foullie to smite a king annointed so. An other also which thrust him into the side with a sword when he was prisoner in the Tower, was by him pardoned when he was restored to his state and kingdome. ¶ Not long before his death, being demanded whie he had so long held the crowne of England vniustlie; he replied: My father was king of England, quietlie inioieng the crowne all his reigne; and his father my grandfater was also king of England, and I euen a child in my cradell was proclaimed and crowned king without anie interruption; and so held it fortie yeares well-nere, all the states doing homage vnto me, as to my antecessors: wherefore I maie saie with king David; The lot is fallen vnto me in a faire ground; yea, I haue a goodlie heritage, my helpe is from the Lord which saueth the vpright in heart.

This good king, being of himselfe alwaies naturallie inclined to do good, and fearing least he might seme vnthankefull to almightie God for his great benefitts bestowed vpon him, since the time he first took vpon him the regiment of his realme, determined about the six and twentieth yeare of his reigne, for his primer notable worke (as by the words of his will I find expessed) to erect and found two famous colledges in the honoz and worship of his holy name, and for the increase of vertue, the dilatation of cunning, and establishment of christian faith, whereof the one in Cambridge, to be called his colledge of our ladie and saint Nicholas: and the other at Eaton beside Windesore, to be called his colledge of our blessed ladie.

And for the performance of this his deuout purpose, he infeoffed certeine bishops, with other noble and worshipfull personages, by his letters patents, with lands and possessions, parcell of his inheritance of the duchie of Lancaster, to the cleare value of well nere foure & thirtie hundred pounds by yere. Which letters patents he after confirmed by his act of parliament, declaring also by his will vnto his said scoffers, his intent and meaning, how the same should be imployed vpon the edifications of his said two colledges. Whereof (in my iudgement) the denise is so excellent, and the buildings so princelie and apt for that purpose, as I cannot omit to set forth vnto you the verie plot of the whole colledge in Cambridge,

Att.ij.

euen

Rafe Zok-
lin.The ballad
incampeth on
Blackchear.Comendyng
things,
hath.Mr. Ellis.
p. 73, 734
B.Edw. Hall.
King Henric
the first mar-
tyred in the
Tower.The kings
colledge in
Cambridge.

even as I find mentioned almost verbatim in his will, supposing that if the rest of the house had proceeded according to the chappell already finished (as his full intent and meaning was) the like colledge could scant have bene found againe in anie christian land. The words of the will are thus.

The chappell. As touching the dimensions of the church of my said colledge of our labie and S. Nicholas of Cambridge, I have devised and appointed, that the same church shall contene in length 288 fot of assise, without anie fies, and all of the wideness of fortie fot.

The bodie of the church. And the length of the same church from the west end unto the altars at the quiere doze, shall contene an hundred and twentie fot. And from the piousness stall, unto the grace called *Gradus chori* ninetie fot; for thirtie sit stalles on either side of the same quiere, answering to threescore and ten fellows, and ten priests conduits, which must be *De prima forma*. And from the said stalles unto the east end of the said church, threescore & two fot of assise. Also a reredosse bearing the

The roodloft. roodloft, departing the quiere and the bodie of the church, containing in length fortie fot, and in breadth fourtene fot. The walles of the same church to be in height ninetie fot unbattelled, bawted, and charerossed, sufficientlie butteraced, and euerie butterace fined with finials. And in the east end of the same church, shall be a window of nine daies, and betwixt euerie butterace a window of five daies.

The height of the chappell. And betwixt euerie of the same butteraces in the bodie of the church, on both sides of the same church, a closet with an altar therein, containing in length twentie fot, and in breadth ten fot, bawted and finished under the soile of the fies windows. And the pavement of the church to be enhanced foure fot above the ground without. And the height of the pavement of the quiere one fot and an halfe above the pavement of the church. And the pavement of the altar thre fot above that. And on the north side of the quiere a vestrie containing in length fiftie fot, and in breadth twentie and two fot, departed into two houses beneath, & two houses above, which shall contene in height twentie two fot in all, with an entrie from the quiere bawted. And at the west end of the church a cloister square, the east pane containing in length an hundred seuentie and five fot, and the west pane as much. The north pane two hundred fot, and the south pane as much, of the which the deambulatoire thirtene fot wide, and in height twentie fot to the corbill table, with cleare stoies and butteraces with finials, bawted & unbattelled. And the ground thereof foure fot lower than the church ground.

The east window. And in the middle of the west pane of the cloister a strong tower square, containing foure and twentie fot within the walles. And in the height one hundred and twentie fot to the corbill table. And foure small turrets over that fined with pinacles. And a doze into the said cloister inward, but outward none. And as touching the dimensions of the housing of the said colledge, I have devised and appointed in the south side of the said church a quadrant, closing to both ends of the same church; the east pane whereof shall contene two hundred and thirtie fot in length, and in breadth within the walles two and twentie fot. In the same panes middle, a tower for a gatehouse, containing in length thirtie fot, and in breadth two and twentie, and in height threescore fot, with thre chambers over the gate, euerie one over the other. And on either side of the same gate foure chambers, euerie one containing in length five & twentie fot, and in breadth two and twentie fot. And over euerie of these chambers, two chambers above of the same measure or more, with two towers outward, and two towers inward.

The side chappels. The south pane shall contene in length two hundred

The vestrie. And at the upper end of the hall, the piousness lodging, that is to wit, more than the chambers for him above specified, a parlour on the ground, containing five and thirtie fot in length, and two and twentie fot in breadth, & two chambers above of the same quantitie. And westward closing thereto a kitchen for him, a larderhouse, stables, and other necessarie housings and grounds. And westward beyond these houses, and the said kitchen ordained for the hall, a bakehouse, a brewhouse, and other houses of office: betwixt which there is left a ground square of foute score fot in euerie pane for wood and such stuffe. And in the middle of the said large quadrant, shall be a conduit, goodlie devised for the ease of the same colledge. And I will, that the edification proceed in large forme of my said colledge cleane and substantiall, setting apart superfluitie of so great curious workes of intaille and busie moulding.

The cloister. And I have devised and appointed that the precinct of my said colledge, as well on both sides of the garden from the colledge to the water, as in all other places of the same precinct, be inclosed with a substantiall wall, of the height of fourtene fot, with a large tower at the principall entrie against the middle of the east pane, out of the high street. And in the same tower a large gate, and another tower in the middle of the west end at the new bridge. And the same wall to be creased, unbattelled, and fortified with towers, as manie as shall be thought convenient thereunto. And I will that my said colledge be edified of the most substantiall & best abiding stuffe, of stone, lead, glasse, and iron, that mate best be had and provided thereto. & thus much I have enlarged by occasion of reading this good kings will: the cunning devill wherof I leave to the considerate judgement of such as be expert in architecture, heartlie desiring almighty God to put into the heart of some noble prince of this land, one day to make perfect this

The base court. And touching the dimensions of the housing of the said colledge, I have devised and appointed in the south side of the said church a quadrant, closing to both ends of the same church; the east pane whereof shall contene two hundred and thirtie fot in length, and in breadth within the walles two and twentie fot. In the same panes middle, a tower for a gatehouse, containing in length thirtie fot, and in breadth two and twentie, and in height threescore fot, with thre chambers over the gate, euerie one over the other. And on either side of the same gate foure chambers, euerie one containing in length five & twentie fot, and in breadth two and twentie fot. And over euerie of these chambers, two chambers above of the same measure or more, with two towers outward, and two towers inward.

The east pane. The south pane shall contene in length two hundred

The great gate. And touching the dimensions of the housing of the said colledge, I have devised and appointed in the south side of the said church a quadrant, closing to both ends of the same church; the east pane whereof shall contene two hundred and thirtie fot in length, and in breadth within the walles two and twentie fot. In the same panes middle, a tower for a gatehouse, containing in length thirtie fot, and in breadth two and twentie, and in height threescore fot, with thre chambers over the gate, euerie one over the other. And on either side of the same gate foure chambers, euerie one containing in length five & twentie fot, and in breadth two and twentie fot. And over euerie of these chambers, two chambers above of the same measure or more, with two towers outward, and two towers inward.

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And at the upper end of the hall, the piousness lodging, that is to wit, more than the chambers for him above specified, a parlour on the ground, containing five and thirtie fot in length, and two and twentie fot in breadth, & two chambers above of the same quantitie. And westward closing thereto a kitchen for him, a larderhouse, stables, and other necessarie housings and grounds. And westward beyond these houses, and the said kitchen ordained for the hall, a bakehouse, a brewhouse, and other houses of office: betwixt which there is left a ground square of foute score fot in euerie pane for wood and such stuffe. And in the middle of the said large quadrant, shall be a conduit, goodlie devised for the ease of the same colledge. And I will, that the edification proceed in large forme of my said colledge cleane and substantiall, setting apart superfluitie of so great curious workes of intaille and busie moulding.

And I have devised and appointed that the precinct of my said colledge, as well on both sides of the garden from the colledge to the water, as in all other places of the same precinct, be inclosed with a substantiall wall, of the height of fourtene fot, with a large tower at the principall entrie against the middle of the east pane, out of the high street. And in the same tower a large gate, and another tower in the middle of the west end at the new bridge. And the same wall to be creased, unbattelled, and fortified with towers, as manie as shall be thought convenient thereunto. And I will that my said colledge be edified of the most substantiall & best abiding stuffe, of stone, lead, glasse, and iron, that mate best be had and provided thereto. & thus much I have enlarged by occasion of reading this good kings will: the cunning devill wherof I leave to the considerate judgement of such as be expert in architecture, heartlie desiring almighty God to put into the heart of some noble prince of this land, one day to make perfect this

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But now to returne to king Edward. He shall understand, that after his comming to London, hee resided there but one daie, or two at the most, taking his fourtie forthright into Kent with all his armie, following the bassard, and other his complices, to suppress them, if they were in anie place assembled a gaine to resist him. But after they were once dispersed, they durst not shew themselves againe in armie, those onlie excepted that were withdrawne unto Sandwich with the bassard; which for the more part were mariners, about eight or nine hundred, beside certeine other evill disposed persons, that accompanied him as his souldiers, and men of warre, with whose assistance the bassard kept that towne by strength, having in the haven seven and forty ships, great and small, under his governance.

But upon the kings approaching nere unto those parties, they sent to him for pardon; promising that upon a reasonable appointment; for the safeguard of their lives, and other indemnities to be had for their benefit, they would become his faithfull subiects, and deliver into his hands all the ships. Their offer the king upon great considerations, and by good deliberate advice of counsell, thought best to accept: and thereupon (being at that time in Canturburie) hee granted to their petitions, and sent immediatlie unto Sandwich his brother Richard duke of Gloucester, to receive them to mercie, together with all the ships, which according to their promise they delivered into his hands.

But notwithstanding that (as some write) the bassard Fauconbridge, and other of his companie that were got to Sandwich, had thus their pardons by composition at the kings hand; we find neuertheless, that the said bassard Fauconbridge, being afterwards at sea (a rowing belike, as he had used before) came at length into the open haven at Southhampton, and there taking land, was apprehended, and hostile after beheaded. This chanced (as should appeare by Fabian) about the latter end of October. Whereover, Roger Waghman that had bene sent by king Edward into Wales, anon after Tencheburie field (being a man of great power in that countie) to intrap and surprize by some secret sleight the earle of Penbrooke, the said earle being thereof aduertised, took the same Roger, and without delay strooke off his head.

After this, was the earle besieged in the towne of Penbrooke by Morgan Thomas; but the siege was raised by David Thomas, brother to the said Morgan, a faithfull friend to the earle; and then the earle by his helpe was conveyed to Winbie, where he got ships, and with his nephew the lord Henrie earle of Richmond sailed into Britaine, where, of the duke they were courteously interteined; with assurance made, that no creature should doe them anie wrong or iniurie within his dominions. King Edward visiting diuerse places in Kent, saie in iudgement on such as had aided the bassard in the last commotion, of whom diuerse were condemned and executed, as spilling one of the captives that assaulted Algate, whose head was set up ouer the same gate: and so likewise was the head of one Quintine, a butcher, that was an other captaine amongst them, and chiefe of those that assaulted Bishops gate, as some write.

Whereover, at Canturburie the mayor of that citie was executed, and diuerse other at Rochester, Spaldston and Blackheath: for the lord marshall and other iudges, being appointed to hold their oier and determine in that countie of Kent, there were aboue an hundred indicted and condemned. Diuerse also of other men that had bene partakers in this rebellion

with the bassard, & holpe to set fire on Bishops gate and Algate, were hanged betwixt Stratford and London. Parte also of the wealthie commons in Kent were put to grieuous fines.

Now when the king had made an end of his business in that countie, he returned to London, coming thither againe upon Whitsun euen, being the first of June. And hauing thus within the space of seven weekes recovered in maner the whole possession of his realme, being relieved of the most part of all his doubtfull feare, he ment to remove all stops out of the waie. Wherefore he sent the archbishop of Poike, brother to the earle of Marwick, and to the marques Montacute ouer to Guisnes, there to be kept in safe custodie within the castell, where he continued a long season, till at length he was by friendship deliuered, and shortly after (through verie anguish of mind) departed this life. Whome Laurence Bath, and after him Thomas Rotherham in the see of Poike, did ordinarilie succeed. Beside this, John earle of Arford, which after Barnet field both manfully and valiantlie kept saint Michaels mount in Coznewall, either for lacke of aid, or persuaded by his friends, gaue up the mount, and yielded himselfe to king Edward (his life onelie saued) which to him was granted. But to be out of all doubtfull imaginations, king Edward also sent him ouer the sea to the castell of Hammes, where, by the space of twelue yeeres hee was in strong prison thut by and warlike looked to.

King Edward was not a litle disquieted in mind, for that the earls of Penbrooke & Richmond were not onlie escaped out of the realme, but also well received and no lesse interteined of the duke of Britaine: he sent therefore in secret wise graue & close messengers to the said duke, the which should not sticke to promise the duke great and rich rewards, so that he would deliver both the earles into their hands and possession. The duke, after he had heard them that were sent, made this answer, that he could not with his honor deliver them, to whom he had giuen his faith to see them preserved from all iniurie: but this (he said) he would doe for the king of England, that they should be looked unto, as he needed not to doubt of any attempt to be made against him by them, or by their meanes.

The king receiuing this answer, wrote longinglie to the duke of Britaine, that he would consider his friendship with conuenient rewards, if it should please him to be as good as his promise. The duke, perceiving gaine comming by the abode of the two English earles in his countie, caused them to be separated in sunder, and all their seruants being Englishmen to be sequestred from them, and in their places appointed Britains to attend them. In the thirtieth yeere of his reigne, king Edward called his high court of parlement at his palace of Westminster, in the which all lawes and ordinances made by him before that daie were confirmed, and those that king Henrie had abrogated, after his readeption of the crowne, were againe renewed. Also lawes were made for the confiscation of traitors goods, and for the restoring of them that were for his sake fled the realme, which of his aduersaries had bene attainted of high treason, and condemned to die.

Whereover, towards his charges of late sustained, a competent summe of monie was demanded, and freely granted. There was also a pardon granted almost for all offenses; and all men then being within the realme, were released and discharged of all high treasons and crimes, although they had taken part with his aduersaries against him. In this season the duke of Burgognie had soze wars with the French king; and to be the more speedlie reuenged on his aduersarie, he sent ambassadors into England, to persuade

Fabian

The archbishop of Poike.

The earle of Arford.

1472

Anno Reg. 12.

Messengers sent to the duke of Britaine.

1473

Anno Reg. 13.
Parliament.

Ambassadors

from the duke of Burgognie

Ambassadors from the duke of Burgognie

T. f. ly.

persuade

persuade king Edward to make warre also on the French king, for the recoverie of his ancient right to the realme of France, by the same French king against all equitie withhelden and detained. In which attempt of his, there was some favour of discret policie, and a provident forecast for his greater safetie, besides the likelie possibilitie to obtaine that whereto he made challenge: sith the huger hostis (if the harder hearts) are of most force, according to that saying:

Virtus unita fortior.

And therefore, by procuring the king of Englands power to joine with his, he supposed his purpose achievable with the more facilitie. King Edward not so much for the love he bare to the duke of Burgonie, as for desire to be revenged on the French king, whome he toke to be his enimie for aiding the earle of Warwicke, quene Margaret, and his sonne prince Edward, with their complices, gave good eare to the duke of Burgonie his messengers, and finally (after he had taken advise of his counsell) the said messengers were answered, that king Edward in the beginning of the next yeare would land at Calis with a puissant armie, both to revenge such injuries as he had received at the French kings hands, and also to recover his right, which he wrongfullie detained from him.

Opportunitie not to be neglected.

The earle of D. Paule.

In deed the time served verie well for the Englishmen to achieve some high enterprise in France at that present. For not onelie the duke of Burgonie as then made warre against the French king, but also manie great men within the realme of France, mistaking the manners of their king, began to have secret intelligence with the said duke; and namelie Lewes of Lutzenburgh earle of saint Paule constable of France was secretlie confederate with the duke of Burgonie, intending verelie to bring the French king to some great hinderance, the better to have his purpose accomplished in certaine weightie matters. King Edward understanding all these things, was greatlie encouraged to make a journey into France, and thereupon with all diligence prepared all things readie for the same.

A shift to recover monie.

But because he wanted monie, and could not well charge his commons with a new subsidie, for that he had received the last yeare great summes of monie granted to him by parlement, he devised this shift, to call afore him a great number of the wealthiest sort of people in his realme; and to them declaring his need, and the requisite causes thereof, he demanded of everie of them some portion of monie, which they sticke not to give. And therefore the king willing to shew that this their liberalitie was verie acceptable to him, he called this grant of monie, A benevolence: notwithstanding that manie with grudge gave great sums toward that new found aid which of them might be called, A malevolence. But the king used such gentle fashions toward them, with frendlie praier of their assistance in his necessitie, that they could not otherwise do, but franklie and freelie yeld and give him a reasonable and competent summe.

Abr. Flem. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Cccxvj.

¶ But here I will not let passe a pretie conceipt that happened in this gathering, in the which you shall not onelie note the humilitie of a king, but more the fantasie of a woman. King Edward had called before him a widow, much abounding in substance, and no lesse graine in yeares, of whome he merelie demanded what she gladlie would give him toward his great charges: By my trueth quoth she, for thy louslie countenance thou shalt have even twentie pounds. The king looking scarce for the halfe of that summe, thanked hir, and lovinglie kiss hir. Whether the flauor of his breath did so comfort hir stomach, or the esteemed the kisse of a king so pretious a reward,

she swoze incontinentlie, that he should have twentie pounds more, which she with the same will paid that she offered it. ¶ This yeare the duke of Brester was found dead in the sea betwene Dover and Calis, but how he came there the certeintie could not be knowne.]

¶ When all things convenient for such an enterprise were in a readinesse, the king came to Dover, where he found five hundred ships and hoies readie to transport him and his armie. And so the fourth date of Julie he passed over, and landed at Calis with great triumph; but his armie, horses, and munitions of war scarce passed over in twentie daies. In this armie (being one of the best appointed that had passed out of England into France in manie yeares before) were fiftene hundred men of armes well horsed, of the which the most part were barbed and richlie trapped, and manie of them trimmed in one sute. There were also fiftene thousand archers with bowes and arrowes, of the which a great number were on horsebacke. There were also a great companie of other fighting men, and of such as served to set by tents and pavillions, to attend the artillerie and to inclose their campe, and otherwise to labour and be employed in service.

In all this armie was there not one page. The king of England was at his arrivall highlie displeased with the duke of Burgonie, who in the word of a prince had promised to meet him at his landing, with two thousand men of armes and light horsemen, besides a great number of lanceknights and halberdiers, and that he would have begun the war three moneths before the kings transpoziting; where, as contrarie the duke laie lingering at the siege of Poule, and let passe the occasion of achieving a more profitable enterprise. King Edward incontinentlie dispatched the lord Scales in post unto the duke, to put him in remembrance of his promise, and to advise him to come and joine with him before the summer were spent.

Before king Edward departed from Dover, he sent an officer of armes unto the French king with a defiance. The French king, receiving the king of Englands letters at the messengers hand, read the same; and after he had considered thereof at leisure, he called the English herald asfor, and to him declared the little trust that was to be put in the duke of Burgonie and the constable, by whose procurement he knew that king Edward was procured to come at that season into France; and therefore it should be better for him to have peace with an old enimie, than to state upon the promises and familiaritie of a new dissembling friend, which peace did highlie please God, & was the thing that he most desired. ¶ But to give the greater grace to the matter in hand, it is good to laie downe the forme of the French kings speech to the said herald, to whome he uttered these words in his wardrobe, as Edward Hall reporteth.

Sir I knowe and well wot, that the king of England your master, is neither descended in these parts of his owne free motion, nor yet of us required; but onelie enticed and provoked by the duke of Burgonie, and somewhat enforced by the commons of his realme. But now you may see that the season of the peace passeth, and the duke of Burgonie is in poore estate, returning from Poule almost discomforted. The constable also, with whome the king your soveraigne lord (I am sure) hath some intelligence, for favour that your master hath married his neere, is not so sure a friend as he is taken for. And if all the world knew how I have promoted him, and what I have done for him, they would little thinke, that he would so untrulie handle me as he doth. For I assure you, he is a deep dissembler, & in continuall dissimulation.

John 5.

Ann. Reg.

The duke of Burgonie commeth to king Edward

The office of an herald.

The duke of Burgonie commeth to king Edward

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An. Reg. 14.

on intendeth to lead his life, interteining all men for his owne profit. And although the king your master be vntrue of all his other promyses, yet of one thing he shall be sure, that is, he shall be euer displeased withall. And therefore I saie to you, and not to your maister, that he were better haue a peace with an old enemie, than the promyses and familiaritie of a new displembing friend, which peace most pleaseeth God, and is the thing that I most doe desire.]

When he had thus said, he gaue the herald three hundred crownes, promising him a thousand crownes if any good appointment came to passe. This herald was borne in Normandie, who being more courteous of the crownes than secret (according as of dutie by his office he ought to haue bene) promised to doe all things that in him lay, and further shewed waies by the which the French king might enter into the port of treatie for peace, the which he doubted not would lead to a good conclusion. The French king glad to heare these things, gaue to the herald when he should depart, beside the other reward, a peece of crimson velvet of thirtie yards long. The lord Scales, coming to the duke of Burgognie before Jussie, could not persuade him to raise his field, and (as it stood him upon) to come and ioine with king Edward, till at length constrained thereto by other means, he left Jussie unconquered, and sending the most part of his armie into Lorraine, came with a small compaignie to king Edward lying before Calis.

King Edward at the first coming of the duke vnto him, seemed much to reprove his vnwise dealing, in making so slow hast to ioine with him at this time, fith for his sake, and at his sute, he had passed the seas with his armie, to the intent to make wars in France in reuerge of both their iniuries: the time seruing their turnes so well as they could with desire, the opportunitie whereof could neuer happilie be recovered againe. The duke after he had excused himselfe, with alledging the dishonour that should haue rebounded to him, if he had left the siege of Jussie without meane of some shew of composition, encouraged king Edward to aduance forward with manie golden promyses, aswell of his owne part, as of the constable. The king agreed to the dukes persuasion, and so set forward.

But yet when he was entred into the dukes countries, the Englishmen were not so friendlie interteined as they looked to haue bene: for at their coming to Peronne, there were but a few suffered to enter the gates, the remnant were driven to lodge in the fields, better purueied of their owne, than of the dukes provision. And at their coming before saint Quintines (which towne the constable had promised to deliuer into the hands of the duke of Burgognie) the artillerie shot off, and they of the towne came forth both on horsebacke and foot to skirmish with them that approached, of the which two or three were slaine. This interteinement seemed strange to king Edward, pondering the last daies promise with this daies doing. But the duke excused the matter, and would haue persuaded him to make countenance to besiege the towne, that the constable might haue a colour to render it into his hands, as though he did it by constraint.

But the king, remembering what had bene told to his herald by the French king, how he should be displembled with, perceived the French kings words to be true, and therefore thought it more sure to heare the faire words of the constable and the duke, than to giue credit to their vntrue and deceitfull doings. The Englishmen returned vnto their campe in a great chafe towards the constable; and the next daie to increase their displeasure, an other cosolue was ministered, that smarted soper. For duke Charles of

Burgognie toke his leaue suddenly of king Edward, alledging that he must needs see his armie in Artois, promising shortly with all his puissance to returne againe to the great commoditie of them both. This departing much troubled the king of England, because he looked for no such thing; but thought rather that he should haue had the duke his continuall fellow in armes; and therefore this displembing and vnstedfast working caused the king to thinke that he neuer thought, and to doe that he neuer intended.

The French king in this meane while had assembled a mightie power, ouer the which he had made monsieur Robert de Esouteille capteine, whome he sent to Artois, to defend the frontiers there against the king of Englands entrie, and he himselfe tarried still at Senlis: but though he shewed countenance thus of warre, yet inwardlie desirous of peace, according to the aduise giuen him by the English herald, he caused a varlet or yeoman (as I may call him) to be put in a coat armour of France, which for hast was made of a trumpet baner. For king Lewis was a man nothing precise in outward shewes of honoz, oftentimes hauing neither officer of armes, trumpet in his court, nor other cosall appurtenances belonging to the port of a prince, which should be glorious and replenished with pompe, as the poet saith:

Regia mirifici fulgent insignia regis.

This counterfeit herald, being thoroughlie instructed in his charge, was sent to the king of England, and so passing forth; when he approached the English campe, he put on his coat of armes, & being espied of the outriders, was brought to a tent, where the lord Howard and the lord Stanleie were at dinner, of whome he was courteously receiued, and by them conueied to the kings presence, vnto whom he declared his message so vntillie, that in the end he obtained a safe conduct for one hundred horses, for such persons as his maister should appoint to meet, as manie to be assigned by king Edward in some indifferent place betwene both armies, to haue a like safe conduct from his said maister, as he receiued from him. The words of which herald are worthy the noting, reported in writers as folloiweth.

A messenger sent to the king of England.

Abr. Fl. ex
Edw. Hall. fol.
CXXXIX, CXXX.

The heralds oration to the king
uttered with boldnesse of face and
libertie of toong.

Right high and mightie prince, right puissant and noble king, if your excellent wisdom did perfectly know, or your high knowledge did apparantlie perceiue, what inward affection and seruent desire the king my maister hath alwaies had, to haue a perfect peace, a sure unitie, & a brotherlie concord, betwene your noble person and your realme, and his honorable personage and his dominions, you would (for truths sake) should confesse and saie, that neuer christian prince more thirsted for an amitie, nor yet no lower hath more sought to attaine to the fauour of his paramour, than he hath sought to haue with you a perpetuall friendship, amitie, and alliance: to the intent that the subjects of both the realms, quietly liuing vnder two princes, confederate and combined together in an indissoluble confederacie and league, may mutually embrace ech other in their hearts, may personallie haue resort and frequent each others

1474

John St. A.

1474
An. Reg. 14.

The Duke of Burgognie in armes with France.

The office of herald.

The duke of Burgognie cometh to king Edward

The siege of Jussie.

The lord Scales.

Defiance sent to the French king.

br. Fl. ex
dw. Hall.
CXXXIX.

The constable of France a desperate villain.

The duke of Burgognie weepeth.

others princes territories and dominions, with their merchandizes and wares: and finallye, the one to liue with the other, as frends with frend, brother with brother, companion with companion, in continuall loue, rest, and tranquillitie. And for his part he doth affirme & saie, that since he receiued first the crowne of his kingdome, and was annointed with the holie ampull, he neuer attempted, nor yet once imagined a nie war, or thing preiudiciall toward your roiall person, your realme, or your people.

If you peradventure will saie, that he supported & maintained the earle of Mar-
wike against your maiestie, he suerlie that doth & will denie: for he aided him against the duke of Burgognie, whom he knew not onelie to be his extreame enemie, but also to laie in wait (both by sea and land) either to take him, or betterlie to destroye him. Which duke of Burgognie, onelie for his owne cause, hath exercised and solicited your highnesse to come ouer the troublous and tempestuous seas, to the intent to cause (yea in maner to compell) the king my master, to condescend to such treatie and appointment, as should be to his onlie profit, and neither to your honour, nor yet to your gaine. For if he & such other as daillie flattered him for their peculiar profits (as he had manie in deed that daillie sucked at his elbow) had once obtained the thing that they breathed for, all your affaires were put in obliuion, and left at large for them, or their assistants, even as they be at this daie. Hath not the duke of Burgognie caused you first to come into France: after to set forward your armie; and in conclusion, for lacke of his promise, to lose the faire season of the yeare, and to lie in the fields in winter? Which warre (if it continue) shall neither be profitable to you, nor to your nobilitie, nor yet pleasant but painefull to your communalitie: and finallye to both the realmes, and especiallie to merchant men shall bring both miserie, pouertie, and calamitie.

Came the duke of Burgognie from Pusse to Calis, onlie to visit you: Kede he all that post hall onelie to blind you: Returned he backe into Lorraine againe for anie cause, but onelie to leaue you desolate, & to abandon you: Did he or the constable keepe anie one promise with you? Why do you then belaeue, and yet still trust them, in whome you neuer found faith nor fidelitie: But if God will it so ordeine, that you and my master may toine in league and amitie, I dare both saie and sweare, that the fine stele neuer cleaued faster to the adamant stone, than he will sticke & claspe with you, both in wealth and woo, in prosperitie and aduersitie. And if it shall please you, to harken to anie reasonable treatie, I being a poore man, shall on ieopardie of my life which is my chiefe treasure) undertake, that this communication shall sort and come to such an effect, that both you & your nobilitie shall be glad and reioise, and your

commons shall be contented and pleased; and they that haue deceiued you, shall be both abashed and ashamed. Most humble beseeching your highnesse, if your pleasure shall incline this waie, that I may haue a sure safe conduct for one hundred hostes, for such personages as the king my master shall send vnto you with further intimati-
on of his mind and purpose. And if your pleasure shall be to haue the communicati-
on in anie place indifferent betwene both the armies; then shall I warrant you the like safe conduct for your men, as you do send for ours.

When he had accomplished his message and instructions, the king of England and his counsell highlie commended his audacitie, his tongue, and his sobernesse, giving to him in reward a faire gilt cup, with a hundred angels: deliuering him a safe conduct according to his request and demand, with the which he with good departed, hauing with him an English herald to bring a like safe conduct from the French king.

After that the safe conducts were deliuered on both parts, the ambassadours met at a village beside Amiens. On the king of Englands side, the lord Howard, sir Thomas Saintleger, doctor Morton after bishop of Glouc, & chancelor of England, were chiefe. For the French king, the bastard of Bourbon adme-
rall of France; the lord Saint Pierre; & the bishop of Cueur called Heberge, were appointed as principall. The Englishmen demanded the whole realme of France, or at the least Normandie and whole Aquitaine. The allegations were proued by the Englishmen, and politikelie defended by the Frenchmen, so that with arguments, without conclusion, the day passed, and the commissioners departed, and made relation to their masters. The French king and his counsell would not consent, that the Englishmen should haue one foot of land within France; but rather determined to put him selfe & the whole realme in hazard and aduenture.

At the next meeting the commissioners agreed by on certeine articles, which were of both the princes accepted and allowed. It was first accorded, that the French king should paie to the king of England without delate sequentie & five thousand crownes of the sunne; and yereleie fiftie thousand crownes to be paid at London during king Edwards life. And further it was agreed, that Charles the Dolphin should marrie the ladie Elizabeth, eldest daughter to king Edward, and they two to haue for the maintenance of their estates the whole duchie of Guen, or else fiftie thousand crownes yereleie to be paid within the Tower of London by the space of nine yeares; and at the end of that terme, the Dolphin and his wife to haue the whole duchie of Guen, and of the charge the French king to be cleerlie acquit. And it was also concluded, that the two princes should come to an interviue, and there take a corporall oth for the performance of this peace, either in sight of other.

On the king of Englands part were comprised as allies (if they would thereto assent) the dukes of Burgognie and Britaine. It was also couenanted, that after the whole summe aforesaid of sequentie and five thousand crownes were paid to king Edward, he should leaue in hostage the lord Howard, and sir John Cheinie master of his house, untill he with all his armie was passed the seas. This agreement was verie acceptable to the French king; for he saw himselfe and his realme thereby deliuered of great perill that was at hand; for not onelie he should haue

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fol. Cccxxj.

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bene assailed (if this peace had not taken place) both by the power of England and Burgognie, but also by the duke of Britaine, and diuerse of his owne people, as the constable and others. The king of England also understanding his owne state, for want of monie, to mainteine the warres, if they should long continue (though otherwise he desired to haue attempted some high enterpryse against the Frenchmen) was the more easilie induced to agree by those of his counsell, that loued peace better than warre, and their wiuues soft beds better than hard armes, and a stonie lodging.

The duke of Gloucester and others, whose swords thirsted for French blood, cried out on this peace; saying that all their trauell, paines, & expenses were to their shame lost and cast awaie, and nothing gained but a continuall mocke (and daillie derision of the French king and all his minions. This imagination took effect without delay. For a gentleman of the French kings chamber, after the peace was concluded, did demand of an Englishman, how manie battels king Edward had vanquished? He answered, nine: wherein he himselfe personallie had bene. A great honour said the Frenchman. But I praise you (quoth he smiling) how manie hath he lost? The Englishman perceiving what he meant, said: one, which you by policie, and by no strength, haue caused him to lose.

Well said the Frenchman, you maie ponder in a paire of balance, the gaine of nine gotten battels, and the rebuke of this one in this manner lost: for I tell you, that we haue this saing; The force of England hath and doth surmount the force of France: but the ingenious wits of the Frenchmen excell the dull braines of Englishmen. For in all battels you haue bene the gainers, but in leagues and treaties our wits haue made you losers: so that you maie content your selues with the losse in treaties, for the spoile that you gat in warres and battels. This communication was reported to the French king, who priuie sent for the Englishman to supper, and not onlie made him good there, but also gaue him a thousand crownes, to praise the peace and to helpe to mainteine the same. Yet neuerthelesse, he being not a little moued with these braggs, declared all the communication to the duke of Gloucester; who swaie, that he would neuer haue set foot out of England, if he had not thought to haue made the Frenchmen once to assaile the strength & puissance of the Englishmen: but what so euer he thought, all things were transferred into an other end than he could imagine.]

When the duke of Burgognie heard that there was a peace in hand betwixt king Edward and the French king, he came in no small hast from Lutzeburgh, onlie accompanied with sixtene horses into the king of Englands lodging, and began as one in a great chafe soze to blame his doings, declaring in plaine termes how dishonorable this peace should be unto him, hauing attained nothing of that about the which he came. The king of England, after he had giuen him leaue to speake his fantasie, answered him somewhat roundlie againe, openlie reprouing him for his promise-breaking and vncourteous dealing with him: where for his cause chafie he had passed the seas, and now found him not to keepe touch in a tie one point which he had couenanted. But to adde more weight to the matter in hand; sith it was so seruicelie debated betwene the two potentats, let vs heare what talke hissoziens report to haue bene interchanged betwene them. The king of England (saith mine author) not a little abashed both at the dukes sudden coming, and his fierce countenance, like one that would rather bite than shine, deman-

ded of him the cause of his sudden coming. The duke sharpelie answered, to know whether he had either entered into anie communication, or onelie had absolutelie concluded a peace betwene the French king and him. King Edward declared how that for sundrie and diuerse great and urgent causes, touching as well the vniuersall publike wealth of the whole christianitie, as their owne priuate commoditie and the quietnesse of their realmes, he and the French king had concluded a peace and amitie for terme of nine peares, in the which were comprised, as fellows and friends, both he and the duke of Britaine, requiring him to condescend and agree to the same.

Oh Lord, oh saint George (quoth the duke of Burgognie) haue you thus done in deed: Haue you passed the seas, entered into France, and without killing of a poxe ste, or burning of a sallow shepecote, and haue taken a shamefull truce? Did your noble ancestoz, Edward the third, euer make armie into France (as he made manie) in the which he did not either gaine victorie in battell, or profit in conquering cities, to townes, and countries: That victorious prince, as nere kin to me, as you to king Henrie the first, I meane whose blood you haue either rightfullie or wrongfullie (God knoweth) extinguished & destroyed, with a small puissance entered into France, conquered whole Normandie, and not alonelie conquered it, but peaceablie kept it, and neuer would either comen or agree to anie league, untill he had the whole realme of France offered him; & was thereof made regent and heire apparant. And you without anie thing doing, or anie honour or profit gaining, haue condescended to a peace, both as honourable and as profitable to you as a peasecod, and not so wholesome as a pomegranat. Thinke you that I either moued you, or once intiled you to take this iournie for my peculiar advantage or commoditie (which of my power am able to reuenge mine owne causes, without helpe of others) but onelie to haue you recouer your old rights and possessions, which were from you both tortiouslie and wrongfullie withhelden? And to the intent that you shall know that I haue no need of your aid, I will neither enter into your league, nor take truce with the French king, till you be passed the sea, and haue bene there thre moneths.

When duke Charles had thus said, he furiously threw downe his chaire, and would haue departed. But the king him staide & said: Brother Charles, sith you haue spoken at leasure what you would, you must and shall heare againe what you would not. And first, as concerning our entrie into France, no man liuing knoweth that occasion, neither so well, nor hath cause halfe so well to remember it as you: for if you haue not fallie put your greatest things (to be had in memorie) in your booke of oblivion, you be not yet out of mind how the French king, for all your power, toke from you the faire towne of Amiens, and the strong pile of saint Quintins, with diuerse other townes, which you neither durst nor yet were able either to rescue or defend. Since which time, how he hath plagued you, how he hath taken from you your friends; yea, of your priuate chamber and secret counsell (by whome all your secrets be to him reuealed and made open) you know or haue better cause to remember, and not to forget them. And when you determined to besiege the towne of Boule, you thought your selfe in a great doubt, whether you should lose more at home by your absence (the French king dreaming and waiting like a fox for his preie) or gaine more in Germanie by your power and presence. And to keepe the wolfe from the fold, that is, the French king from your castles and dominions, was the chiefe and principall cause whie you

The duke of Gloucester and others, whose swords thirsted for French blood, cried out on this peace; saying that all their trauell, paines, & expenses were to their shame lost and cast awaie, and nothing gained but a continuall mocke (and daillie derision of the French king and all his minions. This imagination took effect without delay. For a gentleman of the French kings chamber, after the peace was concluded, did demand of an Englishman, how manie battels king Edward had vanquished? He answered, nine: wherein he himselfe personallie had bene. A great honour said the Frenchman. But I praise you (quoth he smiling) how manie hath he lost? The Englishman perceiving what he meant, said: one, which you by policie, and by no strength, haue caused him to lose.

Communi-
ers appun-
ed to treat of
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articles of a
treatie be-
tweene king
Edward and
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procureth
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The duke of
Burgognie
cometh in
hast to the
king of Eng-
land.

The duke of
Burgognie
cometh in
hast to the
king of Eng-
land.

wanted, and had plenty of wine: for the French king had sent into their armie a hundred carts of the best wine that could be gotten, and good chere made them of his owne costs. For at the enterie of euery gate, there were two long tables set on euery side of the street where they should passe; and at euery table five or six gentlemen of the best companions of all the countie were appointed to intertaine the Englishmen as they entered, not onelie to see them served without lacking (but also to drinke and make good chere, and keepe companie with them. And euery as they entered into the towne, they were taken by the bidels and in maner inforced to drinke, wherefore euery they came they paid no monie, but were sent scot free.] This chere lasted thre or foure daies not onelie to the French kings cost, but also to his vniuersitie at length, doubting to haue bene disposed of his towne.

For on a date there entered the number of nine thousand Englishmen well armed in sundrie companies, so that no Frenchman durst once forbid them to enter. But finally, order was taken by the king of England, who meant no deceit, that no greater number should enter than was convenient, and the other were called backe; so that the French king and his counsell were well quieted, and rid of casting further perils than need required. After this, both the kings interuiewed together at Picquenie on the water of Some thre leagues about Amiens, theiuing great courtelie either to other. The letters of both their agreements were opened and red, & then either prince laid his right hand on the missall, and his left hand on the holie crosse (as it was termed) and took there a solenne oth to obserue and keepe the treatie for nine yeares concluded betwene them, with all their confederates and allies, compyled, mentioned and specified in the same, and further to accomplish the marriage of their children.

There was with either prince twelve noble men at this meeting, which was upon a bridge cast ouer the water of Some, a grate being set ouerthwart the same in the midst, so from side to side, that the one prince could not come vnto the other; but onelie to embrace ech other, in putting their armes through the holes of the grate. There were foure Englishmen appointed to stand with the Frenchmen on the bridge to see their demeanour; and likewise foure Frenchmen were appointed to the Englishmen for the same purpose. There were with the king of England his brother the duke of Clarence, the earle of Northumberland, the bishop of Ely his chancellor, the lord Hastings his chamberlaine, and eight others. They had louing and vertie familiar talke together a good space, both afore their companie, and secretlie alone, whilst their companie (of courtelie) withdrew somewhat backe.

But it is notable, which I read touching both the kings meeting, the manner of their attire, and demeanour; namelie that when the token of meeting by the shot of the artillerie was knowne, the French king with twelve noble men entered the bridge, and came to the cloister, with whom was John duke of Bourbon, and the cardinall his brother, a prelat more meet for a ladies carpet, than for an ecclesiasticall pulpit, and ten other, amongst whom the lord of Argenton was in like disguised attire as the French king wore, for so was his pleasure that saie to haue him adorne. The king of England and foure other with him were apparelled in cloth of gold frised, hanning on his bonnet of blake velvet a flower: delice of gold, set with vertie rich and orient stones; he was a goodlie faire and beautifull prince, beginning a litle to grow in flesh. Now when he approached nere the grate, he took off his cap, and made a low and solenne obli-

sance: the French king made to him an humble reuerence, but after his fashion somewhat homelie. King Lewes embraced king Edward through the barriers, saying: Cousine you be right heartilie welcome into these parties, assuring you that there is no man in the world that I haue more desired to see and speake with, than with you: and now landed be almighty God, we be here met together for a good and godlie purpose, whereof I doubt not but that we shall haue cause to reioice. The king of England thanked him, and answered to his words so soberlie, so grauelie, and so princelie, that the Frenchmen thereat not a litle miled. The chancellor of England made there a solenne oration in laud and praise of peace, concluding on a prophesie, which said that at Picquenie should be concluded a peace both honorable and profitable to the realmes of England and France.

When the oth was taken and swoyne (as before you haue heard) the French king said merilie to king Edward, Brother, if you will take paines to come to Paris, you shall be feasted and intertained with ladies; and I shall appoint you the cardinall of Bourbon for your confessor, which shall gladlie absolue you of such finnes, if anie be committed. The king of England took these words pleasantlie and thankesfullie, for he was informed that the cardinall was a good companion, and a chapelaine meet for such a dallieng pastime. When this communication was merilie ended, the French king, intending to shew himselfe like a maister amongst his seruants, made all his companie to draw backe from him, meaning to commune with the king of England secretlie. The Englishmen withdrew them without any commandement: When the two kings communed alone secretlie, I thinke not to the profit of the constable of France. The French king demanded of king Edward, whether the duke of Burgonie would accept the truce: King Edward answered that he would once againe make an offer; and then upon the refusal, he would referre and report the trust to them both. Then king Lewes began to speake of the duke of Britaine, whom he would faine haue excepted out of the league. To whom the king of England answered: Brother, I require you to moue no warre to the duke of Britaine; for on my fidelitie, in the time of my need and aduersitie, I neuer found a more friendlie, sure and stedfast louer than he.

Then king Lewes called his companie againe, and with most lololie and amiable commendations took his leaue of the king of England, speaking certeine friendlie words to euery Englishman: king Edward doing likewise to the Frenchmen. When both at one time departed from the barriers, & mounted on horsebacke, and departed; the French king to Amiens, and king Edward to his armie. To whom was sent out of the French kings house, all things necessarie for a prince, inso much that neither torches nor torchets lacked valent. When the French king was departed from Picquenie, he called to him the lord of Argenton, saying: By the peace of God, the king of England is an amorous and a faire prince; he at the first becke would gladlie see Paris, where he might fortune to find such pleasant and talkatiue dames, which with faire words & pleasant pastimes might so allure him to their fantasies; that it might be occasion in him to come ouer the sea againe, which I would not gladlie see. For his progenitors haue bene so long and too often both in Paris and Normandie. On this side the sea I loue neither his sight nor his companie; but when he is at home I loue him as my brother, and take him as my friend. The French king, after this departing, soe desired to make warre on the duke of Britaine: which he could not doe, except he were left out of the treatie.

Wherefore

Ab. Fle. ex
E. Hall.
Ed. Coxw.

The enter-
taining betwixt
king Edward
the fourth, &
the French
king.

'Of timbre
like to the
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the lions be
begun the
course.

Ab. Fle. ex
E. Hall.
Ed. Coxw.

The maner
lie English,
and vnnatur-
lie French.

French loue.

Wherefore he sent the lord of Buchage, and the lord of saint Pierre, to the king of England, intreating him by all waies and motions possible, to leaue the duke of Britaine for his alie, and not to haue him comprehended in the league. The king of England hearing them so feruently and so feruently speake against the duke of Britaine, with an earnest countenance answered, saing: My lords, I assure you; if I were peaceable at home in my realme, yet for the defense of the duke of Britaine and his countrie, I would passe the seas againe, against all them that either would do him inturie, or make warre vpon him. The French lords nothing further saing, much marvelled why the king of England so suerly claue to the duke of Britains partie: but they knew not (nor else at the least remembred not) that Henrie earle of Richmond was within the power and dominion of the duke of Britaine, whome king Edwards than- talle euer gaue him would make once a title to the crowne of England, as next heire to the house of Lancaster. For he knew well, that if the duke of Britaine would transport him into England (where hee had both kinfolks and friends) with neuer so small an aid (yea, though it were but the shadow of an ar- mate) then were he enforced netolie to begin againe a conquest, as though he had neuer wone the crowne, nor obtained the possession of the realme, which was the verie cause why he stucke so fast to the duke of Britains part.

The same night the lords returned to Amiens, and reported to their maister king Edwards answer, who therewith was not the best pleased. But please or displeasure, there was no remedie: but to dis- semble the matter. This same night also, there came the lord Howard, and two other of the king of Englands counsell, who had bene roadiutoys to- ward the peace, to the French king to supper. The lord Howard said to the French king secretly in his eare, that if it stood with his pleasure, he could per- suade the king of England to come to Amiens, yea, peradventure as farre as Paris, familiarly and friendly to solace himselfe with him, as his trustie friend and faithfull brother. The French king, to whom this motion was nothing pleasant, calling for water, washed, and rose without anie answer ma- king: but he said to one of his counsell, that he ima- gined in his owne conceipt, that this request would be made. The Englishmen began againe to com- mune of that matter, the Frenchmen politikelie brake their communication, saing: that the king with all celeritie must march forward against the duke of Burgognie.

Although this motion seemed onelie to increase loue and continuall amitie betwene the princes; yet the Frenchmen, hauing in their perfect remem- brance the innumerable damages and hurts, which they of late daies had sustained by the English na- tion (whereby continuall hatred increased against them in France) thought by policie and wisdom, with faire words and friendly countenance, to put by this request, and to motion them rather to depart homeward, than to picke them forward to Paris; where peradventure they might be so intertained at this time, that they would at another come thither, both undesired and unwelcomed. This peace was said to be made onelie by the Holie-ghost, because that on the daie of meeting, a white dove sat on the top of the king of Englands tent: whether she came there to dize him, or came thither as a token given by God, I referre it to your iudgment. At this treatie and meeting was not the duke of Gloucester, nor o- ther lords which were not content with this truce; but the duke came afterwards to Amiens, with di- uerse other lords of England, to the French king,

which both highly pleased them; and also presented them with plate and harness well garnished.

King Edwards, considering what gaine the Eng- lishmen had gotten by making warre in France; and what miserie, what calamitie, and what pouertie the French nation had suffered, and manie peeres sustained, by reason of the said warres; determined clearely rather to pacifie and intertaine the Eng- lish nation by faire words and great rewards (al- though it were to his great charge) than by too much hardnesse to put himselfe, his nobilitie & realme in hazard, by giving them battell, as his predecessors had vnto selfe done at Poitiers, and at Agincourt. Wherefore to breie peace, he granted king Edwards for a yearely tribute fiftie thousand crownes, to be paid at London; which, accounting a crowne at foure shillings, amounteth to ten thousand pounds. And to haue the fauour and good will of his chiefe counsellors, he gaue great pensions, amounting to the summe of sixteene thousand crownes a yeare, that is to saie: to his chancelor, to the lord Hastings his chiefe chamberleine, a man of no lesse wit than ver- tue, and of great authoritie with his maister, and that not without cause; for he had as well in time of ad- uersitie, as in the faire flattering world, well and tru- lie serued him: and to the lord Howard, to sir Tho- mas Spontgomerie, to sir Thomas Senteleger, to sir John Cheinie maister of the kings harness, to the marques Dorset, sonne to the queene, and diuerse o- ther, he gaue great and liberrall rewards, to the in- tent to keepe himselfe in amitie with England, while he liued and obtained his purpose and desire in other places.

These persons had giuen to them great gifts, be- side yearely pensions. For Argenton his counsellor affirmed of his owne knowledge, that the lord Ho- ward had in lesse than the tearme of two yeares, for reward in monie and plate, foure and twentie thou- sand crownes; at the time of this meeting, he gaue to the lord Hastings the kings chiefe chamberleine, (as the Frenchmen write) an hundred markes of sil- uer, made in plate: whereof enerie marke is eight ounces sterling. But the English writers affirme, that he gaue the lord Hastings foure and twentie do- zen bolles, that is to saie, twelue dozen gilt, & twelue dozen bright, enerie cup twelue hundred nobles: which gift, either betokened in him a great liberrall nature, or else a great and especial confidence that he had reposed in the said lord chamberleine. Beside this, he gaue him yearely two thousand crownes pension; the which summe he sent to him by Piers Cleret, one of the maisters of his house, giuing him in charge to receiue of him an acquittance for the re- ceipt of the same pension, to the intent that it should appeare in time to come, that the chancelor, chamber- leine, admerall, maisters of the harness to the king of England, and manie other of his counsell, had bin in fee and pensionaries of the French king, whose yearely acquittances (the lord Hastings onelie re- cepted) remained of record to be shewed in the cham- ber of accounts in the palace of Paris.

When Piers Cleret had paid the pension to the lord Hastings, he gently demanded of him an ac- quitance for his discharge. Which request when he denied, he therevnto asked of him a bill of three lines to be directed to the king, testifying the receipt of the pension: to the intent that the king your maister should not thinke the pension to be imbevelled. The lord Hastings, although he knew that Piers de- manded nothing but reason, answered him: Sir this gift cometh onelie of the liberrall pleasure of the king his maister, and not of my request: if it be his determinat will that I shall haue it, then put you it into my skene; and if not, I praye you render to him his

Edward
summed in
England.
How Hall
Cccxv.

How Hall
Cccxv.

How Thomas
Spontgomerie.

1475
Anno Reg. 15.

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An. Reg. 15.

his gift againe: for neither he nor you shall haue either letter, acquittance, or scroll signed with my hand of the receipt of anye pension, to the intent to buy another daie, that the kings chamberleine of England hath bene pensionarie with the French king, & theto his acquittance in the chamber of accounts, to his dishonour: Wiers left his monie behind, and made relation of all things to his maister: which although that he had not his will, yet he much more praised the wisdom and policie of the lord Hastings, than of the other pensionaries, commanding him pearly to be paid, without anye discharge demanding.]

When the king of England had receiued his monie, and his nobilitie their rewards, he trusted by his tents, laded his baggage, and departed towards Calis. [But yet he came there, he remembryng the craftie dissimulation, and the vntreue dealing of Kewes earle of saint Paule, high constable of France, intending to declare him to the French king in his verie true likenesse and portrature, sent him two letters of credence, twixten by the said constable, with the true report of all such wordes and messages as had bene to him sent, and declared by the said constable and his ambassadours. Which letters the French king gladly receiued, and thankesfully accepted, as the these instrument to bring the constable to his death: which he escaped no long season after, such is the end of dissemblers.] When king Edward was come to Calis, and had set all things in an order, he toke ship, and sailed with a prosperous wind into England, and was roiallie receiued vpon Blackheath by the maior of London and the magistrates, and five hundred commoners apparelled in murrie, the eight and twentieth daie of September, and so conueyed through the citie of Westminster, where for a while (after his long labour) he reposed himselfe: euery daie almost talking with the queene his wife of the marriage of his daughter, whome he caused to be called Dolphinelle: thinking nothing sorer than that marriage to take effect, according to the treatie. The hope of which marriage caused him to dissemble, and do things which after ward chanced greatlie to the French kings profit, & smallie to his.]

About the same season, the French king, to compass his purpose for the getting of the constable into his hands, toke truce with the duke of Burgognie for nine yeares, as a contractor in the league, and not comprehended as an other princes alie. The king of England aduertised hereof, sent ouer sir Thomas Montgomerie to the French king, offering to passe the seas againe the next summer in his aid, to make warres on the duke Burgognie, so that the French king should paie to him fiftie thousand crownes for the losse which he should susteine in his custome, by reason that the wolles at Calis (because of the warres) could haue no vent, and also paie halfe the charges and halfe the wages of his souldiers and men of warre. The French king thanked the king of England for his gentle offer, but he alledged that the truce was already concluded, so that he could not then attempt anye thing against the same without reproch to his honour.

But the truth was, the French king neither loved the sight nor liked the companie of the king of England on that side the sea; but when he was here at home, he both loved him as his brother, and toke him as his friend. Sir Thomas Montgomerie was with plate richly rewarded, and so dispatched. Where returned with him the lord Howard and sir John Cheynie, which were hostages with the French king, till the English armie were returned into England. King Edward, hauing established all things in good order, as men might iudge, both within his realme and without, was yet troubled in his mind, for that

Henrie the earle of Richmond (one of the blood of king Henrie the first) was aliue, and at libertie in Britaine: therefore to attempt crosse the mind of Francis duke of Britaine, he sent ouer vnto the said duke, one doctor Stillington, and two other his ambassadours laden with no small summe of gold.

These ambassadours, declaring their message, affirmed that the king their maister willed to haue the earle of Richmond onelle for this purpose, to ioine with him in aliance by marriage, and so to plucke by all the leanings of discord betwene him and the contrarie faction. The duke gentlie heard the orators. And though at the first he by excuses denied their request, yet at the length, beleuing that king Edward would giue to the earle his eldest daughter, the ladie Elizabeth in marriage, he consented to deliuer him, and receiued of the English orators a great summe of monie. But yet they were imbarcked with their preie, the duke being aduertised, that the earle of Richmond was not so earnestlie sought for, to be conpled in marriage with king Edwards daughter; but rather that his head might be chopped off with an hatchet, caused his treasurer Peter Landoise to conueie the said earle of Richmond into a sanctuarie at S. Malo, where the English ambassadours then laie, onelle staleng for a conuentent wind: who complained, that they were euill vfed, to be spoiled both of their monie and merchandize.

Yet because the matter was so handled, that it seemed the earle escaped into the sanctuarie through their owne negligence, after they had receiued him into their hands, they were sone answered: but yet promise was made, that the earle should be safely kept, either in the sanctuarie, or else as prisoner in the dukes house, that they should not need to feare him more than his shadow. And thus the king of England purchased for his monie the keeping of his enemie, the space onelle of three daies and no more. King Edward was somewhat displeased with this chance, but yet trusting that the duke of Britaine would (according to promise) see the earle of Richmond safely kept from doing anye greuaunce to him or his subiects, put all doubts therof out of his mind, and began to studie how to keepe a liberall princelie house, and there vpon stozing his chests with monie, he imploied no small portion in god housekeeping.

But hauing spoken thus much of the earle of Richmond, whome Edward Hall compareth to a chepe betraied into the tath and clauies of the wolfe, you shall vnderstand, that at such time as his troubles were set fresh abroach, and he knowing that he was going towards his death, for verie penitencelle and inward thought, fell into a seruent and soze ague. In which verie season, one John Cheulet, so esteemed among the princes of Britaine as few were in all the countrie, and in much credit, and well accepted with the duke, was (when these things were thus concluded) for his solace in the countrie. Who being hereof certified, was chased with the abhominaton of the fact, resorted to the court, and familiarlie came to the dukes presence, where he stood so sadlie and so pale, without anye word speaking, that the duke was much abashed, and suddenlie marvelled at his sad and strowning countenance, and demanded of him what should signifie that dumplinesse of mind, and inward sighing, the which by his countenance manifestlie appeared and was euident: He modestlie answered; Most noble and redoubted lord, this palenesse of visage and deadlie looke doth prognosticate the time of my death to approach and be at hand, which if it had chanced to me before this daie, I assure you, it had much lesse hurt me. For then had I not bene referred to feele the dolorous pangis and sorrowfull sighings, which a fact by you done (that I thought

Henrie earle of Richmond.

Ambassadours into Britaine

The earle of Richmond taken sanctuarie.

Abr. Fl. et Edw. Hall fol. Cccxxvij.

1475.
An. Reg. 15.

om. 1475.

An. Reg. 15.

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About the same season, the French king, to compass his purpose for the getting of the constable into his hands, took truce with the duke of Burgognie for nine yeares, as a contrado^r in the league, and not comprehended as an other princes alie. The king of England aduertised hereof, sent ouer sir Thomas Montgomerie to the French king, offering to passe the seas againe the next summer in his aid, to make warres on the duke Burgognie, so that the French king should paie to him fiftie thousand crownes for the losse which he should susteine in his custome, by reason that the woulles at Calis (because of the warres) could haue no vent, and also paie halfe the charges and halfe the wages of his souldiers and men of warre. The French king thanked the king of England for his gentle offer, but he alledged that the truce was already concluded, so that he could not then attempt anie thing against the same without reproch to his honour.

But the truth was, the French king neither loved the sight nor liked the companie of the king of England on that side the sea; but when he was here at home, he both loved him as his brother, and took him as his friend. Sir Thomas Montgomerie was with plate richly rewarded, and so dispatched. There returned with him the lord Howard and sir John Cheolme, which were hostages with the French king, till the English armie were returned into England. King Edward, having established all things in good order, as men might iudge, both within his realme and without, was yet troubled in his mind, for that

Henrie the earle of Richmond (one of the blood of king Henrie the first) was alive, and at libertie in Britaine: therefore to attempt cōfession the mind of Francis duke of Britaine, he sent ouer unto the said duke, one doctor Stillington, and two other his ambassadours laden with no small summe of gold.

These ambassadours, declaring their message, affirmed that the king their maister willed to haue the earle of Richmond onelie for this purpose, to ioine with him in alliance by marriage, and so to plucke by all the leanings of discord betwene him and the contrarie faction. The duke gentlie heard the orators. And though at the first he by excuses denied their request, yet at the length, beleueing that king Edward would giue to the earle his eldest daughter, the ladie Elizabeth in marriage, he consented to deliuer him, and receiued of the English orators a great summe of monie. But yet they were imbarcked with their preie, the duke being aduertised, that the earle of Richmond was not so earnestlie sought for, to be coupled in marriage with king Edwards daughter; but rather that his head might be chopped off with an hatchet, caused his treasurer Peter Landouice to conueie the said earle of Richmond into a sanctuarie at S. Malo, where the English ambassadours then laie, onelie stateng for a conuenient wind: who complained, that they were euill bled, to be spoiled both of their monie and merchandize.

Yet because the matter was so handled, that it seemed the earle escaped into the sanctuarie through their owne negligence, after they had receiued him into their hands; they were some answered: but yet promise was made, that the earle should be safely kept, either in the sanctuarie, or else as prisoner in the dukes house, that they should not need to feare him more than his shadow. And thus the king of England purchased for his monie the keeping of his enemye, the space onelie of three daies and no more. King Edward was somewhat displeased with this chance, but yet trusting that the duke of Britaine would (according to promise) see the earle of Richmond safely kept from doing anie greivance to him or his subjects, put all doubts therof out of his mind, and began to studie how to keepe a liberall princelie house, and thereupon stozing his chests with monie, he employed no small portion in good housekeeping.

But having spoken thus much of the earle of Richmond, whome Edward Hall compareth to a sheepe betrayed into the teeth and claws of the wolfe, you shall understand, that at such time as his troubles were set fresh abroach, and he knowing that he was going towards his death, for verie penitence and inward thought, fell into a seruent and sore ague. In which verie season, one John Cheulet, so esteemed among the princes of Britaine as few were in all the countrie, and in much credit, and well accepted with the duke, was (when these things were thus concluded) for his solace in the countrie. Who being hereof certified, was chased with the abhominatton of the fact, resorted to the court, and familiarlie came to the dukes presence, where he stood so sadlie and so pale, without anie word speaking, that the duke was much abashed, and suddenlie marvelled at his sad and frowning countenance, and demanded of him what should signifie that dumplinesse of mind, and inward sighing, the which by his countenance manifestlie appeared and was euident. He modestlie answered; Most noble and redoubted lord, this pallenesse of visage and deadlie looke doth prognosticate the time of my death to approach and be at hand, which if it had chanced to me before this daie, I assure you, it had much lesse hurt me. For then had I not bene referred to feeble the dolorous pang and sorrowfull sighings, which a fact by you done (that I thought impossible

Henrie earle of Richmond,

Ambassadours into Britaine

The earle of Richmond taken by sanctuarie.

Abr. Fl. et Edw. Hall fol. Cxxxvij.

The Hall at Calis.

Sir Thomas Montgomerie.

1475. Anno Reg. 15.

“ (impossible to be obtained) hath printed in my stomach
and in my heart deeplie grauen: so that I well per-
ceiue, that either I shall lose my life, or else liue in
perpetuall distresse and continuall miserie.

“ For you my singular good lord, by your vertuous
acts and noble feats, haue gotten to you in manner
an immortall fame, which in cuerie mans mouth is
extolled & advanced about the high clouds. But alas
me ſaith (I praye you pardon me my rudenesse)
“ that now that you haue obtained so high praise
and glorie, you nothing lesse regard than to keepe
and preferue the same inuolate, considering that
“ you, forgetting your faith and faithfull promise made
to Henrie earle of Richmond, haue deliuered the
“ most innocent yong gentleman to the cruell tor-
mentors, to be afflicted, rent in peces, and slaine.
“ Wherefore all such as loue you, of the which number
I am one, cannot chuse but lament & be sorie, when
“ they see openlie the fame and glorie of your most re-
nowned name, by such a dissolatie and vnruth-
“ gainst promise, to be both blotted and stained with a
“ perpetuall note of slander and infamie. Peace mine
owne good John (quoth the duke) I praye thee, beleue
“ me there is no such thing like to happen to the earle of
Richmond: for king Edward hath sent for him, to
“ make of him, being his suspected enemy, his good
and faire sonne in law.

“ Well well (quoth John) my redoubted lord, give
“ credence vnto me: the earle Henrie is at the ve-
ry brink to perill, whome if you permit once to set
“ but one foot out of your power and dominion, there
is no mortall creature able hereafter to deliuer him
“ from death. The duke being moued with the persuasi-
ons of John Cheulet, which either little beleued, or
“ smallie suspected king Edward, to desire the earle
for anie fraud or deceit, or else seduced by blind aua-
rice and loue of monie, more than honestie, fidelitie,
“ or wisdom would requite, did not consider what he
vnrathfully did, or what he aduisedly should haue
done. Wherefore, with all diligence he sent forth Pe-
“ ter Landoise his chiefe treasurer, commanding him
to intercept and slay the earle of Richmond, in all
“ hast possible, as before you haue heard.]

“ In this yeare deceased sir John Croftie knight,
(not long before this, maior of London) and was bu-
ried in the parish church of saint Helen in Bishops
gate street, vnto the repairing of which parish church
he gaue five hundred marks, and thirtie pounds to be
distributed to poore householders in the ward of Bi-
“ shops gate: to the repairing of the parish church at
Heneuorth in Spiddlesef fortie pounds: to the repai-
ring of London wall one hundred pounds: toward
the making of a new towre of stone at the south
end of London bridge, if the same were begun by the
maior and communaltie within ten yeares next af-
“ ter his deceasse, one hundred pounds: to the repa-
rations of Rochester bridge ten pounds: to euerie
the prisons in and about London liberallie. Also he
gaue to the wardens and communaltie of the gro-
cers in London two large pots of silver chased halfe
“ gault, weighing thirtene pounds and five ounces of
Troy weight, to be occupied in their common hall,
and elsewhere, at their discretions.

“ In this yeare were inherited to the honour of
knighthood, after the custome of England, in the
time of peace the kings eldest son Edward prince of
Wales, duke of Cornewall, and earle of Chester, his
second sonne the duke of Yorke, and with them the
earle of Lincolnes sonne and heire, the duke of Suff-
“ folke, the lord Thomas Greie, the quenes sonne, and
Richard his brother, the earle of Shrewesburie, the
earle of Wilthire, master Edward Woodville, the
lord Beuill, the lord Barkleis sonne and heire, the
lord Audelies sonne and heire, the lord saint Amand,

the lord Stanleis sonne and heire, the lord Suttons
sonne and heire, the lord Hastings sonne and heire,
the lord Ferrers of Charles sonne and heire, ma-
“ ster Herbert brother to the earle of Penbrooke, ma-
ster Claughan Brian chiefe iudge, Aiston one of
the iudges of the common pleas, master Wooding-
ham, master Brian Stapleton, Kincuit, Wilkinson,
Ludlow, Charleton, &c. The same daie the king crea-
“ ted the lord Thomas marquisse, Dorset, before din-
ner, and so in the habit of a marquisse about the ha-
bit of his knighthood he began the table of knights
in saint Edwards chamber. At that time he ordered
“ that the kings chamberlaine should go with the an-
cient and well nurtured knight, to aduertise and com-
the order of knighthood to the esquires being in the
baine. The king himselfe came in person and did ho-
nour to all the companie with his noble counsell.]

This yeare the duke of Burgnie was slaine by
the Switzers, before the towne of Rancie in Flo-
“ raine, after whose death the French king won all the
townes which the said duke held in Picardie and Ar-
tois. And hisseigne that the towne of Bullen and coun-
“ tie of Bullemois appertained by right of inheritance
vnto the lord Berthram de la Court, earle of Au-
uergne, the French king bought of him his right and
title in the same, and recompensed him with other
lands in the countie of Fozells, and in other places.
And because the forenamed towne and countie were
holden of, the earldome of Artois, he changed the
“ tenure, and aduised to hold the same towne & coun-
tie of our ladye of Bolongne, and therof did homage
to the image in the great church of Bolongne, offer-
ring there an hart of gold, weighing two thousand
crownes, aduising further, that his heires and suc-
“ cessors at their entrie into their estates, by them-
selues or their deputies, should offer an hart of like
wright and value, as a reliefe and homage for the
same towne and countie.

“ This yeare was Robert Basset maior of Lon-
don, who did sharpe correction vpon bakers, for ma-
king of light bread, he caused diuerse of them to be
set on the pillorie in Cornhill. And also one Agnes
Daintie a butterwife for selling of butter new and
old mingled together, being first trapped with butter
dishes, was then set on the pillorie. The countesse of
“ Arford deceased and was buried at Windsoze. And
so this yeare Richard Ratson one of the shiriffes of
London, caused to be builded one house in the church
yard of S. Marcie hospitall without Bishops gate
of London, where the maior of that cite and his bre-
“ thren the aldermen use to sit and heare the sermons
in the Easter holidates, as in times past appeared
by an inscription on the front of the same house, now
by weathering defaced, which I haue read in these
words: Praye for the soules of Richard Ratson late
“ Mercer and alderman of London, and Isabel his
wife, of whose goods this worke was made and foun-
ded. Anno Dom. 1488.]

By the diligence of Ralph Josseline maior of
London, the wall about London was new made be-
“ twixt Algate and Creplegate: he caused the poore
field to be searched for claie, and bricke to be made
and burnt there: he also caused chaffe to be brought
out of Kent, and in the same poore field to be burnt
into lime, for the furtherance of that worke. The ma-
“ ior with his companie of the drapers made all that
part betwixt Bishops gate and Alhalowes church in
the same wall. Bishops gate itselfe was new built
by the merchants Almans of the Stillard, and from
Alhalowes church toward poore gate a great part
of the same was builded of the goods, & by the execu-
“ tors of sir John Croftie sometimes an alderman of
London, as may appear by his armes in two places
fired. The companie of Skinners made that part of the

Abt. Fl. ex. L.S.
pag. 752.
Sir John
Croftie his
gift to the
chire.

John Ratson.
Anno 1488.
The wall was
built.

1476
Anno Reg. 15.
The death of
the duke of
Burgogne.

Abt. Fl. ex.
L.S. pag. 746.
Agnes Daintie
on the pillorie.

1477
Part of the
wall was
built.

John Ratson.

Bishops gate
new built.

Burdet for a
word spoken
thereon.

Inguentant.

Register of
the Greie
meters.

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“ Wh in
“ make
“ such w

the wall betwene Algate and Buries markes to wards Bishops gate, as may appeare by their armes in thre places fixed: the other companies of the citie made the other deale of the said wall, which was a great worke to be done in one yeare.

Also this yeare Thomas Burdet an esquier of Arrol in Warwickshire, sonne to sir Nicholas Burdet (who was great butler of Normandie in Henrie the first daies) was beheaded for a word spoken in this sort. King Edward in his progresse hunted in Thomas Burdets parke at Arrol, and slew manie of his deer, amongst the which was a white bucke, whereof Thomas Burdet made great account. And therefore when he understood thereof, he wished the buckes head in his bellie that moued the king to kill it. Which tale being told to the king, Burdet was apprehended and accused of treason, for wishing the buckes head (hones and all) in the kings bellie: he was condemned, drawne from the Tower of London to Wiltshire, and there beheaded, and then buried in the Greie friers church at London. Wherefore it is god counsell that the wiseman giueth, saying: *Kepe thy tong & kepe thy life, for manie times we see, that speech offenbeth & procureth mischance, where silence is autho: neither of the one nor the other, as it is true and in praise of silence spoken by the poet:*

Nulli tacuisse nocet, nocet esse loquutum.

About this season, through great mishap, the sparke of priuie malice was netwile kindled betwixt the king and his brother the duke of Clarence, inasmuch that where one of the dukes seruants was suddenly accused (I can not saie whether of truth, or vntrulie suspected by the dukes enmities) of poisoning, sorcerie or inchantment, and thereof condemned, and put to execution for the same, the duke which might not suffer the wrongfull condemnation of his man (as he in his conscience iudged) nor yet forbear but to murmur and reprove the doing thereof, moued the king with his daileie exclamation to take such displeasure with him, that finally the duke was cast into the Tower, and therewith aduinged for a traitor, and priuie downed in a butt of malmesie, the eleuenth of March, in the beginning of the threuenth yeare of the kings reigne.

Some haue reported, that the cause of this noble mans death rose of a foolish prophesie, which was, that after h. Edward one should reigne, whose first letter of his name should be a C. Wherewith the king and quene were soze troubled, and began to conceiue a greuous grudge against this duke, and could not be in quiet till they had brought him to his end. And as the diuell is wont to incumber the minds of men which delite in such diuinely fantasies, they said afterward, that that prophesie lost not his effect, when after king Edward, Gloucester vsurped his kingdome. Wher alledged, that the cause of his death was for that the duke, being destitute of a wife, by the meanes of his sister the ladie Margarete, duchesse of Burgognie, procured to haue the ladie Marie, daughter and heire to his husband duke Charles.

Which marriage king Edward (enuieng the prosperitie of his brother) both gaine said and disurbed, and thereby old malice renewed betwixt them: which the quene and his bloud (ener mistrusting, and priuie barking at the kings image) ceased not to increase. But sure it is, that although king Edward were consenting to his death; yet he much did both lament his infortunate chance, & repent his sudden execution: inasmuch that when anie person sued to him for the pardon of malefactors condemned to death, he would accustomable saie, & openlie speake: *Oh infortunate brother, for whose life not one would make sute. Openlie and apparantlie meaning by such words, that by the means of some of the nobilitie*

he was deceiued and brought to confusion.

This duke left behind him two yong infants begot of the bodie of his wife, the daughter of Richard late earle of Marwike: which children by destinie as it were, or by their owne merits, following the steps of their ancestors, succeeded them in like misfortune and semblable euill chance. For Edward his heire, whom king Edward had created earle of Marwike was thre and twentie yeares after, in the time of Henrie the seauenth, attainted of treason, and on the Tower hill lost his head. Margarete his sole daughter married to sir Richard Pole knight, and by Henrie the eight restored to the name, title, & possessions of the earldome of Salisburie, was at length for treason committed against the said Henrie the eight attainted in open parlement; and sixtie two yeares after his father had suffered death in the Tower, she on the greene within the same place was beheaded. In whose person died the berie surname of Plantagenet, which from Geoffrie Plantagenet so long in the bloud roiall of this realme had flourished and continued.

After the death of this duke, by reason of great heat and disemperance of aire, happened so fierce & quicke a pestilence, that fiftene yeares warre past consumed not the third part of the people, that onelie four moneths miserable and pitifullie dispatched & brought to their graues. So that if the number had bene kept by multipleng of vnities, & out of them to haue raised a complet number, it would haue moued matter of verie great admiration. But it should seeme that they were infinit, if consideration be had of the comparison, inferred for the more effectual setting forth of that cruell and ceaselesse contagion. And suerlie it soundeth to reason, that the pestilence should fetch a waite so manie thousands, as in iudgement by proportion of fiftene yeares warre one maie gather; and manie more too. For euerie man knoweth that in warres, time, place, persons, and meanes are limited: time of warre begun and ended; place circumscribed; persons imbattelled, and weapons also whereby the fight is tried: so that all these haue their limitations, beyond which they haue no extent. But the pestilence, being a generall infection of the aire, an element ordained to mainteine life, though it haue a limitation in respect of the totall compasse of the world; yet whole climats maie be poisoned: and it were not absurd to saie, that all and euerie part of the aire maie be pestilentlie corrupted; and so consequentlie not limited: wherefore full well it maie be said of the pestilence (procuring so great a depopulation) as one saith of sursettingte:

Ense cadunt multi, perimit sed crapula plures.

Anon.

The counsellors of the yong duchesse of Burgognie sent to h. Edward for aid against the French king. About the same time had the quene of England sent to the ladie Margarete duchesse of Burgognie, for the preferment of his brother Anthonie erle Kinners to the yong damsell. But the counsell of Flanders, considering that he was but an earle of meane estate, and the the greatest inhertrice of all christendome at that time, gaue but deafe eare to so humble a request. To which desire, if the Flemings had but giuen a liking eare by outward semblance, and with gentle words delayed the sute, she had bene both succoured and defended. Whether king Edward was not contented with this refusal, or that he was loth to breake with the French king, he would in no wise consent to send an armie into Flanders against the French king: but yet he sent ambassadoers to him with louing and gentle letters, requiring him to grow to some reasonable order & agreement with the yong duchesse of Burgognie, or at the least to take a truce with his request.

Ab. b. j.

The

Edward erle of warwike some & heire to George duke of Clarence.

Margaret duchesse of Salisburie.

A great pestilence.

I 478. Anno Reg. 18.

London.

Burdet for a word spoken in this sort.

Expectant.

King of the Greie friers.

I 476

Anno Reg. 16. The death of the duke of Burgognie.

Ab. Flex. L. 3. pag. 745.

Ignes domestic on the pile.

Anno Reg. 17. George duke of Clarence downed in a butt of malmesie.

Prophetesie usually said.

I 477

Part of the wall now unbuild.

ohn Rouse.

Silvius sent new builded.

The ambassadours of England were highlie re-
ceiued, bountifullie feasted, and liberalie rewarded,
but answer to their desire had they none; sauing that
thozillie after, the French king would send ambassa-
dours, hostages, and pledges to the king of England
their maister, for the perfecting and concluding of
all things depending betwene them two; so that
their soueraine lord & they should haue cause to be
contented and pleased. These faire words were one-
lie delaies to dylue time, vntill he might haue space
to spoile the yong damsell of hir townes and coun-
tries. And beside this, to staie king Edward from
taking part with hir, he wrote to him; that if he
would ioyne with him in aid, he should haue and in-
soie to him and his heires the whole countie & coun-
trie of Flanders, discharged of homage, superiourtie
and refoyt, to be claimed by the French king, or his
successors.

Large offers
made to the
king of Eng-
land by the
French king.

He also wrote that he should haue the whole duchie
of Brabant, wherof the French king offered at his
owne cost and charge to conquer foure of the chiefest
and strongest townes within the said duchie, & them
in quiet possession to deliuer to the king of Eng-
land: granting further to paie him ten thousand an-
gels toward his charges, with munitions of warre
and artillerie, which he promised to lend him, with
men and carriage for the conuesance of the same.
The king of England refused to make anie warres
against those countries that were thus offered to
him: but if the French king would make him part-
ner of his conquests in Picardie, rendering to him
part of the townes already gotten, as Bologne,
Boulogne, and Abbeville, then he would suerlie take
his part, and aid him with men at his owne costs and
charges.

Thus passed faire words and golden promises be-
twene these two princes: and in the meane time the
yong duchesse of Burgognie was spoiled of hir
townes, castles & territories, till at length for main-
tenance she condescended to marrie with Martini-
lian sonne to the emperour Frederike that he might
keepe the wolfe from the fold. King Edward in the
nineteenth yeare of his reigne began (more than he
was before accustomed) to serch the forfeiture of pe-
nall lawes and statutes, as well of the cheefe of his
nobilitie as of other gentlemen, being proprietaries
of great possessions, or abundantlie furnished with
goods; likewise of merchants, and other inferiour per-
sons. By reason whereof, it was of all men iudged
that he would proue hereafter a foze and a rigorous
prince among his subjects. But this his new inuen-
ted practise and couetous meaning (by reason of for-
reine affaires and abridgement of his daies in this
transitorie life, which were within two yeares after
consumed) toke some (but not great) effect.

Abr. Fl. ex l. S.
pag. 747, 748.
Pestilence.

Unadvised &
brutallie de-
meanor puni-
shed with a
fine.

In this yeare was great mortalitie and death by
the pestilence, not onelie in London, but in diuerse
parts of the realme, which began in the latter end of
September in the yeare last before passed, and conti-
nued all this yeare till the beginning of Nouember,
which was about fourtene moneths: in the which
space died innumerable of people in the said citie
& else-where. This yeare also the maior of London
being in Paules, kneeling in his deuotions at saint
Erkenwalds thyrine, Robert Bisseld one of the thi-
risses unadvisedlie kneeled doune nigh vnto the
maior: wherof afterward the maior charged him to
haue done more than becomed him. But the thirisse
answering rudelie and stubbornlie, would not ac-
knowledge to haue committed anie offense: for the
which he was afterward by a court of aldermen fi-
ned at fiftie pounds to be paid toward the reparati-
ons of the conduits in London, which was trulie
paid. This yeare Thomas Alam one of the thirisses of

London newlie builded the great conduit in Cheape,
of his owne charges. This yeare also king Edward
began his Christmasse at Making, and at fine daies
end removed to Greenwich, where he kept out the
other part of his Christmasse with great roialtie.

Ambassadours were sent to and fro betwixt the
king of England and France, and still the French
king fed the king of England with faire words, put-
ting him in hope to match his sonne and heire the
Dolphin with the ladie Elizabeth daughter to the
king of England, according to the conclusions of a
grément had and made at Picquente betwixt them,
although in verie deed he meant nothing lesse. His
ambassadours euer made excuses if anie thing were
amisse, and he vied to send change of ambassadours;
so that if those which had bene here before, and were
returned, had said or promised anie thing (though they
were authorized so to do) which might turne to their
masters hinderance, the other that came after, might
excuse themselves by ignorance of that matter; as
firming that they wanted commission once to talke
or meddle with that matter: or if he perceived that
anie thing was like to be concluded contrarie to his
mind, for a thiff he would call his ambassadours
home in great hast, and after send an other with new
instructions nothing depending on the old.

Thus the French king vied to dally with king
Edward in the case of this mariage, onelie to kepe
him still in amitie. And certeinlie the king of Eng-
land, being a man of no suspicious nature, thought
sooner that the sunne should haue fallen from his cir-
cle, than that the French king would haue dissem-
bled or broken promise with him. But there is none
so soone beguiled, as he that least mistrusteth; nor a
nie so able to decelue, as he to whome most credence
is giuen. But as in mistrusting nothing, is great
lightnesse; so in too much trusting, is too much follie:
which well appeared in this matter. For the French
king, by cloking his inward determinate purpose
with great dissimulation and large promises, kept
him still in frendship with the king of England, till
he had wrought a great part of his will against the
yong duchesse of Burgognie. Which king Edward
would not haue suffered, if he had put anie great
doubt in the French kings faire promises, conside-
ring that the crowne of France was in this meane
time so much increased in dominions, to the great re-
enforcement of that realme.

On the two and twentieth of Februarie were five
notable shewes put to death, for robbing the church
called saint Martins le grand in London, and other
places; three of them were drawne to the Tower hill,
hanged & burnt, the other two were pressed to death.
A foze and seuerer kind of execution no doubt, but yet
thought by iustice meritorious in the malefactors, for
their offenses of sacrilege. Veiuous enough had it
bene to spoile a priuat man of his goods, and by law
of nations punishabie with death; but much more
horrible, that prophane persons with polluted hands
should prouide or openlie so touch holie & consecrated
things, as to take them out of a sacred place, where-
to (for holy vses) they were dedicated, & apply them to
the satisfieng of the corrupt concupiscences of their
owne hearts, the bottomlesse gulfe whereof because
no booties nor spoiles could satisfie; it stood with the
high praise of iustice that they and their ceaselesse de-
sires were seuered by deferred death; wherefore it is
wiselie said by the comical poet of such grædie guts:

*Quam quis animus possit escam auariter,
Decipitur in transenna perique auaritia.*

In this yeare king Edward required great sums
of monie to be lent him. The citizens of London
granted him five thousand marks, which were seized
of the five and twentieth wards: which five thousand
marks

Concord
Cheape
1480
Anno Reg.

1480
Anno Reg.

Aban pag
11.

The French
king fed
the king
of Eng-
land
with
faire
words
South
faint
words
and
promises.

Ambassadours
sent to
Scotland.

Abr. Fl. ex l. S.
pag. 748, 749.
Five shewes
for sacrilege
executed
1480.

Plow. in 24.

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An. Reg. 21, 22, 23.

marks was trulle repaid againe in the next yeare following. ¶ Also this yeare on Whitsundaye k. Edward the fourth created the lord Berkeley, vicount Berkeley, at Grenewich. ¶ In this yeare also an house on London bridge called the common luge, or pituie, fell downe into the Thames, where thozough it five persons were drowned. ¶ This yeare the king with his quene kept a roiall Christmas at Windsoz.

¶ Also this yeare was one Richard Chawyle ma-
for of London, whome king Edward so greatlie
favoured, that he toke him (with certeine of his bre-
then the aldermen, & commons of the cite of Lon-
don) into the forrest of Waltham, where was orde-
ned for them a pleasant lodge of greene boughs, in
which lodge they dined with great chere; & the king
would not go to dinner untill he saw them served.
¶ After he caused the lord chamberlaine, with o-
ther lords, to chere the said maioz and his companie
sundry times whilste they were at dinner. After din-
ner they went a hunting with the king, and due ma-
nie deare, as well red as fallow, whereof the king
gaue unto the maioz and his companie god plentie,
and sent unto the ladie mairesse and hir sisters the al-
dermens wives, two harts, six bucks, and a tun of
wine to make them merrie with, which was eaten in
the drapers hall. The cause of which bountie thus
shewed by the king, was (as most men did take) for
that the maioz was a merchant of wondrous ad-
ventures into manie and sundrie countries. By rea-
son whereof, the king had pearellie of him notable
summes of monie for his customes, beside other plea-
sures that he had shewed unto the king before times.
¶ This yeare the Scots began to stir, against whom
the king sent the duke of Gloucester & manie others,
which returned againe without any notable battell.]

In this verie season James the thirde of that name
king of Scots sent into England a solemne ambas-
sage for to haue the ladie Cicilie, king Edwards se-
cond daughter, to be married to his eldest sonne
James, prince of Scotland, duke of Rothesaie, and
earle of Caricke. King Edward and his counsell,
perceiving that this affinitie should be both honou-
rable and profitable to the realme, did not onelie
grant to his desire, but also before hand disbursed cer-
taine summes of monie, to the onelie intent that the
marriage hereafter should neither be hindered nor
broken. With this condition, that if the said marriage
by anie accidental meane should in time to come
take none effect; or that king Edward would notifie
to the king of Scots, or his counsell, that his plea-
sure was determined to haue the said marriage dis-
solved: then the prouost and merchants of the towne
of Copenburgh, should be bound for repayment of the
said summes againe. All which things were with
great deliberation concluded, passed, and sealed, in
hope of continuall peace and indissoluble amitie.

¶ But king James was knotone to be a man so
wedded to his owne opinion, that he could not abide
them that would speake contrarie to his fanlie: by
meanes whereof, he was altogether led by the coun-
sell and aduise of men of base linage, whome for their
flatterie he had promoted unto great dignities and
honourable offices. By which persons diuerse of the
nobilitie of his realme were greatlie misused and
put to trouble, both with imprisonment, exactions, &
death: insomuch that some of them went into volun-
tarie exile. Amongst whome Alexander duke of Al-
banie, brother to king James, being exiled into
France, & passing through England, tarried with k.
Edward: and upon occasion moued him to make
warre against his brother, the said king James, for
that he forgetting his oth, promise, and affinitie con-
cluded with king Edward, caused his subjects to
make roads and forraies into the English borders,

spoiling, burning, and killing king Edwards liege
people.

King Edward, not a little displeased with this in-
princelie doing, prouoked and set on also by the duke
of Albanie, determined to invade Scotl and with an
armie, as well to reuenge his owne iniuries recei-
ued at the hands of king James, as to helpe to rei-
stoz the duke of Albanie unto his countrie and pos-
sessions againe. Hereupon all the winter season he
mustered his men, prepared his ordinance, rigged
his ships, and left nothing unprouided for such a tour-
nie: so that in the beginning of the yeare, all things
appertaining to the warre, and necessarie for his voi-
age, were in a readinesse. To be the chiefe of his
hoast, and lieutenant generall, Richard duke of Glo-
cester was appointed by his brother king Edward;
and with him were adioined as associates, Henrie the
fourth earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord
Stanleie lord steward of the kings hoist, the lord
Lonell, the lord Greystocke, and diuerse other no-
ble men and twothe knights.

These ballant captains came to Alnewike in Nor-
thumberland, about the beginning of Julie, where
they first incamped themselves, & marshalled their
hoast. The fore-ward was led by the earle of Nor-
thumberland, vnder whose standard were the lord
Scrope of Bolton, sir John Spiddleton, sir John
Dichfield, and diuerse other knights, esquires, & sol-
diers, to the number of six thousand and seauen hun-
dred. In the middle-ward was the duke of Gloucester,
and with him the duke of Albanie, the lord Louell,
the lord Greystocke, sir Edward Mowbray, and o-
ther, to the number of five thousand & eight hundred
men. The lord Penill was appointed to follow, ac-
companied with three thousand. The lord Stanleie
led the wing on the right hand of the dukes battell
with foure thousand men of Lancashire & Cheshire.
The lord Fitz Hugh, sir William a Harre, sir
James Harrington, with the number of two thou-
sand soldiers, guided the left wing. And beside all
these, there were one thousand appointed to giue their
attendance on the ordinance.

¶ In this yeare Edmund Shaw goldsmith and ma-
for of London newlie builded Creplegate from the
foundation, which gate in old time had bene a prison,
whereunto such citizens and other as were arrested
for debt (or like trespasses) were committed, as they
be now to the counters, as maie appeare by a writ of
king Edward the second, in these words: *Rex vi-*
London salutem. Ex gravi querela capti & detenti in prisona
nostra de Creplegate, pro x. li. quas carum Radulpho Sandwi-
co, tunc custode civitatis nostre London, & I. de Blackwell
custode recognis. debitorum, &c. King Edward held his
Christmas at Eltham, and kept his estate all the
whole feast in his great chamber; and the quene in
hir chamber, where were daily more than two thou-
sand persons. The same yeare on Candlemas day, he
with his quene went on procession from saint Ste-
phans chappell into Westminster hall, accompanied
with the earle of Angus, the lord Greie, & sir James
Liddall, ambassadors from Scotland. And at his pro-
ceeding out of his chamber he made sir John Mow-
bray-treasurer of England, & sir William Cates-
bie one of the iustices of the ocmoplas, knights.]

¶ But to returne to the kings affaires concerning
Scotland. The roiall armie aforesaid, not intending
to lose time, came suddenly by the water side to the
towne of Berwike, and there (with force, and
that with feare of so great an armie) toke and ente-
red the towne: but the earle of Northwell, being cap-
teine of the castell, would in no wise deliuer it; wher-
fore the captains, upon good and deliberate aduise,
planted a strong siege round about it. When this
siege was laid, the two dukes and all the other soul-
diers

Preparation
for warre a-
gainst Scot-
land.

1482
Anno Reg. 22.
An armie sent
into Scot-
land.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S.
pag. 749.
Creplegate
builded.

Records.

Anno reg. 23.
1483

Berwike
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Englishmen.

Dom. 1480.

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diers except the lord Stanleie, sir John Clovington treasurer of the kings house, sir William a Barre, and foure thousand men that were left behind to keepe the siege before the castell departed from Berwikke toward Edenburgh; and in marching thitherward, they burnt and destroyed manie towne and bastilles. King James having small confidence in his communitie, and lesse trust in his nobilitie, kept himselfe within the castell of Edenburgh.

The duke of Gloucester entered into the towne, and at the respectall desire of the duke of Albanie saved the towne, and the inhabitants from fire, blood, and spoile, taking onelie of the merchants, such presents as they gentlie offered to him and his capteins, causing Earlier principall king at armes to make a publike proclamation at the high crosse in the market place of Edenburgh; by the which he warned and admonished king James, to keepe, observe, and performe, all such promises, compacts, covenants, and agreements, as he had concluded and sealed with the king of England, and also to make sufficient recompense unto his subjects, for the tyrannie, spoile, and crueltie which he and his people had committed and done, contrarie to the league, within the marches of his realme of England, before the first daie of August next insuing; and further without delay to restore his brother the duke of Albanie to his estate, and all his possessions, offices, and authorities, in as large maner as he occupied and enjoyed the same before. Whereupon the duke of Gloucester, lieutenant generall for the king of England, was readie at hand to destroy him, his people, and countries, with slaughter, flame, and famine.

King James would make no answer, neither by word nor writing, but kept himselfe close within the castell. But the lords of Scotland being at Haddington with a great puissance, determined first to practice with the duke of Gloucester for a peace, and after by some meanes to allure the duke of Albanie from the English amitie. And upon this motion, the second daie of August they wrote to the duke of Gloucester, requiring that the marriage betwene the prince of Scotland, and king Edwards daughter might be accomplished, according to the covenants; and further, that a peace from thenceforth might be longlie concluded betwene both the realmes. The duke of Gloucester answered againe unto these demands; that for the article of the marriage, he knew not the king his brothers determinate pleasure, either for the affirmance or deniall of the same; but nevertheless he desired full restitution of all the sums of monie pressed out in lone upon the same marriage. And as for peace, he assured them that he would agree to none, except the castell of Berwikke might be to him deliuered; or at the least wise, that he should undertake that the siege lying afore the same should not be troubled by the king of Scots, nor by any of his subjects, nor by his or their procurement or meanes.

The bishop elect of Durham sent to the duke of Gloucester.

The Scottish lords, upon this answer and demands of the duke of Gloucester, sent to him the elect of Durham, and the lord Dornleie, which executed the matter touching the repayment of the monie: for that the time of the lawfull contract of the said marriage was not yet come, and no daie appointed for the monie to be paid before the contract begun. But for further assurance either for the contract to be made, or for the payment of the monie, they promised the rebitter accordingly (as reason should require) to agree. So concordant, as touching the castell of Berwikke, they alledged that it appertained to the realme of Scotland, as the old inheritance of the same.

The duke, notwithstanding all that they could saie, would agree to no peace, except the castell of Berwikke might be deliuered to the king of England,

And so the messengers departed. The same daie the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeld, Colin earle of Argile, lord Campbell, and lord Andrieu lord of Anandale chancelor of Scotland, wrote to the duke of Albanie, a solemne and an autenticall instrument, signed and sealed with their hands and seales, concerning a generall pardon to him and his servants, upon certeine conditions to be granted; which conditions seemed to be so reasonable, that the duke of Albanie, desirous to be restored to his old estate, possessions, and native countrie, willingly accepted the same.

But before he departed from the duke of Gloucester, he promised both by word and writing of his owne hand, to do and performe all such things, as he before that time had sworn and promised to king Edward: notwithstanding any agreement now made, or after to be made with the lords of Scotland. And for performance of the effect hereof, he againe took a corporall oath, and sealed the writing before the duke of Gloucester, in the English campe at Levington besides Haddington, the third daie of August, in the yeare 1482. After he was restored, the lords of Scotland proclaimed him great lieutenant of Scotland; and in the kings name made proclamation, that all men within eight daies should be readie at Crauthaus, both to raise the siege before the castell, and for the recovering againe of the towne of Berwikke.

The duke of Albanie wrote all this preparation to the duke of Gloucester, requiring him to have no mistrust in his dealings. The duke of Gloucester wrote to him againe his mind verie roundlie, promising that he with his armie would defend the besiegers from all enemies that should attempt to trouble them; or else die in the quarrell. To be briefe, when the lords of Scotland saw that it booteth them not to assaie the raising of the siege, except they should make account to be fought withall, they determined to deliuer the castell of Berwikke to the Englishmen, so that thereupon there might be an abstinence of warre taken for a season.

And herewith they sent to the duke of Gloucester a charter indented, which was dated the four and twentieth daie of August, in the said yeare 1482, contracted betwene the duke of Gloucester lieutenant generall for the king of England, and Alexander duke of Albanie lieutenant for James king of Scots; that an especiall abstinence of warre should be kept betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, as well by sea as by land, to begin the eighth daie of September next comming, and to endure till the fourth daie of November next following. And in the same season, the towne and castle of Berwikke to be occupied and remaine in the roall possession of such, as by the king of England's deputie should be appointed.

Whereunto the duke of Gloucester agreed, and so then was the castell of Berwikke deliuered to the lord Stanleie; and after thereto appointed; who therein put both Englishmen and artillerie, sufficient to defend it against all Scotland, for six months. The duke of Albanie also desired the prouost and bargesses of Edenburgh, to make a sufficient instrument obligatorie to king Edward, for the true satisfaction and contentation of the same monie, which he also sent by the said prouost to the duke of Gloucester at Berwikke; the verie copie whereof hereafter followeth.

The true copie of the said instrument obligatorie.

It is knowne to all men by these present letters, by Walter Bertram, prouost of the towne of Edenburgh in Scotland, and the whole

The duke of Albanie received great contentment of Berwikke.

The castle of Berwikke deliuered.

Abt. El. et Edw. Hall. fol. Cxlvj

whole fellowship, merchants, burgesses, & communalitie of the same towne, to be bound and obliged by these presents, unto the most excellent, and most mightie prince Edward, by the grace of God king of England. That where it was communed and agreed betwene his excellencie on the one part, and the right high & mightie prince our soueraigne lord, James king of Scots on the other part, that mariage and matrimonie should haue bene solemnized and had betwixt a mightie and excellent prince James the first begotten sonne and heire apparant to our soueraigne lord aforesaid, & the right noble princeesse Cicilie, daughter to the said Edward k. of England; and for the said mariage to haue bene performed, certeine and diuerse great summes of monie bene paid and contented by the most excellent prince; unto our soueraigne lord aforesaid, as by certeine writings betwixt the said princes thereupon made more at large plainlie appeares.

That if it be the pleasure of the said Edward king of England, to haue the said mariage to be performed and completed, according to the said communication in writing, that then it shall be well and trulie, without fraud, deceit, or collusion obserued, kept, and accomplished on the partie of our soueraigne lord aforesaid, & the nobles spirituall and temporall of the realme of Scotland. And if it be not the pleasure of the said excellent prince Edward king of England, to haue the said mariage performed and completed; that then we Walter, prouost, burgesses, merchants, and commons of the aboue named towne of Edinburgh, or anie of vs, shall paie and content to the king of England aforesaid, all the summes of monie that was paid for the said mariage, at such like termes & daies immediatlie insuing after the refusall of the said mariage, and in such like maner & forme as the said summes were afore delivered, contented and paid; that then this obligation and bond to be void, and of no strength. Provided alwaies, that the said Edward king of England, shall giue knowledge of his pleasure and election in the premises in taking or refusing of the said mariage, or of repayment of the said sums of monie, to our said soueraigne lord, or lords of his counsell, or to vs the said prouost, merchants, or any of vs, within the realme of Scotland, being for the time betwixt this & the feast of Allhalowes next to come.

To the which paiement well and trulie to be made, we bind and oblige vs, & euerie of vs, our heires, successors, executors, and all our goods, merchandizes, & things what soeuer they be, where soeuer, or in what place, by water or by land, on this side the sea or beyond, we shall happen to be found, anie league, anie truce or safegard made or to be made, notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof to this our present writing, and letters of bond, we, the said prouost, burgesses, merchants, and communi-

tie, haue set our common seale of the said towne of Edinburgh, the fourth daie of August, the yeare of our Lord God, 1482. Given in the presence of the right mightie prince Richard Duke of Gloucester, Alexander duke of Albanie, the reuerend father in God James bishop of Dunkeld, & the right noble lord Henrie earle of Northumberland, Colin earle of Argile, Thomas lord Stanleie, maister Alexander English, and others, &c.

So that you see it was contained in the said instrument or writing, that king Edward should intimate his pleasure unto the said prouost and burgesses of Edinburgh, before the feast of Allsaints next following, whether he would the mariage should take place, or that he would haue the paiement of the monie. According to which article, king Edward sent Garter his principall king of armes, and Northumberland berailo, to declare his refusall of the mariage, and the election and choise of the repayment of the monie. They came to Edinburgh eight daies before the feast of Allsaints, where (according to their commission and instructions) Garter declared the pleasure of the king his master, unto the prouost and burgesses of Edinburgh, to whom he openlie said as followeth.

The intimation of Garter king of armes to the Edinburghers.

T Garter king of armes, seruant, prouost and messenger unto the most high and mightie prince, my most dread soueraigne lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, by vertue of certeine letters of procuracie here readie to be shewed to me, by my said soueraigne lord made and giuen, make notice and giue knowledge vnto you prouost, burgesses, merchants and communalitie of the towne of Edinburgh in Scotland, that whereas it was sometime communed and agreed betwene my said soueraigne lord on the one partie, and the right high & mightie prince James king of Scots on the other partie, that mariage and matrimonie should haue bene solemnized, and had betwene James the first begotten sonne of the said king of Scots, and ladie Cicilie, daughter to my said soueraigne lord the king of England.

And for the said mariage to haue bene performed, certeine and diuers great sums of monie bene paid and contented by my said soueraigne lord, which summes of monie, in case of refusall of the said mariage, by my said soueraigne lord to be made and declared, yet the said prouost, burgesses, merchants, and communalitie, and euerie one of you are bound and obliged by your letters, vnder your common seale of your towne of Edinburgh, to repaie vnto his highnes vnder like forme, & at such termes as they were first paid. So that the king my soueraigne lord would make notice and knowledge of his pleasure and election in taking or refusing of the said mariage, of the repayment of the said sums of monie, before

Garter king of armes is sent into Scotland.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxlvij.

The Duke of Albanie re. Royed home. He is created a great lieutenant of Scotland.

The castle of Warwick deliuered.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxlvij.

before the feast of Alhalowes next to come, like as in your said letters, bearing date at Edinburgh the fourth daie of August last past, it was contained all at large.

The pleasure and election of my said soveraigne lord, for diuerse causes and considerations hummouing, is to refuse the accomplishment of the said mariage, and to haue the repayment of all such summes of monie, as by occasion of the said betruisted mariage his highnesse had paid. The said repayment to be had of you prouost, burgesses, merchants, and communalitie, and euerie of you, your heires and successours, according to your bond and obligation afore rehearsed. And therefore I giue you notice & knowledge by this writing, which I deliuer vnto you, within the terme in your said letters limited and expressed, to all intents and effects, which thereof may insue.

When Cartier had thus declared all things giuen to him in charge, the prouost and other burgesses made answer, that they now knowing the kings determinat pleasure, would (according to their bond) prepare for the repayment of the said summes; and gentle interceding Cartier conueied him to Berwikke, from whence he departed to Newcastle, to the duke of Gloucester, making relation to him of all his doings: which duke with all speed returned to Wythuton, and there abode. Shortly after Cartiers departing, the duke of Albanie, thinking to obtaine againe the high fauour of the king his brother, deliuered him out of captiuitie and prison, wherein he had a certeine space continued (not without the dukes assent, which besieged him in the castell of Edinburgh a little before) and set him at large, of whome outwardlie he receiued great thanks, when inwardlie nothing but reuenging & confusion was in the kings stomach fullie settled. So that shortly after in the kings presence he was in leopordie of his life, and all hypocrites for dread of death, constrained to take a small balinge, and to saile into France, where shortly after riding by the men of armes, which encountered at the tilt, by Lewes then duke of Orleans, after French king, he was with mischarging of a speare by fortunes peruerse countenance pittfullie slaine and brought to death, leauing after him one onelie son named John, which being banished Scotland, inhabited & married in France, and there died.

How dolorous, how sorrowfull is it to write, and much more painefull to remember the chances and infortunities that happened within two yeares in England & Scotland, betwene naturall brethren. For king Edward, set on by such as enuied the estate of the duke of Clarence, forgetting nature and brotherlie amitie, consented to the death of his said brother. James king of Scots, putting in oblivion that Alexander his brother was the onelie organ and instrument, by whome he obtained libertie & freedom, seduced and led by vile and malicious persons, which maligne at the glorie and indifferent iustice of the duke of Albanie, imagined and compassed his death, and killed him for ever. What a pernicious serpent, what a venomous toade, and what a pestiferous scorpion is that diuellish helpe, called priuate enuie? Against it no fortresse can defend, no caue can hide, no wood can shadow, no towle can escape, no beast can auoid. His poison is so strong, that neuer man in authoritie could escape from the biting of his teeth, scratching of his pawes, blasting of his breath, & filth of his taile. Notable therefore is the French epigram

in this behalfe, touching enuie of this kind, which saith, that a worse thing than enuie there is not in the world, and yet hath it some goodnesse in it; for it consumeth the ries and the hart of the enuious. The words in their owne long sententious sound thus:

ὁ φθόνος ἔχει δὲ τὴν καλὴν ἐν αὐτῷ,
τίμα δὲ φθόνος δὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ καρδίᾳ.

Although king Edward reioiced that his buisnesse came to so good a conclusion with the Scots, yet he was about the same time sore disquieted in his mind towards the French king, whome he now perceived to haue dallied with him, as touching the agreement of the mariage to be had betwixt the Dolphin and his daughter the ladie Elizabeth. For the lord Howard, being as then returned out of France, certified the king (of his owne knowledge) how that he being present, saw the ladie Margaret of Austrich daughter to duke Maximilian, sonne to the emperor Frederike, receiued into France with great pompe and roialtie, and at Ambois to the Dolphin contracted and espoused. King Edward highlie displeased with such double and vnjust dealing of the French king, called his nobles together, and opened to them his griefes; who promised him for redress thereof, to be readie with all their powers to make warres in France at his pleasure and appointment.

But whilest he was buis in hand to make his pursuance for warres thus against France, whether it was with melancholie and anger, which he took with the French kings doings and vn courteous usage; or were it by any superfluous surfeit to the which he was verie much giuen) he suddenly fell sicke, and was so grievously taken, that in the end he perceived his naturall strength in such wise to decaye, that there was little hope of recoverie in the cunning of his physicians, whome he perceived onlie to prolong his life for a small time. Wherefore he began to make readie for his passage into another world, not forgetting (as after shall appeare) to exhort the nobles of his realme (aboue all things) to an vnite among themselves. And having (as he took it) made an attornment betwixt the parties that were knowne to be scant friends, he commended vnto their grane wisdoms the government of his sonne the prince, and of his brother the duke of York, during the time of their tender yeares. But it shall not be amisse to adde in this place the words which he is said to haue spoken on his death-bed, which were in effect as followeth.

The words of king Edward vttered
by him on his death-bed.



My welbeloued and no lesse betruisted friends, counsellors, and allies, if we mortall men would dailie and hourly with our selues reuolue, and intentiuelie in our hearts ingraue, or in our minds seriously ponder, the fraile and fading imbecillitie of our humane nature, and the vnstablenesse of the same: we should apparantly perceiue, that we being called reasonable creatures, and in that predicament compared and ioined with angels, be more worthy to be named and deemed persons vnreasonable, and rather to be associate in that name with brute beasts called vnreasonable (of whose life and death no creature speaketh) rather than in that point to be resembled to the angelicall societie and reasonable companie.

For while health in vs flourisheth, or prosperitie aboundeth, or the glosing world laugheth, which is he, so reasonable of vs all, that can saie (if he will not from the truth) that hee once in a weeke remembereth

Abt. Fl. et
Edw. Hall. et
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his fatall end, or the prescribed terme of his indur-
ring; or once prouided by labour, studie, or other losse,
to let a stedfast and sure order for the securitie, profit,
and continuance either of his possessions & domin-
ions, or of his sequels and posteritie which after him
shall naturallie succede. Such is the blindness of our
fraile and weake nature, euer gluen to carnall con-
cupiscence and wooldie delectations, daileie darke-
ned and seduced with that lithergious and deceitua-
ble serpent called hope of long life, that all we put in
obliuion our due tie present, and lesse remember the
politike purueiance for things to come: for blindlie
we walke in this fraile life, till we fall groueling
with our eyes suddentlie vpon death.

The vanities of this woold be to vs so agreable,
that when we begin to liue, we esteeme our life a
thole woold; which once ouerpasse, it sheweth no bet-
ter but dust dyuen awaie with a puffe of wind. I
speake this to you of my selfe, and for your selues to
you; for lamenting and inwardlie bewailing, that I
did not performe a finallie consummate such politike
deuises, & god and godlie ordinaunces, in my long life
and peaceable prosperitie, which then I folke de-
termined to haue begun, set forward, and complette
to haue finished. Which now for the extream paines
and tortures of my angrie maladie, and for the small
terme of my naturall life, I can neither performe,
neither yet liue to see either to take effect, or to sort
to any god conclusion.

For God I call to record, my heart was fullie set,
and my mind deliberatlie determined, so to haue a-
dorned this realme with wholesome lawes, statutes
and ordinaunces; so to haue trained and brought vp
mine infants and children in vertue, learning, acti-
tie, and policie, that, what with their soall puissance,
& your friendly assistance, the proudest prince of Eu-
rope durst not once attempt to moue anye hostilitie,
against them, you, or this realme. But oh Lord, all
things that I of long time haue in my mind reuol-
ued and imagined, that shalring these death goeth
about to subuert, and in the moment of an houre
cherlie to ouertred. Wherefore (as men saie) I now
being dyuen to the verie hard wall, haue perfect
confidence and sure hope in the approued fidelitie,
and constant integritie, which I haue euer experi-
mented and knowne to be rooted and planted in
the hearts of your louing bodie, towards me and
mine.

So that I may saie and auouch, that neuer prince
bearing scepter and crowne ouer realmes and regi-
ons, hath found or proued more faithfull counse-
lors, nor truer subiects, than I haue done of you;
nor neuer potentate nor gouernour put more assi-
stance and trust in his ballas and seruants, than I,
since the adeption of the crowne, firmelie haue fired
in your circumspect wisdoms and sober discretions.
And now of very force compelled, lieng in a doubtfull
hope, betwene liuing and dieng, betwene remem-
brance and obliuion, I do require you, and instantlie
moue you, that as I haue found you faithfull, obedi-
ent, and to all my requests and desires (while I was
here in health conuersant with you) diligent and in-
tentive: so after my death, my hope is with a sure
anchour grounded, & mine inward concept vndoab-
teble resolved, that the especiall confidence and in-
ward fidelitie, which so long hath continued betwene
vs, being together liuing, shall not wholie by my
death be extinct and vanished like smoke.

For what auaileth friendship in life, when trust
deceiueth after death: What profiteth amitie in appa-
rant presence, when confidence is fraudulentlie be-
guiled in absence: What loue groweth by coniu-
ction of matrimonie, if the offspring after do not a-
gree and accord: What profiteth princes to ad-
uance and promote their subiects, if after their death,

the bountifullnesse by them shewed, be of the recei-
uers of the same and their sequels neither regarded
nor yet remembred: The parents make the marri-
age for an indissoluble amitie. Princes promote som-
time for fauour, sometime for desert, & sometime for
pleasure: yet (if you will consider) the verie scope, to
the which all gifts of promotions do finallie tend,
is to haue loue, fauour, faithfull counsell, and diligent
seruice, of such as be by them promoted and exalted,
not onelie in their owne lines, being but breife and
transitorie: but also that they and their progenie,
calling to remembrance the fauor, estimation, and
aduancement, which they of so liberall and munifi-
cent a prince had receiued and obtained, should with
speare and shield, long and wit, hand and pen, conti-
nuallie studie to defend, counsell and preserve, not
onelie him during his life; but also to serue, assist, and
mainteine his sequels and lineall succession, as the
verie images and carnall portraictures of his stirpe,
line, and stemme, naturallie descended.

In this case am I, whome you know, not without
unspeakable trouble & most dangerous war to haue
obtained the scepter and diademe of this realme and
empire. During which reigne, I haue had either little
peace, or small tranquillitie: and now when I thought
my selfe sure of a quiet life, and wooldie rest, death
hath blowne his terrible trumpet, calling and sum-
moning me (as I trust) to perpetuall tranquillitie
and eternall quietnesse. Therefore now, for the per-
fect and vnmoueable confidence that I haue euer
had in you, and for the vnfeined loue that you haue
euer shewed vnto me, I commend and deliuer into
your gouernance, both this noble realme, and my
naturall children, and your kinsmen. My children
by your diligent oversight and politike prouision
to be taught, informed, and instructed, not onelie in the
sciences liberall, vertues morall, and god litera-
ture: but also to be practised in trickes of martiall
actiuitie, and diligent exercise of prudent policie. For
I haue heard clarkes saie, although I am vnlette-
red, that fortunate is that realme where philosophers
reigne, or where kings be philosophers and louers of
wisdomme.

In this tender age, you may with and turne
them into euerie forme and fashon. If you bring
them vp in vertue, you shall haue vertuous princes.
If you set them to learning, your gouernours shall
be men of knowledge. If you teach them actiuitie,
you shall haue valiant capteins. If they practise poli-
cie, you shall haue both politike and prudent rulers.
On the other side, if by your negligence they fall to
vice (as youth is to all euill prone and readie) not
onelie their honor, but also your honestie shall be
spotted and appalled. If they be sluggish and giuen
to sloth, the publike wealth of this realme must
shortlie decaie. If they be vnlearned, they may by
flatterie some be blinded, and by adulation often de-
ceiued. If they lacke actiuitie, euerie creature (be he
neuer so base of birth) shall soile and ouerthrow them
like dum beasts and beastlie bassards. Therefore I
desire you, and in Gods name aduise you, rather to
studie to make them rich in godlie knowledge, and
vertuous qualities; than to take paine to glorifie
them with abundance of wooldie treasure, and
mundane superfluitie.

And certeinlie, when they come to ripenesse of
age, and shall peraduenture consider, that by your o-
mission and negligent education, they haue not such
graces, nor are indued with such notable qualities
as they might haue bene, if you had performed the
trust to you by me committed: they shall not onelie
deploze and lament their vngarnished estate, and na-
ked condition; but also it may fortune, that they shall
conceiue

conceine inwardlie against you such a negligent truth, that the sequels thereof may rather turne to displeasure than thanks, and sooner to an ingratitude than to a reward. By kingdome also I leane in your gouernance, during the minoritye of my children, charging you (on your honours oths and fidelitie made and sworn to me) so indifferentlie to order and gouerne the subiects of the same, both with iustice and mercie, that the wils of malefactorz haue not too large a scope, nor the hartes of the good people by too much extremitie be neither sorrowfullie damned, nor unkindlie kept vnder. Wh I am so sleepe, that I must make an end. And now befoze you all I commend my soule to almighty God my sauour and redeemer, my bodie to the woymes of the earth, my kingdome to the prince my sonne: and to you my louing frends my heart, my trust, and my whole confidence. [And euen with that he fell on sleepe.]

Having thus spoken, and set things in good state, as might be supposed, he shortly after departed this life at Westminster the ninth of Aprill, in the yere 1483, after he had reigned two and twentie yeres, one moneth, and eight daies. His bodie was with funerall pompe conueied to Windsor, and there buried. He left behind him issue by the queene his wife two sonnes, Edward and Richard, with five daughters; Elizabeth that was after queene, married to Henrie the seauenth; Cicilie married to the vicount Welles; Biaget a nunne professed in Sion or Dertford, as sir Thomas More saith; Anne married to the lord Thomas Howard, after earle of Surrie, and duke of Norfolk; Katharine wedded to the lord William Courtenie sonne to the earle of Denonshire. Beside these he left behind him likewise a base sonne named Arthur, that was after vicount Lisle. For the description of his person & qualities I will referre you to that which sir Thomas More hath written of him in that historie, which he wrote and left unfinished of his sonne Edward the first, and of his brother king Richard the third: which we shall (God willing) hereafter make you partaker of, as we find the same recorded among his other woakes, word for word; when first we haue (according to our begun order) rehearsed such writers of our nation as liued in his daies.

As first, Nicholas Berton bozne in Suffolke a Carmelit frier in Cippeswich, prouinciall of his order through England; Henrie Barker a Carmelit frier of Doncaster, preached against the pride of prelates, and for such doctrine as he set forth, was imprisoned with his fellow Thomas Holden, and a certeine blache frier also for the like cause; Barker was forced to recant thre speciall articles, as Bale noteth out of Leland; John Harding an esquier bozne in the north parts, wrote a chronicle in English verse, and among other speciall points therein touched, he gathered all the submissions and homages had and made by the Scottis kings, euen from the daies of king Athelstan (whereby it euidentlie may appeare, how the Scottis kingdome euen in manner from the first establishing thereof here in Britaine, hath bene appertaining vnto the kings of England, and holden of them as their chiefe & superiour lords.)

William Rue a doctor of diuinitie and prebendarie of saint Pauls in London; Thomas Wilton a diuine, and deane of the said church of Pauls in London; Julian Bemis, a gentlewoman indued with excellent gifts both of bodie and mind, wrote certeine treatises of hauking and hunting, delighting greatlie hir selfe in those exercises and pastimes;

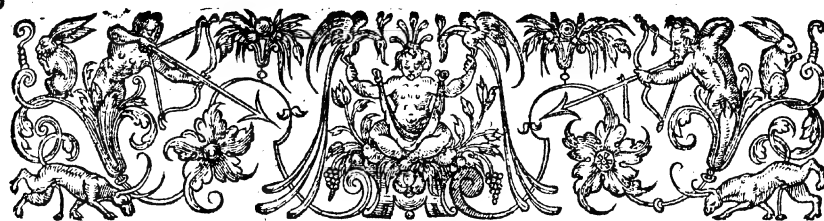
the wrote also a booke of the lawes of armes, and knowledge appertaining to heralds; John Stamberie bozne in the west parts of this realme, a Carmelit frier, and confessor to king Henrie the first, he was also maister of Eaton colledge, and after was made bishop of Bangor, and removed from thence to the see of Hereford; John Bluelie an Augustine frier, prouinciall of his order; John Forsecue a iudge and chancelor of England, wrote diuerse treatises concerning the law and politike gouernement.

Nicholas a Charterhouse monke bozne in London, of honest parents, and studied in the vniuersitie of Paris, he wrote diuerse epigrams; John Phreas bozne also in London was fellow of Balliol colledge in Orenford, and after went into Italie, where he heard Charinus that excellent philosopher read in Ferrara, he proued an excellent physician and a skillfull lawier, there was not in Italie (whilest he remained there) that passed him in eloquence & knowledge of both the tonges, Greeke and Latine; Walter Hunt a Carmelit frier, a great diuine, and for his excellencie in learning sent from the whole bodie of this realme, vnto the generall counsell holden first at Ferrara, and after at Florence by pope Eugenius the fourth, where he disputed among other with the Greeks, in defense of the order and ceremonies of the Latine church; Thomas Wighenball a monke of the order called Beimonstratensis in the abbey of Durham in Norfolk.

John Cuthorpe went into Italie, where he heard that eloquent learned man Guarinus read in Ferrara, after his comming home into England he was deane of Welles, and keeper of the papale seale; John Hambols an excellent musician, and for his notable cunning therein made doctor of musike; William Carton wrote a chronicle called *Fructus temporum*, and an appendix vnto Trevisa, beside diuerse other bookes and translations; John Spiluer-ton a Carmelit frier of Wyke, and prouinciall of his order through England, Ireland, and Scotland, at length (because he defended such of his order as preached against endowments of the church with temporall possessions) he was brought into trouble, committed to prison in castell S. Angelo in Rome, where he continued thre yeres, and at length was deliuered thorough certeine of the cardinals that were appointed his iudges; David Spogan a Welch man, treasurer of the church of Landaffe, wrote of the antiquities of Wales, & a description of the countrie.

John Tiptoft, a noble man bozne, a great traveler, excellentlie learned, and wrote diuerse treatises, and finally lost his head in the yere 1471, in time of the ciuill warre betwixt the houses of York and Lancaster; John Shirwood bishop of Durham; Thomas Bent an excellent philosopher; Robert Huggon bozne in Norfolk in a towne called Hardingham, wrote certeine vaine prophesies; John Sparfeld a learned physician; William Greene a Carmelit frier; Thomas Porton bozne in Wyke an alchemist; John Speare a monke of Norwich; Richard Portland bozne in Norfolk a Franciscane frier, and a doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Spilling a monke of Westminster, a doctor of diuinitie and preferred to the bishopricke of Hereford; Seogan a learned gentleman and student for a time in Oxford, of a pleasant wit, and bent to merrie deuisses, in respect whereof he was called into the court, where giuing himselfe to his naturall inclination of mirth & pleasant pastime, he played manie sporting parts, although not in such vnciuill maner as hath bene of him reported.

Thus farre the prosperous reigne of Edward the fourth, sonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke.



The historie of king Edward the fift, and king Richard the third vnfinished, wvritten

by maister Thomas More then one of the vnder shiriffes

of London, about the yeare of our Lord 1513, accor-

ding to a copie of his owne hand, printed
among his other workes.

1483

King Edward the fourth
of that name, after that he
had liued fiftie & thre yerres,
seuen moneths, and six daies,
and thereof reigned two and
twentie yeares, one moneth,
& eight daies, died at West-

minster the ninth daie of A-
prill, the yeare of our redemption, a thousand foure
hundred fourescore and thre; leauing much saire is-
sue, that is to wit, Edward the prince, a thirtene
yeares of age; Richard duke of Yorke two yeares
yonger; Elizabeth, whose fortune and grace was af-
ter to be queene, wife vnto king Henrie the seventh,
and mother vnto the eight; Cecillie, not so fortunate
as saire; Margaret, which representing the vertue of
hir, whose name she bare, professed and obserued a re-
ligious life in Werford, an house of close nunnies;
Anne, that was after honozable married vnto Tho-
mas, then lord Howard, and after earle of Surrie;
and Katharine, which long time tossed in either for-
tune, sometime in wealth, oft in aduersitie, at the
last, if this be the last (for yet she liueth) is by the be-
nignitie of hir nephue king Henrie the eight, in
verie prosperous estate, and woorthie hir birth and
vertue.

His liued at
such time as
the hope
was pruned.

The love of
the people.

This noble prince decessed at his palace of West-
minster, and with great funerall honoz and heauines
of his people from thence conueied, was interred at
Windsoz. A king of such gouernance & behauior, in
time of peace (for in warre each part must needs be o-
thers enimie) that there was neuer anie prince of
this land, attaining the crowne by battell, so hearti-
lie beloued with the substance of the people: no; hee
himselfe so speciallie in anie part of his life, as at the
time of his death. Which fauour and affection, yet af-
ter his decess, by the crueltie, mischief, and trou-
ble of the tempestuous world that folloved, highlie
toward him more increased. At such time as he died,
the displeasure of those that bare him grudge for king
Henries sake the first, whome he deposed, was well
allwaged, & in effect quenched, in that manie of them
were dead in more than twentie yerres of his reigne,
a great part of a long life: and manie of them in
the meane season growne into his fauour, of which
he was neuer strange.

Entertainment
of Edward
the fourth.

He was a goodlie personage, and princelie to be-
hold, of heart courageous, politike in counsell, in ad-
uersitie nothing abashed, in prosperitie rather ioyfull
than proud, in peace iust and mercifull, in warre
sharp and fierce, in the field bold and hardie, and na-
theles no further (than wisdome would) aduenturous,

whose warres who so well considered, he shall no lesse
commend his wisdom where he voided, than his
manhood where he vanquished. He was of visage
louelie, of bodie mightie, strong, and cleane made:
howbeit, in his latter daies with ouer liberall diet
somewhat corpulent and bozeli, and nathelesse not
vncamelie. He was of youth greatlie giuen to flesh-
lie wantonnesse: from which health of bodie, in great
prosperitie and fortune, without a speciall grace hard-
lie restraineth, the poet implieng no lesse and saieing:

*Mens erit apta capi tunc cum lassissima rerum,
Et seges in pingui luxuriabit humo.*

This fault not greatlie greued the people: for
neither could anie one mans pleasure stretch and ex-
tend to the displeasure of verie manie, and was with-
out violence, and ouer that in his latter daies lesseed,
and well left. In which time of his latter daies this
realme was in quiet and prosperous estate, no feare
of outward enimies, no warre in hand, no; none to-
ward, but such as no man looked for. The people to-
ward the prince, not in a constrained feare, but in a
willing and louing obedience: among themselves
the commons in good peace. The lords, whome hee
knew at variance, himselfe in his death had appea-
sed: he had left all gathering of monie (which is the
onelie thing that withdroweth the hearts of English
men from the prince) no; anie thing intended he to
take in hand, by which he should be diuerted therto: for
his tribute out of France he had before obteneid;
and the yeare foregoing his death, he had obteneid
Berwik.

And albeit that all the time of his reigne he was
with his people, so benigne, courteous, and so fami-
liar, that no part of his vertues was more esteemed:
yet the condition in the end of his daies (in which ma-
nie princes by a long continued souereigntie decline
into a proud port from debonaire behauior of their be-
ginning) marnellouslie in him grew and increased:
so farre forth, that in summer (the last that euer hee
saw) his highnes being at Windsoz in hunting, sent
for the mayo: & aldermen of London to him for none
other errand, but to haue them hunt & be merrie with
him, where he made them not so statelie, but so
frendlie and familiar cheere, and sent benison from
thence so frelie into the citie, that no one thing in
manie daies before gat him either more hearts, or
more heartie fauour amongst the common people;
which oftentimes more esteeme and take for greater
kindnesse a little courtesie, than a great benefit.

See before
pag. 705.

So decessed (as I haue said) this noble king, in
that time in which his life was most desired. Whose
loue of his people, and their entier affection towards
him,

him, had bene to his noble chyliden (haueing in themselves also as manie gifts of nature, as manie princelie vertues, as much goodlie towardnesse as their age could receiue) a maruellous fortresse and sure armoz, if diuision and dissention of their frends had not binarmed them, and left them destitute, and the erectable desire of soveraigntie prouoked him to their destruction: which if either kind of kindnesse had holden place, most needs haue bene their chiefe defense. For Richard the duke of Gloucester, by nature their vncle, by office their protector, to their father beholden, to themselves by oth and allegiance bounden, all the bands broken that bind man and man together, without anie respect of God or the world, vnaturallie contriued to betraie them, not onelie their dignitie, but also their liues.

But forsomuch as this dukes demeanour ministereth in effect all the whole matter thereof this booke shall intreat, it is therefore convenient somewhat to shew you per vce further go, what manner of man this was, that could find in his hart such mischief to conceiue. Richard duke of Yorke, a noble man and a mightie, began not by warre, but by law to chalenge the crowne, putting his claime into the parliament, where his cause was either for right or fauor: so farre forth aduanced, that king Henrie his bloud (albeit he had a goodlie prince) vtterlie reieted, the crowne was by authoritie of parliament intailed vnto the duke of Yorke and his issue male in remainder, immediately after the death of king Henrie. But the duke not induring so long to tarrie, but intending vnder pretext of dissention and debate arising in the realme, to preuent his time, and to take vpon him the rule in king Henrie his life, was with manie nobles of the realme at Wakefield slaine, leauing thre sonnes, Edward, George, and Richard.

All thre as they were great states of birth, so were they great and statelie of stomack, greedie and ambitious of authoritie, and impatient of partners. Edward reneging his fathers death, depriued king Henrie, and attained the crowne. George duke of Clarence was a goodlie noble prince, and at all times fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not set him against his brother, or the enuie of his enemies his brother against him. For were it by the queene and lordes of hir bloud, which highlie maligned the kings kinred (as women commonlie not of malice, but of nature hate them whome their husbands loue) or were it a proud appetite of the duke himselfe, intending to be king; at the least worse heinous treason was there laid to his charge: and finally, were hee faultie, were he faultlesse, attainted was he by parliament, and iudged to the death, and thereupon hastily drowned in a butt of malinsie. Whose death king Edward (albeit he commanded it) when he wist it was done, pitifully bewailed, and sorrowfullie repented.

Richard the third sonne, of whome we now intreat, was in wit and courage equall with either of them, in bodie and prowesse farre vnder them both, litle of stature, ill featured of limmes, crooke backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard fauoured of visage, and such as is in states called warlike, in other men otherwise; he was malicious, wrathfull, enuious, and from afore his birth ever stoward. It is for truth reported, that the duchesse his mother had so much adw in hir trauell, that he could not be deliuered of him vnent; and that he came into the world with the feet forward, as men be bozne outward, and (as the same runneth also) not vnnoted, whether men of hatred report about the truth, or else that nature changed hir course in his beginning, which in the course of his life manie things vnnaturallie committed, so that the full confluence of these

qualities, with the defects of fauour and amiable proportion, gaue proue to this rule of physiognomie;

Distortum vultum sequitur distorto morum.

None euill capteine was he in the warre, as to which his disposition was more meetly than for peace. Sundrie victories had he, & sometimes ouerthrowes; but neuer on default as for his owne person, either of hardnesse or politike order. Fre was he called of dispense, and somewhat about his power liberrall: with large gifts he gat him vnstedfast friendship, for which he was faine to pill and spoile in other places, and got him stedfast hatred. He was close and secret, a deepe dissembler, lowlie of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardlie compantable where he inwardlie hated, not letting to kille whome he thought to kill: despitious and cruell, not for euill will alway, but offer for ambition, and either for the lucre or increase of his estate.

Friend and so was much what indifferent, where his aduantage grew, he spared no mans death whose life withstode his purpose. He lue with his owne hands king Henrie the first, being prisoner in the Tower, as men constantlie said, and that without commandement or knowledge of the king, which would vndoubtedlie (if he had intended that king) haue appointed that butcherlie office to some other, than his owne bozne brother. Some wise men also wene, that his dist couertlie conueied, lacked not in helping forth his brother of Clarence to his death: which he resisted openlie, howbeit somewhat (as men deemed) more faintlie than he that were hartlie minded to his wealth.

And they that thus deeme, thinke that he long time in kings Edwards life forethought to be king; in case that the king his brother (whose life he looked that euill diet should shorten) should happen to deceasse (as in deed he did) while his chyliden were yong. And they deeme, that for this intent he was glad of his brothers death the duke of Clarence, whose life most needs haue hindered him so intending, whether the same duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephew the yong king, or enterprised to be king himselfe. But of all this point is there no certentie, and who so diuinely vpon coniectures, maie as well shot to farre as to short.

Howbeit this haue I by credible information learned, that the selfe night, in which king Edward died, one Gillesbroke, long yer morning, came in great hast to the house of one Pottier dwelling in Redcrosse-strete without Creplegate: and when he was with hastie rapping quickelie letten in, he shewed vnto Pottier, that king Edward was departed. By my truth man quoth Pottier, then will my maister the duke of Gloucester be king. What cause he had so to thinke, hard it is to saie; whether he being toward him, anie thing knew that he such thing purposed, or otherwise had anie incheling thereof: for he was not likelie to speake it of nought.

But now to retorne to the course of this history. Where it that the duke of Gloucester had of old foreminded this conclusion, or was now at erst thereunto moued, and put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the yong princes, his nephues (as oportunitie & likelihood of speed putteth a man in courage of that he neuer intended) certeine it is that he contriued their destruction, with the usurpation of the regall dignitie vpon himselfe. And forsomuch as he well wist and holpe to mainteine a long continued grudge and heart-burning betwene the queens kinred and the kings bloud, either partie enuenging others authoritie, he now thought that their diuision should be (as it was in deed) a furtherlie beginning to the pursuit of his intent.

May he was resolved, that the same was a sure ground

Richard duke of Yorke.

Edward.

George duke of Clarence.

* had not set

The description of Richard the third.

The death of king Edward the first.

Hadings lord chamberlaine maligned of the queene & her kin.

ground for the foundation of all his building, if he might first (vnder the pretext of reuenging of old displeasure) abate the anger and ignorance of the one partie to the destruction of the other; and then win to his purpose as manie as he could, and those that could not be wonne, might be lost per they looked therefore. For of one thing was he certeine, that if his intent were perceiued, he should soon haue made peace betwene both the parties with his owne blood. King Edward in his life, albeit that this dissention betwene his friends somewhat irked him: yet in his good health he somewhat the lesse regarded it: because he thought whatsoeuer businesse should fall betwene them, himselfe should alwaie be able to rule both the parties.

But in his last sickenesse, when he perceiued his naturall strength so foze infiebled, that he despaired all recouerie, then he, considering the youth of his children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrusted than that that hapned; yet well foreseeing that manie harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lacke discretion of themselves, & good counsell of their friends, of which either partie should counsell for their owne commoditie, & rather by pleasant aduise to win themselves fauor, than by profitable aduertisement to doo the children good, he called some of them before him that were at variance, and in especiall the lord marquesse Dorset the quenees sone by his first husband.

So did he also William the lord Hastings a noble man, then lord chamberleine, against whome the quene speciallie grudged, for the great fauour the king bare him: and also for that she thought him so cretelle familiar with the king in wanton companie. His kinned also bare him foze, as well for that the king had made him capteine of Calis, which office the lord Rivers, brother to the quene, claimed of the kings former promise, as for diuerse other great gifts which he receiued, that they looked for. When these lords, with diuerse other of both the parties, were come in presence, the king sitting by himselfe, and vnder set with pillowes, as it is reported, on this wise said vnto them.

The oration of the king on
his death-bed.



My lords, my dære kinsmen and allies, in what plight I lie you see, and I feele. By which the lesse while I looke to liue with you, the more depelie am I moued to care in what case I leaue you, for such as I leaue you, such be my children like to find you. Which if they should (as God forbid) find you at variance, might hap to fall themselves at warre, yet their discretion would serue to set you at peace. Ye see their youth, of which I reckon the onelie suertie to rest in your concord. For it sufficeth not that all you loue them, if ech of you hate other: if they were men, your faithfulnessse happilie woulde suffice. But childhood must be maintained by mens authority, and slipper youth vnderpropped with elder counsell, which neither they can haue but ye giue it, nor ye giue it if ye graue not.

For where ech labourer to breake that the other maketh, and for hatred of ech of others person impugnech ech others counsell, there must it needs be long yet a-

nie good conclusion go forward. And also while either partie labourer to be chere, flatterie shall haue more place than plaine and faithfull aduise: of which must needs insue the euill bringing by of the prince, whose mind in tender youth infect, shall redilie fall to mischæse and riot, and draw downe with his noble relme to ruine. But if grace turne him to wisedome: which if God send, then they that by euill meanes before pleased him best, shall after fall furthest out of fauour: so that euer at length euill drifts shall draw to nought, and good plaine waies prosper.

Great variance hath there long bene betwene you, not alwaie for great causes. Sometimes a thing right well intended, our misconstruction turneth vnto woe; or a small displeasure done vs, either our owne affection or euill tongs aggraueth. But this wot I well, ye neuer had so great cause of hatred, as ye haue of loue. That we be all men, that we be christian men, this shall I leaue for preachers to tell you; and yet I wot naue whether anie preachers words ought more to moue you, than his that is by & by going to the place that they all preach of.

But this shall I desire you to remember, that the one part of you is of my blood, the other of mine allies; and ech of you with other either of kinned or affinitie; which spirituall kinned of affinitie, if the sacraments of Christs church beate that weight with vs that would God they did, should no lesse moue vs to charitie, than the respect of fleshlie consanguinitie. Our Lord forbid, that you loue together the woe, for the selfe cause that you ought to loue the better. And yet that happeneth, and no where find we so deadlie debate, as among them, which by nature and law most ought to agree together. Such a pestilent serpent is ambition and desire of haine glorie and soveraigntie, which among states where she once entereth, creepeth forth so farre, till with diuision and variance she turneth all to mischæse: first longing to be next vnto the best, after ward equall with the best, & at last chæse and aboue the best.

Of which immoderat appetite of worship, and thereby of debate and dissention, what losse, what sorow, what trouble hath within these few yeares growne in this realme, I prae God as well forget, as we well remember. Which things if I could as well haue foreseen, as I haue with my more paine than pleasure proued, by Gods blessed ladie (that was euer his oth) I would neuer haue wonne the courtellie of mens knees, with the losse of so manie heads. But sithens things passed can not be gaine called, much ought we the more beware, by what occasion we haue taken so great hurt afoze, that we eftsones fall not in that occasion againe.

Now be those greifs passed, and all is (God be thanked) quiet, and likelie right well to prosper in wealthfull peace vnder

A a a. i. your

The nature
of ambition.

your cousing my children, if God send them life and you loue. Of which two things, the lesse losse were they, by whom though God did his pleasure, yet should the realme alwaie find kings, and peradventure as good kings.

But if you among your selues in a childes reigne fall at debate, manie a good man shall perishe, and happilie he too, and ye too, yer this land find peace againe. Wherefore in these last wordes that euer I looke to speake with you, I exhort you and require you all, for the loue that you haue euer borne to me: for the loue that I haue euer borne vnto you: for the loue that our Lord beareth to vs all: from this time forward (all griefs forgotten) ech of you loue other. Which I verelie trust you will, if ye anie thing earthlie regard, either God or your king, affinitie or kindred, this realme, your owne countrie, or your owne liuertie. And therewithall the king no longer induring to sit by, laid him downe on his right side, his face towards them: and none was there present that could refraine from weeping.

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ment.

But the lords recomforting him with as good words as they could, and answering for the time as they thought to stand with his pleasure, there in his presence, as by their wordes appeared, ech forgave other, and ioined their hands together, when (as it after appeared by their deeds) their hearts were farre asunder. As some as the king was departed, the noble prince his sonne drew toward London, which at the time of his decesse kept his household at Ludlow in Wales, which countrie being farre off from the law and recourse to iustice, was begun to be farre out of good rule, and warden wild robbers and reauers, wal-king at libertie uncorrected. And for this occasion the prince was in the life of his father sent thither, to the end that the authoritie of his presence should re- fraine euill disposed persons from the boldnesse of their former outrages.

Lord Rivers.

As to the gouernance and ordering of this yong prince at his sending thither, was there appointed sir Anthoine Woodville lord Rivers, and brother vnto the queene, a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as politike in counsell. Adioined were there vnto him other of the same partie, and in effect euerie one as he was next of kin vnto the queene, so was he planted next about the prince. That day by the queene not vniuerselie denised, whereby his blood might of youth be rooted into the princes fauour, the duke of Gloucester turned vnto their destruction; and vpon that ground set the foundation of all his unhappie building. For whome soeuer he perceived ether at variance with them, or bearing himselfe their fauour, he brake vnto them some by mouth, & some by writing.

The duke of
Gloucesters
solicitations.

For he sent secret messengers saying, that it nei- ther was reason, nor in anie wise to be suffered, that the yong king their maister and kinsman, should be in the hands and custodie of his mothers kindred, se- questred in maner from their companie and atten- dance, of which euerie one ought him as faithfull ser- vice as they, and manie of them farre more honou- rable part of kin than his mothers side. Whose blood (quoth he) sauing the kings pleasure, was full vi- meetelie to be matched with his: which now to be as who say removed from the king, and the lesse noble to be left about him, is (quoth he) neither honourable to

his maiestie nor to vs, and also to his grace no lier- tie, to haue the mightiest of his friends from him; and vnto vs no little ieopardie, to suffer our well proued euill willers to grow in ouer-great authoritie with the prince in youth; namely, which is light of beleefe and some perswaded.

For remember (I trow) king Edward himselfe, al- beit he was a man of age & discretion, yet was he in manie things ruled by the bend, more than stood ei- ther with his honoz, or our profit, or with the comod- itie of any man else, except onlie the immoderate ad- uancement of themselves. Which, whether they for- thirshed after their owne weale, or our too, it were hard (I weene) to gesse. And if some folks friendship had not holden better place with the king, than anie respect of kindred, they might peradventure easilie haue betrayed and brought to confusion some of vs yer this. Why not as easilie as they haue done some other alreadie, as nere of his roiall blood as we? But our Lord hath wrought his will, and thanks be to his grace that perill is past. Whobeyt as great is growling, if we suffer this yong king in our enemies hand, which without his witting might abuse the name of his commandement, to anie of our wond- ring, which thing God defend and good prouision forbid.

Of which good prouision none of vs hath anie thing the lesse need, for the late made attonement, in which the kings pleasure had more place than the parties willes. For none of vs (I beleue) is so vniuersal, ouer- some to trust a new freend made of an old fo; or to thinke that an hourlie kindnes, suddenlie contracted in one houre, continued yet scant a fortnight, should be deeper settled in their stomachs, than a long ac- customed malice manie yeares rooted. With these wordes and writings, and such other, the duke of Glo- cester some set on fire them that were of themselves easie to kindle, & in speciallie twaine, Edward duke of Buckingham, and William lord Hastings then chamberleine, both men of honour & of great power; the one by long succession from his ancestrie, the o- ther by his office and the kings fauour. These two, I content in not bearing ech to other so much loue, as hatred both vnto the queenes part: in this point accorded to- gether with the duke of Gloucester, that they would vi- terlie remoue from the kings companie all his mo- thers friends, vnder the name of their enemies.

Vpon this concluded the duke of Gloucester, vnderstanding that the lords, which at that time were about the king, intended to bring him by to his cor- nation accompanied with such power of their friends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe, without the gathering and great assemblie of people and in maner of open warre, whereof the end (he wist) was doubtfull, and in which the king being on their side, his part should haue the face and name of a rebellion: he secretlie therefore by diuers means caused the queene to be perswaded and brought in the mind, that it neither were need, and also should be ieopardous, the king to come by strong.

For whereas now euerie lord loued other, and none other thing studied vpon, but about the corona- tion and honoz of the king: if the lords of his kindred should assemblie in the kings name much people, they should giue the lords, betwixt whom and them had bene sometime debate, to feare and suspect, least they should gather this people, not for the kings safeguard, whome no man impugned, but for their destruction, hauing more regard to their old variance, than their new attonement. For which cause they should assem- ble on the other partie much people againe for their defense, whose power the wist well far stretched: and thus should all the realme fall on a roze. And of all the hurt that thereof should insue, which was likelie not

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not to be little, and the most harme there like to fall where the least would, all the world would put hir and hir kinde in the tought, and saie that they had vn-willie and vntriste also broken the amitie & peace, that the king hir husband so prudentlie made, betwene his kin and hers in his death bed, and which the other partie faithfullie obserued.

The queene, being in this wise perswaded, such word sent vnto hir sonne, and vnto hir brother being about the king, and ouer that the duke of Gloucester himselfe: and other lords the chiefe of his bend, wrote vnto the king so reuerentlie, and to the queenes frends here so louinglie, that they nothing earthlie mistrusting, brought the king vp in great haile, not in good speed, with a sober companie. Now was the king in his waie to London gone from Northampton, when these dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham came thither, where remained behind the lord Rivers the kings vnkle, intending on the morrow to follow the king, and to be with him at Stonie Stratford (certeine) miles thence earlie per he departed. So was there made that night much frendlie chere betwene these dukes & the lord Rivers a great while. But incontinent, after that they were openlie with great courtesie departed, and the lord Rivers lodged, the dukes secretlie with a few of their most priue frends set them downe in counsell, wherein they spent a great part of the night.

And at their rising in the dawning of the daie, they sent about priuie to their seruants in their houses lodgings about, giuing them commandement to make themselves shortlie readie, for their lords were to haste backward. Upon which messages, manie of their folke were attendant, when manie of the lord Rivers seruants were vnreadie. Now had these dukes taken also into their custodie the keyes of the citie, that none should passe forth without their licence. And ouer this, in the high waie toward Stonie Stratford, where the king lay, they had besworne certeine of their folke, that should send backe againe, and compell to returne, anie man that were gotten out of Northampton, toward Stonie Stratford, till they should giue other licence. For as much as the dukes themselves intended for the shew of their diligence, to be the first that should that daie attend vpon the kings highnesse out of that towne, thus bare they folke in hand.

But when the lord Rivers vnderstood the gates closed, and the waies on euerie side beset, neither his seruants nor himselfe suffered to gone out, perceiving well so great a thing without his knowledge not begun for naught, comparing this manner present with this last nights chere, in so few houres so great a change, maruellouslie misliked. Notwithstanding he could not get awaie, and kepe himselfe close, he would not, least he should seeme to hide himselfe for some secret feare of his owne fault, whereof he saw no such cause in himselfe; he determined vpon the suertie of his owne conscience, to go boldlie to them, and inquire what this matter might meane. Whom as soon as they saw, they began to quarrell with him and saie, that he intended to set distance betwene the king and them, and to bring them to confusion, but it should not lie in his power.

And when he began (as he was a verie well spoken man) in goodlie wise to excuse himselfe, they tarried not the end of his answer, but shortlie took him, and put him in ward, and that done, forthwith went to horsebacke, and took the waie to Stonie Stratford, where they found the king with his companie, ready to leape on horsebacke, and depart forward to leaue that lodging for them, because it was too streight for both companies. And as soon as they came in his presence, they light adoune with all their

companie about them. To whome the duke of Buckingham said: So afoze gentlemen, & yemen keepe your romes. And thus in a goodlie arae, they came to the king, and on their knees in verie humble wise saluted his grace, which receiued them in verie iolous and amiable manner, nothing earthlie knowing nor mistrusting as yet.

But euen by and by in his presence they pik'd a quarrell to the lord Richard Greie, the kings other brother by his mother, saleng, that he with the lord marquesse his brother, & the lord Rivers his vnkle, had compassed to rule the king and the realme, and to set variance among the states, and to subdue and destroe the noble blood of the Realme. Toward the accomplishing wherof they said that the lord marquesse had entered into the Tower of London, & thence taken out the kings treasure, and sent men to the sea. All which things these dukes with well were done for good purposes and necessarie, by the whole counsell at London, sauing that somewhat they must saie.

Vnto which words the king answered: What my brother marquesse hath done I cannot saie, but in good faith I dare well answer for mine vnkle Rivers and my brother here, that they be innocent of anie such matter. Yea my liege (quoth the duke of Buckingham) they haue kept their dealing in these matters farre fro the knowledge of your good grace. And forthwith they arrested the lord Richard and sir Thomas Vaughan knight, in the kings presence; and brought the king and all backe vnto Northampton, where they took againe further counsell. And there they sent awaie from the king, whom it pleased them, and set new seruants about him, such as liked better them than him. At which dealing he wept, and was nothing content; but it voked not.

And at dinner, the duke of Gloucester sent a dish from his owne table vnto the lord Rivers, praising him to be of good chere: all should be well inough. And he thanked the duke, and praised the messenger to beare it to his nephew the lord Richard, with the same message for his comfort, who he thought had more need of comfort, as one to whome such aduersitie was strange. But himselfe had bene all his daies in the therewith, & therefore could beare it the better. But for all this comfortable courtesie of the duke of Gloucester, he sent the lord Rivers, and the lord Richard, with sir Thomas Vaughan into the north countrie, into diuerse places to prison, and afterward all to Pomfret, where they were in conclusion beheaded.

In this wise the duke of Gloucester took vpon himselfe the order and gouernance of the young king, whome with much honor and humble reuerence he conueied vnto the citie. But anon, the tidings of this matter came hastilie to the queene a little before the midnight following, and that in the sozest wise, that the king hir son was taken, his brother, hir sonne, & his other frends arrested, and sent no man with thither, to be done with God wot what. With which tidings the queene in great sight & heavinesse, bewailing hir childe reigne, his frends mischance, and his owne infortune, damming the time that euer she dissuaded the gathering of power about the king, gat hir selfe in all the hast possible with hir younger sonne and his daughters out of the palace of Westminster, in which she then laie, into the sanctuarie, lodging hir selfe and his companie there in the abbats place.

Now came there one in likewise not long after midnight from the lord chamberleine, to doctor Rotherham the archbishop of Yorke, then chancellor of England, to his place not farre from Westminster. And for that he shewed his seruants that he had tidings of so great importance, that his master gaue

A a a y. him

The lord Greie is quarrelled against.

The death of the lord Rivers & other.

The queene taketh sanctuary.

The prisoners of the duke of Buckingham & Gloucester.

The lord Rivers put in ward.

him in charge, not to forbear his rest, they letted not to wake him, nor he to admit this messenger in, to his bed side. Of whom he heard that these dukes were gone backe with the kings grace from Stonie Stratford vnto Northampton. Notwithstanding sir (quoth he) my lord sendeth your lordship word, that there is no feare: for he assureth you that all shall be well. I assure him (quoth the archbishop) be it as well as it will, it will neuer be so well as we haue seene it.

And there vpon, by and by after the messenger departed, he caused in all the hall all his seruants to be called by, and so with his owne household about him, and euery man weaponed, he toke the great seals with him, and came yet before daie vnto the queene. About whom he found much heauinesse, rumble, haile and businesse, cartage and conueiance of hir stuffe in to sanctuarie, chests, coffers, packs, parcels, trussed all on mens backs, no man vnoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some coming for more, some breaking downe the walles to bring in the next waile, and some yet drew to them that holpe to carrie a wrong waile: such made their lucre of others losse, praiising a botie aboue beantie, to whome the poets verse may be well applied, to wit:

Ferreus non Venere sed pradam sacula laudant.

Tibul. lib. 2.
eleg. 3.

The desolate
state of the
queene.

The queene hir selfe late alone alote on the rushes all desolate and dismaide, whome the archbishop comforted in best manner he could, shewing hir that he trusted the matter was nothing so soze as she toke it for, and that he was put in good hope and out of feare by the message sent him from the lord chamberleine. Ah two worth him (quoth she) for he is one of them that laboureth to deströie me and my bloud. Spadame (quoth he) be ye of god chere, for I assure you, if they crowne anie other king than your sonne, whome they now haue with them, we shall on the morowe crowne his brother, whome you haue here with you. And here is the great seale, which in likewise as that noble prince your husband deliuered it vnto me; so here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vse and behoufe of your sonne: and therewith he betoke hir the great seale, and departed home againe, yet in the dawning of the daie.

By which time, he might in his chamber window see all the Thames full of boates of the duke of Glocesters seruants, watching that no man should go to sanctuarie, nor none could passe vnsearched. When was there great commotion and murmur, as well in other places about, as speciallie in the citie, the people diuerlie diuining vpon this dealing. And some lords, knights, and gentlemen, either for fauour of the queene, or for feare of themselves, assembled in sundrie companies, and went stockmele in harnesse: and many also, for that they reckoned this demeanour attempted, not so speciallie against the other lords, as against the king himselfe in the disturbance of his coronation. But then by and by the lords assembled together at [a certaine place.]

Toward which meeting, the archbishop of Poike fearing that it would be ascribed (as it was indeed) to his ouermuch lightnesse, that he so suddenlie had yielded by the great seale to the queene, to whome the custodie thereof nothing pertained, without especiall commandement of the king, secretlie sent for the seale againe, and brought it with him after the conuenable manner. And at this meeting the lord Hastings (whose trust toward the king no man doubted, nor needed to doubt) perswaded the lords to beleue, that the duke of Gloucester was sure and faithfull to his prince, and that the lord Riuer, and lord Richard with the other knights, were for matters attempted by them against the duke of Gloucester and Buckingham, put vnder arrest for their surtie, not for the kings leoparchie: and that they were also in safeguard,

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and there no longer should remaine, than till the matter were, not by the dukes onelie, but also by all the other lordes of the kings counsell indifferently examined, & by others discretions ordered, and either iudged or appealed.

But one thing he aduised them beware, that they iudged not the matter too farre forth, yet they knew the truth, nor hurrying their private grudges into the common hurt, irritating and prouoking men vnto anger, and disturbing the kings coronation, towards which the dukes were coming by, that they might peraduenture bring the matter so farre out of ioint, that it should neuer be brought in frame againe. Which strife if it should hap as it were likely to come to a field, though both parties were in all other things equal, yet should the authoritie be on that side where the king is himselfe. With these perswasions of the lord Hastings, whereof part himselfe beleued, of part he wist the contrarie, these commotions were somewhat appeased. But speciallie by that, that the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham were so nere and came so shortly on with the king, in none other manner, with none other voice or semblance than to his coronation, causing the same to be blown about, that these lords and knights which were taken, had contriued the destruction of the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, and of other the noble blood of the realme, to the end that themselves would alone demean and gouerne the king at their pleasure.

And for the colourable pöse thereof, such of the dukes seruants as rode with the carts of their stuffe that were taken (among which stuffe, no maruell though some were harnesse, which at the breaking by of that household must needs either be brought alwaie or cast alwaie) they shewed vnto the people all the waies as they went; & so here be the barrels of harnesse that these traitors had priuillie conueid in their carriage to deströie the noble lords withall. This deuillish abett that it made the matter to wise men more bulkeles, well perceiving that the intendours of such a purpose would rather haue had their harnesse on their backs, than to haue bound them vp in barrels, yet much part of the common people were therewith verie well satisfied, and said it were almesse to hang them.

When the king approached nere to the citie, Edmund Shau goldsmith, then maior, with William White, and John Spathe the shiriffes, and all the other aldermen in scarlet, with foue hundred boile of the citizens, in violet, receiued him reuerentlie at Harnele; and riding from thence accompanied him in to the citie, which he entered the fourth daie of Maie, the first and last yeare of his reigne. But the duke of Gloucester bare him in open sight so reuerentlie to the prince, with all semblance of lowlinesse, that from the great obloquie in which he was so late before, he was suddenlie fallen in so great trust, that at the counsell next assembled he was made the onelie man, chosen and thought most meet to be protector of the king and his realme, so that (were it desirous or were it folle) the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to keepe.

At which counsell also, the archbishop of Poike chancelor of England, which had deliuered by the great seale to the queene, was thereof greatlie repproued, and the seale taken from him, and deliuered to doctor Russell bishop of Lincolne, a wise man and a good, and of much experience, and one of the best learned men vndoubtedlie that England had in his time. Diuerse lords and knights were appointed by the diuerse comes. The lord chamberleine and some other kept still their offices that they had before. Now all were it so that the protector so soze thirsted for the finishing of that he had begun, that thought euery daie a yeare till it were achieved; yet durst he no further

The protectors
operation.

The lord car-
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The kings
communion in
London.

The duke of
Gloucester
made priuillie
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The bishop of
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her attempt, as long as he had but halfe his preie in his hand.

And why? Well did he wiet, that if he deposed the one brother, all the realme would fall to the other, if he either remained in sanctuarie, or should happilie be thortlie conueied to his fathers libertie. Wherefore incontinent at the next meeting of the lords at the counsell, he proposed to them, that it was a heinous deed of the quene, & proceeding of great malice to- ward the kings counsellors, that she should keepe in sanctuarie the kings brother from him, whose speci- 10 all pleasure & comfort were to haue his brother with him. And that by hir done to none other intent, but to bring all the lords in obloquie and murmur of the people.

As though they were not to be trusted with the kings brother, that by the assent of the nobles of the land, were appointed as the kings nearest friends, to the tuition of his owne roiall person. The prosperitie thereof standeth (quoth he) not all in keeping from e- 20 nimies, or ill vi and, but partlie also in recreation, and moderate pleasure: which he cannot (in this tender youth) take in the companie of ancient persons, but in the familiar conuersation of those that be neither farre vnder, nor farre aboue his age: and neuerthe- lesse of estate conuenient to accompanie his noble maiestie. Wherefore, with whom rather, than with his owne brother?

And if anie man thinke this consideration light (which I thinke none thinks that loues the king) let 30 him consider, that sometime without small things, greater cannot stand. And verelie, it redoundeth greatlie to the dishonour both of the kings highnesse, and of all vs that beue about his grace, to haue it run in euerie mans mouth, not in this realme onlie, but also in other lands (as euill words walke far) that the kings brother should be faine to keepe sanc- tuarie. For euerie man will weene, that no man will so do for naught. And such euill opinion once fastned in mens harts, hard it is to loose out, and may grow 40 to more graue than anie man can here diuine.

Wherefore me thinketh it were not impossible to send vnto the quene, for the redress of this matter, some honorable trustie man, such as both tempereth the kings weale and the honour of his counsell, and is also in fauour and credence with hir. For all which con- siderations, none seemeth more meetlie, than our reuerend father here present, my lord cardinal, who may in this matter do most good of anie man, if it please him to take the paine; which I doubt not of his goodnesse he will not refuse for the kings sake and ours, and welch of the young duke himselfe, the kings most honorable brother, and (after my soueraigne lord himselfe) my most deere neyphew, considered that thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumour and ob- loquie now going, and the harts anoided that thereof might influe, and much rest and quiet grow to all the realme.

And if the be percase so obstinate, and so precise lie set vpon his owne will, that neither his wiife and 60 faithful aduertisement can not moue hir, nor anie mans reason content hir; then shall we by mine ad- uise, by the kings authoritie fetch him out of that pri- son, and bring him to his noble presence, in whose con- tinuall companie he shall be so well cherished and so honorable intreated, that all the world shall to our honour and hir reproch perceiue, that it was onelie malice, frowardnesse, or follie, that caused hir to keepe him there. This is my purpose and mind in this matter for this time, except anie of your lordships a- nie thing perceiue to the contrarie; for neuer shall I (by Gods grace) so loed my selfe to mine owne will, but that I shall be readie to change it vpon your bet- ter aduises.

When the protector had said, all the counsell affir- med, that the motion was good and reasonable; and to the king and the duke his brother, honorable; and a thing that should cease great murmur in the realme, if the mother might be by good means induced to de- liuer him. Which thing the archbishop of Pothe, whome they all agreed also to be thereto most conue- nient, took vpon him to moue hir, and therein to do his uttermost deuoir. Whowbeit, if she could be in no wise intreated with hir good will to deliuer him, then thought he, and such other as were of the spiritu- alitie present, that it were not in anie wise to be at- tempted to take him out against hir will.

For it should be a thing that would turne to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the priuilege of that holie place should now be broken, which had so manie yeares be kept, which both kings and popes so good had granted, so manie had confirmed, and which holie ground was more 20 than five hundred yeares ago (by saint Peter in his owne person in spirit accompanied with great mul- titudes of angels by night) so speciallie halowed, & dedicated to God (for the prouise wherof, they haue yet in the abbete saint Peters cope to shew) that from that time hithertoward, was there neuer so vnbekont a king that durst that sacred place violate, or so holie a bishop that durst it presume to consecrate.

And therefore (quoth the archbishop of Pothe) God forbid that anie man should for anie thing earthlie, enterprise to breake the immunitie & libertie of the sacred sanctuarie, that hath bene the safeguard of so manie a god mans life. And I trust (quoth he) with Gods grace, we shall not need it. But for anie maner need, I would not we should do it. I trust that the 30 shall be with reason contented, and all things in god maner obtained. And if it happen that I bring it not so to passe, yet shall I toward it so farre forth do my best, that ye shall all well perceiue, that no lacke of my deuoir, but the mothers deead and womanish 40 feare shall be the let.

Womanish feare, naie womanish frowardnes (quoth the duke of Buckingham.) For I dare take it vpon my soule, she well knoweth she needeth no such thing to feare, either for hir son or for hir selfe. For as for hir, here is no man that will be at war with wo- men. Would God some of the men of hir kin were women too, & then should all be some in rest. Whowbeit there is none of hir kin the lesse loued, for that they be hir kin, but for their owne euill deserting. And na- thelesse, if we loued neither hir nor hir kin, yet were there no cause to thinke that wee should hate the kings noble brother, to whose grace we our selues be of kin. Whose honor, if the as much desired as our dishonor, and as much regard took to his wealth as to hir owne will, she would be as loth to suffer him to be absent from the king, as anie of vs be. For if she haue anie wit (as would God she had as god will as she hath shewd wit) she reckoneth hir selfe no wiser than she thinketh some that be here, of whose faithfull mind she nothing doubteth, but verelie beleueth and knoweth, that they would be as loze of his harme as hir selfe, and yet would haue him from hir if she bide there: and we all (I thinke) contented, that both be with hir, if she come thence, and bide in such place where they may with their honors be. Now then, if she refuse in the deliuerance of him, to follow the counsell of them, whose wisdom she knoweth, whose truth she well trusteth: it is easie to perceiue, that frowardnesse letteth hir, and not feare. But go to, suppose that the feare (as who maie let hir to feare hir owne shadow) the more she feareth to deliuer him, the more ought we feare to leaue him in hir hands, 60 For if the cast such fond doubts, that she feare his hurt: then will she feare that he shall be set thence.

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For

Reasons why it was not thought meet to fetch the quens son out of sanctuarie.

The duke of Buckingham words against the quene.

The lord card-
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The kings
comming to
London.

The duke of
Glocester
made prouy-
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The bishop of
Lincolne
made lord
chancelor.

For the will some thinke, that if men were set (which God forbid) upon so great a mischief, the sanctuary would little let them: which god men might (as me thinketh) without sinne somewhat less regard than they do. Now then, if the doubt, least he might be fetched from him, is it not likeli enough that the shall send him some where out of the realme? Wherelic I loke for none other. And I doubt not, but the now as soze mindeth it, as we the let thereof. And if the might happen to bring that to passe (as it were no great maiestie, the letting him alone) all the world would saie, that we were a wise sort of counsellors about a king, that let his brother be cast awaie under our noses.

And therefore, I insure you faithfullie for my mind, I will rather (manger his mind) fetch him awaie, than leave him there, till his forwardnesse and fond feare conueie him awaie. And yet will I breake no sanctuary therfore. For verely, sith the privileges of that place, and other like, haue bene of long continued, I am not he that would be about to breake them. And in god faith, if they were now to begin, I would not be he that should be about to make them. Yet will I not say naie, but that it is a deed of pittie, that such men as the sea, or their euill debtors haue brought in pouertie, should haue some place of libertie, to keepe their bodies out of danger of their cruell creditors.

And also, if the crowne happen (as it hath done) to come in question, while either part taketh other as traitors, I will well there be some places of refuge for both. But as for theues, of which these places be full, and which neuer fall from the craft, after they once fall thereto, it is pittie the sanctuary should serue them. And much more, mankillers, whome God had to take from the altar and kill them, if their murder were wilfull. And where it is otherwise, there need we not the sanctuaries that God appointed in the old law. For if either necessitie, his owne defense, or misfortune dyaue him to that deed, a pardon serueth, which either the law granteth of course, or the king of pittie maie. When loke we now how few sanctuary men there be, whome anie fauourable necessitie compelled to go thither. And then se on the other side, what a sort there be commonlie therein of them, whom wilfull bruthers innesse hath brought to naught.

What a rabble of theues, murderers, and malicious heinous traitors, and that in two places speciallic; the one at the elbow of the citie, the other in the verie bolweis. I dare well auow it, weie the god that they do, with the hurt that cometh of them, and ye shall find it much better to lacke both, than haue both. And this I saie, although they were not abused as they now be, & so long haue be, that I feare me euer they will be, while men be afraid to set their hands to the mendement, as though God & S. Peter were the patrones of vngratious liuing. Now bruthers riot & run in debt, upon boldnesse of these places, pea, and rich men run thither with more mens goods, there they build, there they spend, & bid there creditors go whistle them. Mens wifes run thither with their husbands plate, & saie they dare not abide with their husbands for beating. Theues bring thither their stolen goods, and there liue thereon.

There deuise they new robberies, nightlie they scale out, they rob, and reave, and kill, and come in againe, as though those places gaue them not onelie a safeguard for the harme they haue done, but a licence also to do more. Howbeit, much of this mischief (if wise men would set their hands to it) might be amended, with great thanks to God, and no breach of the privilege. The residue, sith so long ago, I wrote here that pope, and that prince more pitious than politike, hath granted it, & other men since, of a cer-

teine religious feare, haue not broken it, let vs take a paine therewith, and let it a Gods name stand in force, as saith forth as reason will, which is not fullie so farre forth, as may serue to let vs of the fetching forth of this noble man to his honor and wealth, out of that place, in which he neither is, nor can be a sanctuary man.

A sanctuary serueth alwaie to defend the bodie of that man that standeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt onlie, but also of lawfull hurt: for against vnlawfull harmes, neuer pope nor king intended to priuilege anie one place, for that priuilege hath euerie place. Knoweth anie man, anie place wherein it is lawfull one man to do another wrong? That no man vnlawfullie take hurt, that libertie, the king, the law, and verie nature forbiddeth in euerie place, and maketh (to that regard) for euerie man euerie place a sanctuary. But where a man is by lawfull means in perill, there needeth he the tuition of some speciall priuilege, which is the onelie ground and cause of all sanctuaries.

From which necessitie, this noble prince is farre, whose loue to his king, nature and kindred prometh; whose innocence to all the world, his tender youth prometh; and so sanctuary, as for him, neither none he needeth, nor also none can haue. Men come not to sanctuary, as they come to baptism, to require it by their godfathers; he must aske it himselfe that must haue it, and reason; sith no man hath cause to haue it, but whose conscience of his owne fault maketh him faine, need to require it. What will then hath ponder babe, which and if he had discretion to require it, if need were, I dare say would now be right angrie with them that keepe him there. And I would thinke without anie scruple of conscience, without anie breach of priuilege, to be somewhat more homelie with them that be there sanctuary men in deed.

For if one go to sanctuary with another mans goods, whie should not the king, leauing his bodie at libertie, satisfie the partie of his goods, even within the sanctuary? For neither king nor pope can giue anie place such a priuilege, that it shall discharge a man of his debts, being able to paie. And with that, diuerse of the clergie that were present (whether they said it for his pleasure, or as they thought) agreed plainelie, that by the law of God, and of the church, the goods of a sanctuary man should be deliuered in payment of his debts, and stolen goods to the owner, and onlie libertie reserved him to get his liuing with the labor of his hands.]

Wherelic (quoth the duke) I thinke you say verie truth. And what if a mans wife will take sanctuary, because she list to run fro his husband, I would woe if she could alledge none other cause, he maie lawfully without anie displeasure to saint Peter, take her out of saint Peters church by the arme. And if no bodie maie be taken out of sanctuary, that saith he will bide there; then if a child will take sanctuary, because he feareth to go to schole, his maister must let him alone. And as simple as that sample is, yet is there lesse reason in out case than in that; for therein, though it be a childish feare, yet is there at the least some feare, and herein is there none at all. And wherelic, I haue often heard of sanctuary men, but I neuer heard earst of sanctuary children.

And therefore, as for the conclusion of my mind, who so maie haue deserved to need it, if they thinke it for their suertie, let them keepe it. But he can be no sanctuary man, that neither hath wisdom to desire it, nor malice to deserue it; whose life or libertie can by no lawfull processe stand in teopardie. And he that taketh one out of sanctuary to do him good, I saie plainlie, that he breakeeth no sanctuary. When the duke had done, the temporall men of the court, and a good part

part of the meant to be fed, that if they. Whobding of all should first

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When it ther in presi that it was whole coun in that plac not onelie t obloquie; l pleasure of it were as l brother in c and all thei rie, as thou rill of the of were they si that the wo; kindred and e holo they ke tuall amitie commoditie use, comfort

Qualige 0.

The cardi cell therfore deliuerie of l kings presen they reckone meared acco ing, should be to the couni friends that i will well th comfort and duke himself together, as u their both dis esteemed no f ring that thei cannot indu ence of both that point si other.

App loz (that it were i whome ye re brother: and great comm bene in the c considered of ponger, whid god looking t ed with sickn mended, than

Of sanctua- ries.

Westminster and saint Marins.

The abuse of sanctuaries.

Protectoy.

The quenes auow.

part of the spirituall also, thinking no hurt earthlie meant toward the yong babe; condescended in effect, that if he were not deliuered, he should be fettered. Whobey they thought it all best, in the auoiding of all manner of rumoz, that the lord cardinall should first assaie to get him with his good will.

Whereupon all the counsell came vnto the Starre chamber at Westmynster; and the lord cardinall, learning the protectoz with the counsell in the Starre chamber, departed into the sanctuarie to the quene, with others other lordz with him: were it for the respect of his honor, or that the should by presence of so manie perceiue, that this errand was not one mans mind: or were it, for that the protectoz intended not in this matter to trust anie one man alone; or else, that if the finalle were determined to keepe him, some of that companie had happilie secret instruction, incontinent (mangre his mind) to take him, and to leaue him no respite to conueie him, which he was likelie to mind after this matter broken to him, if his time would in anie wise serue him.

When the quene and these lordz were come together in presence, the lord cardinall shewed vnto him, that it was thought vnto the protectoz, and vnto the whole counsell, that his keeping of the kings brother in that place, was the thing which highe sounded, not onelie to the great rumoz of the people and their obloquie; but also to the importable græfe and displeasure of the kings roiall maiestie, to whose grace it were as singular a comfort, to haue his naturall brother in companie, as it was their both dishonour, and all theirs and his also, to suffer him in sanctuarie, as though the one brother stood in danger and perill of the other; and therefore more conuenient it were they should be together, than parted asunder; that the world may well thinke and saie both of their kindred and also of them, when they shall see and heare how they keepe continuall companie, and liue in mutual amitie (as becometh brethren) which bringeth commodities with it, for number, infinite; and for

*Qualigat unanimis felix concordia fratres,
O quales fructus utilitatis habet!*

The cardinall shewed him likewise, that the counsell therefore had sent him vnto him, to require him the deliuerie of him, that he might be brought vnto the kings presence at his libertie, out of that place, which they reckoned as a prison; and there should he be deemed according to his estate: and he in this doing, should both do great good to the realme, pleasure to the counsell, and profit to his selfe, succour to his friends that were in distresse, and ouer that (which he wist well the speciallie tendered) not onelie great comfort and honor to the king, but also to the yong duke himselfe, whose both great wealth it were to be together, as well for manie greater causes, as also for their both disport & recreation. Which thing the lord esteemed no slight, though it seeme light, well pondering that their youth without recreation and play cannot indure; nor anie stranger, for the conuenience of both their ages and estates, so meetlie in that point for anie of them, as either of them for other.

My lord (quoth the quene) I saie not naie, but that it were verie conuenient, that this gentleman, whome ye require, were in companie of the king his brother: and in god faith, me thinketh it were as great commoditie to them both, as for yet awhile, to bene in the custodie of their mother, the tender age considered of the elder of them both, but speciallie the yonger, which besides his infancie, that also needeth god looking to) hath awhile bene so sore diseased, vered with sicknesse, and is so newlie rather a little amended, than well recovered, that I dare put no per-

son earthlie in trust with his keeping, but my selfe onelie, considering that there is (as physicians saie) and as we also find, double the perill in the reciduation, than was in the first sicknesse, with which disease nature being sore laboured, sore wearied and weakened, wareth the lesse able to beare out and susteine a new surfet. And albeit there might be founden other that would happilie do their best vnto him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him, than I that so long haue kept him: or is more tenderlie like to cherish him, than his owne mother that bare him.

So man denieth, god madame (quoth the cardinall) but that your grace were of all folke most necessarie about your childezen: and so would all the counsell not onelie be content, but glad that ye were (if it might stand with your pleasure) to be in such place as might stand with their honour. But if you do appoint your selfe to tarrie here, then thinke they it more conuenient that the duke of Borge were with the king honourable at his libertie, to the comfort of them both: than here as a sanctuarie man, to their both dishonour and obloquie, sith there is not alwaie so great necessitie to haue the child to be with the mother: but that occasion may sometime be such, that it should be more expedient to keepe him elsewhere. Which in this well appeareth, that at such time as your dearest sonne then prince, and now king, should for his honor, and good order of the countie, keepe household in Wales, farre out of your companie: your grace was well content therewith your selfe.

Not verie well content (quoth the quene) and yet the case is not like, for the tone was then in health, and the tother is now sicke. In which case, I maruell greatly, that my lord protectoz is so desirous to haue him in his keeping, where if the child in his sicknesse miscarried by nature, yet might he run into slander and suspicion of fraud. And where they call it a thing so sore against my childe's honor, and theirs also, that he bide in this place: it is all their honours there to suffer him bide, where no man doubteth he shall be best kept; and that is here, while I am here, which as yet intend not to come forth and leoparde my selfe after other of my friends, which would God were rather here in suertie with me, than I were there in leopardie with them.

Whie madame (quoth another lord) know you anie thing whie they should be in leopardie? I saie verelie sir (quoth the) no; whie they should be in prison neither, as they now be. But it is (I trow) no great maruell though I feare, least those that haue not letted to put them in durelle without colour, will let as little to procure their destruction without cause. The cardinall made a countenance to the other lord, that he should harpe no more vpon that string; and then said he to the quene, that he nothing doubted, but that those lordz of his honorable kin, which as yet remained vnder arrest, should vpon the matter examined, do well inough: and as toward his noble person, neither was nor could be anie manner leopardie.

Whereby should I trust that (quoth the quene) in that I am guiltlesse: As though they were guiltie, in that I am with their enemies better loued than they? When they hate them for my sake, in that I am so neere of kin to the king? And how far they be off, if that would helpe, as God send grace it hurt not, and therefore as for me, I purpose not as yet to depart hence. And as for this gentleman my sonne, I mind that he shall be where I am, till I see further: for I assure you, for that I see some men so greedy, without anie substantiall cause to haue him, this maketh me much the more fearder to deliuer him.

Truelie madame, quoth he, and the fearder that you

The quene
is loth to part
with his son.

The quenes
mistrust of the
lord protectoz.

The lord
Howard, saith
Edw. Hall.

The bte of
sanctuarie.

Protectoz.

The quenes
mistrust.

you be to deliuer him, the fearder bin other men to suffer you to keepe him, least your causelesse feare might cause you further to conueie him; and manie be there that thinke he can haue no priuilege in this place, which neither can haue will to aske it, nor malice to deserue it. And therefore, they reckon no priuilege broken, though they fetch him out; which if we shall refuse to deliuer him, I verelie thinke they will. So much dread hath my lord his uncle, for the tender loue he beareth him, least your grace should hap to send him awaie.

The quene's
reple upon
the lord car-
dinal.

A sir (quoth the quene) hath the protector; so tender scale, that he feareth nothing but least he should escape him: Thinketh he that I would send him hence, which neither is in the plight to send out. And in what place could I reckon him sure, if he be not sure in this sanctuary, whereof was there neuer tyrant yet so diuelly that durst presume to breake? And I trust God is as strong now to withstand his aduersaries, as ever he was. But my sonne can deserue no sanctuary, and therefore he can not haue it. For soth he hath found a goodlie glose, by which that place that may defend a theefe, may not saue an innocent. But he is in no leopordie, nor hath no need thereof, would God he had not.

Troweth the protector? I praise God he may procure a protector; troweth he that I perceiue not whereunto his painted procelle draweth? It is not honourable that the duke bide here: it were comfortable for them both, that he were with his brother, because the king lacketh a plaffellow. Be you sure: I praise God send them both better plaffellows than him, that maketh so high a matter upon such a trifling pretext: as though there could none be founden to plaie with the king, but if his brother that hath no lust to plaie for sicknesse, come out of sanctuary out of his safeguard to plaie with him. As though princes (as young as they be) could not plaie but with their peres, or children could not plaie but with their kindred, with whom for the more part they agree much worse than with strangers.

But the child cannot require the priuilege. Who told him so? He shall heare him aske it, and he will. Notobest, this is a gaie matter. Suppose he could not aske it, suppose he would not aske it, suppose he would aske to go out. If I saie he shall not; if I aske the priuilege but for my selfe, I say he that against my will taketh him out, breaketh the sanctuary. Serueth this libertie for my person onelie, or for my goods too? He may not hence take my horte fro me: and may you take my child fro me? He is also my ward: for as my learned counsell sheweth me, sith he hath nothing by descent holden by knights service, the law maketh his mother his gardian. When may no man I suppose take my ward fro me out of sanctuary, with out the breach of the sanctuary.

And if my priuilege could not serue him, nor he aske it for himselfe, yet sith the law committeth to me the custodie of him, I may require it for him, except the law giue a child a gardian onelie for his goods and lands, discharging him of the cure and safe keeping of his bodie, for which onelie both lands and goods serue. And if examples be sufficient to obteine priuilege for my child, I need not farre to seke. For in this place in which we now be (and which is now in question whether my child may take benefit of it) mine other sonne now king was bozne, and kept in his cradle, and preserved to a more prosperous fortune, which I praise God long to continue. And as all you know, this is not the first time that I haue taken sanctuary.

For when my lord my husband was banished, and thrust out of his kingdom, I fled hither, being great with child, and here I bare the prince. And when my

lord my husband returned safe againe, and had the victorie, then went I hence to welcome him home, and from hence I brought my babe the prince unto his father, when he first took him in his arms. And I praise God that my sonnes palace may be as great safeguard unto him now reigning, as this place was sometime to the kings enemie. In which place I intend to keepe his brother, sith, &c. (.) Wherefore here intend I to keepe him, sith mans law serueth the gardian to keepe the infant.

The law of nature will the mother to keepe his child, Gods law priuilegeth the sanctuary, and the sanctuary my sonne, sith I feare to put him in the protectors hands that hath his brother already, and were (if both failed) inheritour to the crowne. The cause of my feare hath no man to do to examine. And yet feare I no further than the law feareth, which (as learned men tell me) forbiddeth euery man the custodie of them, by whose death he maie inherit lesse land than a kingdome. I can no more, but whosoever he be that breaketh this holie sanctuary, I praise God shoulde send him need of sanctuary, when he maie not come to it. For taken out of sanctuary would I not my mortall enemie were.

The lord cardinal, perceiuing that the quene feared euer the longer the farther off, and also that she began to kindle and chafe, and spake more biting words against the protector, and such as he neither be leued, and was also loth to heare, he said to hir for a small conclusion, that he would no longer dispute the matter: but if she were content to deliuer the duke to him, and to the other lords present, he durst laie his owne bodie & soule both in pledge, not onelie for his suertie, but also for his estate. And if she would giue them a resolute answer to the contrarie, he would forthwith depart therewithall, and shifft who so would with this businesse afterwards: for he neuer intended more to moue hir in that matter, in which he thought that he & all other also (saue hir selfe) lacked either will or truth: wit, if they were so dull that they could nothing perceiue what the protector intended: truth, if they should procure hir sonne to be deliuered into his hands, in whom they should perceiue toward the child anie euill intended.

The quene with these words stood a good while in a great studie. And forsomuch as hir senned the cardinal more readie to depart than some of the remnant, and the protector himselfe readie at hand; so that she verelie thought she could not keepe him, but that he should incontinentlie be taken thence: and to conueie him else-where, neither had the time to serue hir, nor place determined, nor persons appointed, all things vnreadie, this message came on hir so suddenlie, nothing lesse looking for, than to haue him fet out of sanctuary, which she thought to be now beset in such places about, that he could not be conueied out vntaken, and partlie as she thought it might fortune hir feare to be false, so well she wist it was either needlesse or bootlesse: wherefore if she should needs go from him, she deemed it best to deliuer him.

And ouer that, of the cardinals faith she nothing doubted, nor of some other lords neither, whom she there saw. Which as she feared least they might be deceived: so was she well assured they would not be corrupted. When thought she it should yet make them the more warlike to looke to him, and the more circumspectie to see to his suertie, if she with hir owne hands betooke him to them of trust. And at the last she took the young duke by the hand, and said vnto the lords: My lords (quoth she) and all my lords, I neither am so vnwise to mistrust your wits, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths: of which thing I purpose

The lord car-
dinal bideth
an other word
to perfwade
the quene.

to dissimila-
tion.

This that is
here betweene
this marke (.)
& this marke
(.) was not
written by
him in Eng-
lish but is
translated out
of his historye
which he
wrote in
Latine.

This that is
here betweene
this marke (.)
& this marke
(.) was not
written by him
in English but
is translated
out of this hi-
storye which
he wrote in
Latine.

She saith in
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The lord car
dinal with
an other
to persuade
the queene.

purpose to make you such a pzoze, as if either of both
in you, might turne both you and me to great sorow,
the realme to much harme, and you to great re
poch.

For lo, here is (quoth the) this gentleman, whom
I doubt not but I could here kepe safe, if I would,
what euer anie man say: & I doubt not also, but there
be some abroad so deadlie enemies unto my blood,
that if they will where anie of it late in their owne
bodie, they would let it out. We have also experience
that desire of a kingdome knoweth no kindred. The
brother hath bene the brothers bane: and maie the
nepheues be sure of their vncle? Each of these children
is the others defense while they be asunder, and each of
their lues lieth in the others bodie. Keepe one safe
and both be sure, and nothing for them both moze pe
rillous, than to be both in one place. For what wise
merchant aduentureth all his goods in one ship?

All this notwithstanding, here I deliuer him and
his brother in him, to keepe, into your hands, of whom
I shall aske them both afoze God & the world. Faith
full ye be that wot I well, & I know well you be wise.
Power and strength to keepe him (if you list) lacke ye
not of your selfe, nor can lacke helpe in this cause.
And if ye can not else where, then maie you leaue
him here. But onelie one thing I beseech you, for the
trust which his father put in you euer, & for the trust
that I put in you now, that as farre as ye thinke
that I feare too much, be you well ware that you feare
not as farre too little. And therewithall the said un
to the child; Fare well mine owne sweete sonne, God
send you good keeping: let me kisse you yet once per
you go, for God knoweth when we shall kisse togi
ther againe. And therewith she kissed him and blessed
him, turned hir backe and wept and went hir waie,
leaving the child weeping as fast. Howbeit the duke
some afterwarde that she had so parted from hir
son (when it was past hir power to procure remedie,
& no hope of helpe left against afterclaps) which is the
common case of all that kind, as the pzouerbe saith:

Femineus veri dolor est post facta dolere.

When the lord cardinal, and these other lords with
him, had receiued this yong duke, they brought him
into the Star chamber, where the protector toke him
in his armes and kissed him with these wordes: How
welcome my lord euen with all my vertie heart. And
he said in that of likelihood as he thought. Thereupon
forthwith they brought him unto the king his brother
into the bishops palace at Paules, and from thence
thorough the citie honourable into the Towre, out
of the which after that daie they neuer came abroad.

When the protector had both the children in his
hands, he opened himselfe moze boldlie, both to cer
taine other men, and also chieflie to the duke of Buc
kingham. Although I know that manie thought
that this duke was pzoize to all the protectors coun
sell, euen from the beginning; and some of the protec
tors friends said, that the duke was the first mouer
of the protector to this matter, sending a pzoize mes
senger unto him, straight after king Edwards death.

But others againe, which knew better the subtil
litt of the protector, denie that he euer opened his
enterpise to the duke, untill he had brought to passe
the things before rehearsed. But when he had impi
soned the queenes kinfolk, & gotten both hir sonnes
into his owne hands, then he opened the rest of his
purpose with lesse feare to them whome he thought
meet for the matter, and speciallie to the duke, who
being sworne to his purpose, he thought his strength
moze than halfe increased. The matter was broken
unto the duke by subtil folks, and such as were their
craftie-masters in the handling of such wicked deu
ises: who declared unto him that the yong king was
offended with him for his kinfolks sake, and if he

were euer able he would reuenge them, who would
picke him forward thereunto if they escaped (for they
would remember their imprisonment), or else if they
were put to death, without doubt the yong k. would
be carefull for their deaths, whose imprisonment was
griuous unto him.

Also that with repenting the duke should nothing
auaile, for there was no waie left to redeeme his of
fense by benefits, but he should longer destroye him
selfe than saue the king, who with his brother and his
kinfolks he saw in such places imprisoned, as the
protector might with a becke destroye them all: and
that it were no doubt but he would do it in deed, if
there were anie new enterpise attempted. And that
it was likelie, that as the protector had pzoized
pzoize gard for himselfe, so had he spials for the duke,
and traines to catch him, if he should be against him;
and that peradventure from them, whome he lest su
spected. For the state of things and the dispositions
of men were then such, that a man could not well tell
whome he might trust, or whome he might feare.

These things and such like, being beaten into the
dukes mind, brought him to that point, that where he
had repented the way that he had entered, yet would
he go forth in the same; and sith he had once begun,
he would stoutlie go thorough. And therefore to this
wicked enterpise, which he beleued could not be doi
ed, he bent himselfe, and went thorough; and determi
ned, that sith the common mischefe could not be a
mended, he would turne it as much as he might to
his owne commoditie. When it was agreed, that the
protector should haue the dukes aid to make him king,
and that the protectors onelie lawfull sonne should
marrie the dukes daughter, and that the protector
should grant him the quiet possession of the earldome
of Hereford, which he claimed as his inheritance, and
could neuer obtaine it in king Edwards time.

Besides these requests of the duke, the protector
of his owne mind promised him a great quantitie of
the kings treasure, and of his household stuffe. And
when they were thus at a point betwene themsel
ues, they went about to prepare for the coronation of
the yong king, as they would haue it seeme. And that
they might turne both the eyes and minds of men
from perceiuing of their diuers other where, the lords
being sent for from all parts of the realme, came
thicke to that solemnitie. But the protector and the
duke, after that they had sent the lord cardinal,
the archbishop of Yorke then lord chancellor, the bi
shop of Elie, the lord Stanleie, and the lord Hastings
then lord chamberlaine, with manie other noble
men (*) to common & deuise about the coronation in
one place, as fast were they in an other place, con
triving the contrarie, and to make the protector
king.

To which counsell albeit there were adhibited ve
rie few, and they were secret: yet began there here
and there abouts, some maner of muttering among
the people, as though all should not long be well,
though they neither wist what they feared, nor where
fore: were it, that before such great things, mens
hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgiue them; as
the sea without wind swelleth of himselfe sometime
before a tempest: or were it that some one man, hap
pilie somewhat perceiuing, filled manie men with
suspicion, though he shewed few men what he knew,
Howbeit somewhat the dealing it selfe made men to
muse on the matter, though the counsell were close.
For by little and little all folke withdrew from the
Towre, and drew unto Crosbies in Bishops gates
street, where the protector kept his household. The
protector had the refox, the king in maner desolate.

While some for their businesse made sute to them
that had the doing, some were by their friends secre
lie

The dukes
full resoluti
on, to go thro
ough with
his enter
pise.

William

That that is
true betwene
this marke
& this marke
was not
written by
him in Eng
lish but is
translated out
of his historie
which he
wrote in
Latine.

She falleth in
a resolution
touching his
sonnes belie
uence.

he warned, that it might happilie turne them to no good, to be so much attendant about the king without the protectors appointment, which remoued also diuerse of the princes old seruants from him, and set new about him. Thus manie things comming together, partlie by chance, partlie of purpose, caused at length not common people onelie, that woud with the wind, but wise men also, and some lords eke to marke the matter and muse thereon; so farre forth that the lord Stanleie that was after earle of Derby, wiselie mistrusted it, and said unto the lord Hastings, that he much disliked these two severall counceils. For while we (quoth he) talke of one matter in the one place, little wot we wherof they talke in the tother place.

My lord (quoth the lord Hastings) on my life neuer doubt you: for while one man is there, which is neuer thense, neuer can there be thing once moued, that should sound amisse toward me, but it should be in mine eares per it were well out of their mouths. This ment he by Catesbie, which was of his neere secret counsell, and whome he verie familiarlie vsed, and in his most weightie matters put no man in so speciall trust, reckoning himselfe to no man so lief, sith he well wist there was no man so much to him beholden as was this Catesbie, which was a man well learned in the lawes of this land, and by the speciall fauour of the lord chamberlaine, in god authoritie, and much rule bare in all the countie of Leicester, where the lord chamberlains power cheselie laie.

But suerlie great pitie was it, that he had not had either more truth, or lesse wit. For his dissimulation onlie kept all that mischeefe by. In whome if the lord Hastings had not put so speciall trust, the lord Stanleie & he had departed with diuerse other lords, and broken all the danse, for manie ill signes that he saw, which he now construes all to the best. So suerlie thought he, that there could be none harme toward him in that counsell intended, where Catesbie was. And of truth the protector and the duke of Buckingham made verie good semblance unto the lord Hastings, and kept him much in companie. And undoubtedly the protector loued him well, and loth was to haue lost him, sauing for feare lest his life should haue quailed their purpose.

For which cause he moued Catesbie to proue with some words cast out a farre off, whether he could thinke it possible to win the lord Hastings unto their part. But Catesbie, whether he assaied him, or assaied him not, reported unto them, that he found him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible words, that he durst no further breake. And of truth, the lord chamberlaine of verie trust shewed unto Catesbie the distrust that others began to haue in the matter. And therefore he, fearing lest their motion might with the lord Hastings minish his credence, whereunto onelie all the matter leaned, procured the protector hastilie to rid him. And much the rather, for that he trusted by his death to obtaine much of the rule that the lord Hastings bare in his countie: the onelie desire wherof was the allectiue that induced him to be partner, and one speciall contriuer of all this horrible treason.

Wherupon some after, that is to wit, on the first daie [being the thirteenth of June] manie lords assembled in the Tower, and there sat in counsell, deuising the honourable solemnitie of the kings coronation, of which the time appointed then so neere approached, that the pageants and subtilties were in making daie & night at Westminster, and much bittels killed therefore, that afterward was cast awaie. These lords so sitting together communing of this matter, the protector came in amongst them, first about nine

of the clocke, saluting them courteously, and expressing himselfe that he had bene from them so long, sauing merilie that he had bene a sleeper that daie.

After a little talking with them, he said unto the bishop of Ely: My lord you haue verie good strawberries at your garden in Holborne, I require you let us haue a masse of them: Gladlie my lord (quoth he) would God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that! And therewithall in all the hast he sent his seruant for a masse of strawberries. The protector set the lords fast in communing, & threupon praeleng them to spare him for a little while, departed thense. And some after one houre, betwene ten & eleuen he returned into the chamber amongst them all, changed with a wonderfull foure angrie countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and fretting, and gnawing on his lips: and so fat him downe in his place.

All the lords were much dismayd and sore marvelled at this maner of sudden change, and what thing should him aile. Then, when he had sitten still a while, thus he began: What were they worthy to haue that compassse and imagine the destruction of me, being so neere of blood unto the king, and protector of his roiall person and his realme? At this question, all the lords sat sore astonied, musing much by whome this question should be meant, of which euerie man wist himselfe cleere. When the lord chamberlaine (as he that for the loue betwene them thought he might be boldest with him) answered and said, that they were worthy to be punished as heinous traitors, whatsoeuer they were. And all the other affirmed the same. What is (quoth he) ponder for errie my brothers wife, and other with hir (meaning the queene.)

At these words manie of the other lords were greatly abashed, that fauoured hir. But the lord Hastings was in his mind better content, that it was moued by hir, than by anie other whome he loued better: albeit his heart somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsell in this matter, as he was of the taking of hir kinned, and of their putting to death, which were by his assent before deuised to be beheaded at Windsor this selfe same daie, in which he was not ware that it was by other deuised, that he himselfe should be beheaded the same daie at London. Then said the protector: Ye shall all see it what wife that forceresse, and that other witch of hir counsell Shores wife, with their affinitie, haue by their forcerie and witchcraft wasted my bodie. And therewith he plucked by his dublet sleue to his elbow upon his left arme, where he shewed a werthy withered arme, and small, as it was neuer other.

Hereupon euerie mans mind soe misgaue them, well perceiuing that this matter was but a quarrell. For they well wist that the queene was too wise to go about anie such follie. And also if she woud, yet woud she of all folke least, make Shores wife of hir counsell, whome of all women the most hated, as that concubine whome the king hir husband had most loued. And also, no man was there present, but well knew that his arme was euer such since his birth. Pastheleste, the lord chamberlaine (which from the death of king Edward kept Shores wife, on whome he somewhat doted in the kings life, sauing (as it is said) he that while forbore hir of reuerence toward the king, or else of a certeine kind of sweetie to his friend) answered and said: Certainelie my lord, if they haue so heinoullie done, they be worthy heinous punishment.

What (quoth the protector) thou seruest me I wene with ifs and with ands, I tell thee they haue so done, and that I will make god on thy bodie traitor: and therewith as in a great anger, he clapped his fist by on the bozds a great rap. At which token one cried,

Treason,

Catesbie and his conditions described.

The lord Stanleie wounded.

Lord Hastings lord chamberlaine beheaded.

Duchan, in p/a 55.

The lord chamberlains name.

An assemble of lords in the Tower.

For the king's coronation the lord Hastings.

The lord
chamberleine
is called.

Creation, without the chamber. Therewith a doze clapped, and in come there rushing men in harness, as manie as the chamber might hold. And anon the p[ro]tector said to the lord Hastings: I arrest thee traitor: What me my lord? (quoth he.) Yea thee traitor quoth the p[ro]tector. And an other let sie at the lord Stanleie, which shynke at the stroke, & fell under the table, or else his head had bene clef to the teeth: for as thortlie as he shynke, yet ran the bloud about his ears.

Then were they all quickelie bestowed in diuerse chambers, except the lord chamberleine, whome the p[ro]tector had sped and shruue him apace, for by saint Paule (quoth he) I will not to dinner till I see thy head off. It boted him not to aske whie, but heauilie take a p[ri]est at adventure, & made a thort thyst: for a longer would not be suffered, the p[ro]tector made so much hast to dinner, which he might not go to, untill this were done, for sauing of his oth. So was he brought forth to the greene beside the chapell within the Towre, and his head laid downe vpon a long log of timber, and there stricken off, and afterward his bodie with the head interred at Windso[re] beside the bodie of king Edward, both whose soules our Lord pardon. Thus began he to establish his kingdome in bloud, growing thereby in hatred of the nobles, and also abridging both the line of his life, and the time of his regiment: for God will not haue bloudthirstie tyrants daies prolonged, but will cut them off in their ruffe; according to Dauids words:

Impio, fallaci, audoq[ue] cadis

Filamors rumpet viridi in iumentis.

A marvellous case is it to heare either the warnings of that he should haue bodied, or the tokens of that he could not boid. For the selfe night next before his death, the lord Stanleie sent a trustie messenger vnto him at midnight in all the hast, requirung him to rise and ride awaie with him, for he was disposed utterly no longer to bide, he had so fearfull a dreame; in which him thought that a boare with his tuskes so rased them both by the heads, that the bloud ran about both their shoulders. And forsomuch as the p[ro]tector gaue the boare for his cognisance, this dreame made so fearfull an impressioun in his heart, that he was throughlie determined no longer to tarie, but had his horse readie, if the lord Hastings would go with him, to ride yet so farre the same night, that they should be out of danger yer daie.

Ya god Lord (quoth the lord Hastings to this messenger) leaneth my lord thy maister so much to such trifles, and hath such faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fantaseth, or do rise in the nights rest by reason of his daies thought: Tell him it is plaine withcraft to beleue in such dreames, which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinkest he not that we might be as likelie to make them true by our going, if we were caught & brought backe, as friends falle sliers; for then had the boare a cause likelie to rase vs with his tuskes, as folke that fled for some falsehood. Therefore, either is there perill, or none there is in deed: or if anie be, it is rather in going than biding. And in case we should needs fall in perill one waie or other, yet had I rather that men should see that it were by other mens falsehood, than thinke it were either by our owne fault, or saint heart. And therefore go to thy maister (man) and commend me to him, & praie him be merie & haue no feare: for I insure him I am as sure of the man that he twereth of, as I am of mine owne hand. God send grace sir (quoth the messenger) and went his waie.

Certaine is it also, that in riding towards the Towre, the same morning in which he was beheaded, his horse threwe or threwe stumbled with him, almost to the falling. Which thing albeit eery man wote well

daile happeneth to them, to whom no such mischance is toward; yet hath it bene of an old rite and custom obserued, as a token oftentimes notablie foregoing some great misfortune. Now this that follooweth was no warning, but an ennious scoone. The same morning yer he was up, came a knight vnto him, as it were of courtesie, to accompanie him to the councell; but of truth sent by the p[ro]tector to haue him thitherwards, with whome he was of secret confederacie in that purpose; a meane man at that time, and now of great authoritie.

This knight (I say) when it happened the lord chamberleine by the waie to state his horse, & common a while with a p[ri]est whom he met in the Towre street, brake his tale, and said merilte to him: What my lord, I pray you come on, thereto talke you so long with that p[ri]est: you haue no need of a p[ri]est yet: and therewith he laughed vpon him, as though he would say, Ye shall haue some. But so little wist the tother what he ment, and so little mistrusted, that he was neuer merier, nor neuer so full of god hope in his life, which selfe thing is oft sene a signe of change. But I shall rather let anie thing passe me, than the baie suertie of mans mind so nere his death [dattering himselfe with deceitfull conceits of inward motions of life to be prolonged, euen in present cases of deadlie danger, and heauie misfortunes offering great mistrust; as he did that is noted for speaking like a foole:

Non est (crede mihi) sapientis dicere, Futurum:

Nascentes morimur, finisq[ue] ab origine pendet.

Upon the verte Towre tharfe, so neare the place where his head was off sone after, there met he with one Hastings a pursuant of his owne name. And at their meeting in that place, he was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before to meet in like manner together in the same place. At which other time the lord chamberleine had bene accused vnto king Edward by the lord Rivers the quenes brother, in such wise, as he was for the while (but it lasted not long) farre fallen into the kings indignation, & stood in great feare of himselfe. And forsomuch as he now met this pursuant in the same place, that ieopardie so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him thereof, with whom he had before talked thereof in the same place, while he was therein.

And therefore he said: Ya Hastings, art thou remembered when I met thee here once with an heauie heart: Yea my lord (quoth he) that remember I well, and thanked be God, they gat no god, nor you no harme thereby. Thou wouldest say so (quoth he) if thou knewest as much as I know, which seth knoweth else as yet, and mo shall thortlie. That meant he by the lords of the quenes kinred that were taken before, and should that daie be beheaded at Pomfret: which he well wist, but nothing ware that the ar hung ouer his owne head. In said man (quoth he) I was neuer so loye, nor neuer stood in so great dread in my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And lo how the world is turned, now stand mine enemies in the danger (as thou maiest hap to heare more hereafter) and I neuer in my life so merrie, nor neuer in so great suertie.

O god God, the blindness of our mortall nature, when he most feared, he was in god suertie; when he reckoned himselfe surest, he lost his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man, a good knight and a gentle, of great authoritie with his prince, of living somewhat dissolute, plaine and open to his enemie, & secret to his friend, easie to beguile, as he that of god heart and courage forestood no perils, a louing man, and passing well beloved: verie faithfull, and trustie inough, trusting too much. Now sate the same of this lords death

Mani lib. 4.
Astro.

The description
tion of the
lord Hastings

swiftlie through the cite, and so forth further about like a wind in euerie mans care. But the protector, immediatlie after dinner, intending to set some colour upon the matter, sent in all the hall for manie substantiall men out of the cite into the Towre.

Now at their comming, himselfe with the duke of Buckingham, stood harnessed in old ill faring byrganders, such as no man should weare, that they would vouchsafe to haue put upon their backs, except that some sudden necessitie had constrained them. And then the protector shewed them, that the lord chamberleine, and other of his conspiracie, had contrived to haue suddenly destroyed him, and the duke, there the same day in the councell. And what they intended further, was as yet not well knowne. Of which their treason he neuer had knowledge before ten of the clocke the same forenone, which sudden feare dyaue them to put on for their defense such harnesse as came next to hand. And so had God holpen them, that the mischief turned upon them that would haue done it. And this he required them to report.

The protector
toys procla-
mation.

Euerie man answered him false, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man beleued. Yet for the further appeasing of the peoples minds, he sent immediatlie after diner in all the hall one herald of armes, with a proclamation to be made through the cite in the kings name, containing, that the lord Hastings, with diuerse other of his traitorous purpose, had before conspired the same day to haue slaine the lord protector, and the duke of Buckingham sitting in the councell; and after to haue taken upon them to rule the king & the realme at their pleasure, and thereby to pill and spoile whome they list vncontrolled. And much matter there was in that proclamation, deuised to the slander of the lord chamberleine, as that he was an ill counsellor to the kings father, intising him to manie things highlie rebounding to the minishing of his honour, and to the vntuersall hurt of the realme.

The life and
deeds of the
lord chamber-
leine laid open

The meanes whereby, namely, his euill companie, sinister procuring, and vngratious example, as well in manie other things, as in the vicious haung and inordinate abusion of his bodie, both with manie other, and also speciallie with Shores wife, which was one also of his most secret counsell in this most heinous treason, with whom he late nightlie, and namely the night last past next before his death. So that it was the leste maruell, if vngratious liuing brought him to an unhappie ending, which he was now put vnto by the most dreed commandement of the kings highnesse, and of his honorable and faithfull counsell, both for his demerits, being so openlie taken in his fallie conceited treason, and also least the delatency of his execution might haue incouraged other mischievous persons, partners of his conspiracie, to gather and assemble themselves together, in making some great commotion for his deliuerance: whose hope being now by his well deserved death politike lie repressed, all the realme should (by Gods grace) rest in god quiet and peace.

Now was this proclamation made within two houres after that he was beheaded, and it was so curiously indited, & so faire written in parchment, in so well a set hand, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, that euerie child might well perceiue that it was prepared before. For all the time, betwene his death and the proclaiming, could scant haue sufficed vnto the bare writing alone, all had it bene but in paper, and scribled forth in hast at aduenture. So that vpon the proclaiming thereof, one that was scholemaster of Dowles, of chance standing by, and comparing the shortnesse of the time with the length of the matter, said vnto them that stood about him; There

is a gaie goodlie cast foule cast awaite for half. And a merchant answered him, that it was written by protheie.

So to then by and by, as it were for anger, not for couetise, the protector sent into the house of Shores wife (for hir husband dwelled not with hir) and spoiled hir of all that euer she had, about the value of two or thre thousand markes, and sent hir bodie to prison. And then he had a while laid vnto hir (for the maner sake) that she went about to bewitch him, and that she was of counsell with the lord chamberleine to destroy him: in conclusion, when that no colour could fasten vpon these matters, then he laid heinouslie to hir charge, that thing that hir selfe could not denie, and that all the world wist was true, and that nathelesse euerie man laughed at, to heare it then so suddenly so highlie taken, that she was naught of hir bodie.

And for this cause (as a goodlie continent prince, cleane and faultlesse of himselfe, sent out of heauen into this vicious world for the amendment of mens maners) he caused the bishop of London to put hir to open penance, going before the crose in procession vpon a sundae with a taper in hir hand. In which she went in countenance and pale demure so womanlie; that albeit she were out of all araie, saue hir kirtle onelie, yet went she so faire and louelie, namely while the wondering of the people cast a comelie rud in hir cheeks (of which she before had most misse) that hir great shame wan hir much praise among those that were more amorous of hir bodie, than curious of hir soule. And manie good folks also that hated hir liuing, & glad were to see sin corrected: yet pitied they more hir penance, than reioised therein, when they considered that the protector procured it, more of a corrupt intent, than anie vertuous affection.

This woman was borne in London, worshipfullie friended, honestlie brought vp, and verie well married, facing somewhat too longe, hir husband an honest citizen, pious and goodlie, & of god substance. But for so much as they were coupled yer the were well ripe, she not verie feruently loued him, for whi she neuer longed, which was happilie the thing that the more easilie made hir incline vnto the kings appetite, when he required hir. Whobest the respect of his volatilitie, the hope of gaie apparell, ease, and other wanton wealth, was able some to pearce a soft tender heart, [so that she became flexible and pliant to the kings appetite and will; being so blinded with the bright glorie of the present courtlie brauerie which she inioied, that she vterlie forgot how excellent a treasure god name and fame is, and of what incomparable sweetnesse, even by the iudgement of him, whose match for wisdom the world neuer bred vp, saing:

*Sunt optanda magis pura bona nomina fame,
nobili vnguenti quam pretiosus odor.*

But when the king had abused hir, anon hir husband (as he was an honest man, and one that could his good, not presuming to touch a kings concubine) left hir vp to him altogether. When the king died, the lord chamberleine took hir, which in the kings daies, albeit he was soze inamourued vpon hir, yet he forbore hir; either for reuerence, or for a certeine friendlie faithfulltie. Proper she was and faire; no thing in hir bodie that you would haue changed, but if ye would haue wished hir somewhat higher. Thus saie they that knew hir in her youth. Albeit some that now see hir (for yet she liueth) deem hir neuer to haue bene well visaged: whose iudgement seemeth me somewhat like, as though men should gesse the beautie of one long before departed, by hir scalpe taken out of the charuell hole.

For now is she old, leane, withered, and dried vp, nothing left but rindled skin, and hard bone. And yet being

See Richard
Rochester,

Shozer wite
spilled of all
that the hea.

B. Comers
this comu-
has.

Shozer wite
put to open
penance,

The descrip-
tion of Shozer
wite,

Eob. Hef. r. 33
ch. 34.

the Richard
Bastard.

When this
stone was
written

vingeuen such, who so well aduise his visage, might
gesse and deuise, which parts how filled would make
it a faire face. Yet delighted not men so much in his
beautie, as in his pleasant behauiour. For a proper
wit had he, and could both read well and write, mer-
rie in companie, readie and quicke of answer, nei-
ther mute, nor full of bable, sometime talunting with
out displeasure, and not without disport. The king
would saie that he had thre concubins, which in thre
diuerse properties diuersite excelled. One the mer-
riest, another the wildest, the third the holiest harlot in
his realme, as one whome no man could get out of
the church lightlie to any place, but it were to his bed.

The other two were somewhat greater personages,
and nathelesse of their humilitie content to be
namelesse, and to forbeare the praise of those proper-
ties: but the merriest was this Shozer wite, in whom
the king therefore toke speciall pleasure. For manie
he had, but his he loued; whose fauour to say the truth
(for sin it were to belie the diuell) he neuer abused
to anye mans hurt, but to manie a mans comfort
and reliefe. Where the king toke displeasure, she
would mitigate and appease his mind: where men
were out of fauour, she would bring them in his
grace. For manie that had highlie offended the ob-
tained pardon. Of great forfeitures she gat men re-
mission.

Finallie, in manie weightie sutes she stood ma-
nie a man in great stead, either for none or verie
small rewards, and those rather gale than rich; either
that she was content with the deed if selfe well done;
or for that she delighted to be sued vnto, and to shew
what she was able to do with the king; or for that
wanton women and wealthie be not alwaies coue-
tions. I doubt not some shall thinke this woman too
slight a thing to be written of, and set among the re-
membances of great matters: which they shall spe-
ciallie thinke, that happilie shall esteeme his onelie
by that they now see him.

But me seemeth the chance so much the more wor-
thie to be remembred, in how much she is now in the
more beggerlie condition, vnfreended and woone out
of acquaintance, after good substance, after as great
fauour with the prince, after as great sute and see-
king to with all those, that those daies had businesse
to spend, as manie other men were in their times,
which be now famous onelie by the infamie of their
ill daies. His doings were not much lesse, albeit they
be much lesse remembred, because they were not so e-
uill. For men die if they haue an euill turne, to write
it in marble: and who so dooth vs a good turne, we
write it in dust, which is not worth proued by him: for
at this daie the begger of manie at this daie liuing,
that at this daie had begged if she had not bene.

Now was it so deuised by the protector and his
councell, that the selfe daie, in which the lord cham-
berleine was beheaded in the Tower of London,
and about the selfe same houre, was there (not with-
out his assent) beheaded at Pomfret, the foreremem-
bered lords & knights that were taken from the king
at Northampton and Stonie Stratford. Which
thing was done in the presence, and by the order of
sir Richard Katcliffe knight, whose seruice the protec-
tor speciallie used in that councell, and in the execu-
tion of such lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had
bene long secret with him, having experience of the
world, and a shrewd wit, short & rude in speech, rough
and boisterous of behauiour, bold in mischief, as far
from pitie as from all feare of God.

This knight bringing them out of the prison to the
scaffold, and shewing to the people about that they
were traitors (not suffering them to declare & speake
their innocencie, least their words might haue incli-
ned men to pitie them, and to hate the protector and

his part) caused them hastilie, without iudgement,
processe, or maner of order to be beheaded, and with-
out other earthlie gilt, but onelie that they were good
men, too true to the king, and too nigh to the queene.
Now when the lord chamberleine & these other lords
and knights were thus beheaded, and rid out of the
waie: then thought the protector, that when men mu-
red what the matter meant, while the lords of the
realme were about him out of their owne strengthes,
while no man wist what to thinke, nor whom to trust,
per euer they should haue space to dispute and digest
the matter and make parties; it were best hastilie to
pursue his purpose, and put himselfe in possession of
the crowne, per men could haue time to deuise anye
waie to resist.

But now was all the studie by what meanes this
matter, being of it selfe so heinous, might be first bro-
ken to the people, in such wise that it might be well
taken. To this councell they toke diuerse, such as
they thought meetlie to be trusted, likelie to be indu-
ced to that part, and able to stand them in stead either
by power or policie. Among whome they made of
councell Edmund Shau knight then maior of Lon-
don, which vpon trust of his owne aduancement,
whereof he was of a proud heart highlie desirous,
should frame the cite to their appetite. Of spirituall
men they toke such as had wit, and were in authori-
tie among the people for opinion of their learning,
and had no scrupulous conscience. Among these had
they John Shau cleark brother to the maior, and
srier Penker, prouinciall of the Augustine friers
both doctours of diuinitie, both great preachers, both
of more learning than vertue, of more fame than
learning. For they were before greatlie esteemed a-
mong the people: but after that neuer.

Of these two the one had a sermon in praise of the
protector before the coronation, the other after, both so
full of tedious flatterie, that no mans eares could a-
bide them. Penker in his sermon so lost his voice,
that he was faine to leaue off, and come downe in
the midst. Doctor Shau by his sermon lost his hone-
stie, & some after his life, for verie shame of the world,
into which he durst neuer after come abroad. But the
srier forced for no shame, and so it harmed him the
lesse. Howbeit some doubt, and manie thinke, that
Penker was not of counsell in the matter before
the coronation, but after the common maner fell to
flatterie after: namelye with his sermon was not in-
continentlie vpon it, but at saint Marie hospitall at
the Easter after.

But certeine it is, that doctor Shau was of coun-
sell in the beginning, so farre forth that they determi-
ned that he should first breake the matter in a ser-
mon at Paules crosse, in which he should (by the au-
thoritie of his preaching) incline the people to the pro-
tectors ghostlie purpose. But now was all the labor
and studie in the deuise of some conuenient pretext,
for which the people should be content to depose the
prince, and accept the protector for king. In which di-
uerse things they deuised. But the chiefe thing & the
weightiest of all that inuention rested in this, that
they should alledge bastardie, either in king Ed-
ward himselfe, or in his children, or both. So that he
should seme disabled to inherit the crowne, by the
duke of Boke, and the prince by him.

To late bastardie in king Edward, sounded open-
lie to the rebuke of the protector's owne mother, which
was mother to them both; for in that point could be
no other color, but to pretend that his owne mother
was an aduresser, which notwithstanding, to fur-
ther this purpose he letted not. But neuerthelesse he
would that point should be lesse and more fauoura-
ble handled: not euen fullie plaine and directlie, but
that the matter should be touched aslope craftilie, as

W b b. f. though

The lord B. &
uers & other
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Edmund
Shau maior
of London.

Doct. Shau,
srier Pen-
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The chiefe
deuise to de-
pose the
prince.

though men spared in that point to speake all the truth, for feare of his displeasure. But the other point concerning the ballardie that they deuised to surmise in king Edwards children, that would he should be openlie declared and enforced to the uttermost. The colour and pretext thereof cannot be well perceiued, but if we first repeat you some things long before done about king Edwards marriage.

So before
pag. 667, 668.

Dame Elizabeth Greie.

After that king Edward the fourth had deposed king Henrie the first, and was in peaceable possession of the realme, determining himselfe to marie (as it was met both for him selfe & the realme) he sent ouer in ambassage the erle of Warwike, with other noble men in his companie to Spaine, to treat & conclude a marriage betwene h. Edward & the kings daughter of Spaine. In which thing the erle of Warwike found the parties so toward & willing, that he speedily (according to his instructions without any difficultie) brought the matter to very good conclusion. Now happened it, that in the meane season there came to make a sute by petition to the king dame Elizabeth Greie, which was after his quene, at that time a widow, borne of noble blood, by hir mother, duchess of Bedford, per she married the lord Woodville, hir father.

Howbeit, this dame Elizabeth hir selfe, being in seruice with quene Margaret, wife vnto king Henrie the first, was married vnto one [John] Greie an esquier, whome king Henrie made knight vpon the field that he had on [Batnet heath by saint Albons] against king Edward. But little while insoied he that knight hood: for he was at the same field slaine. After which done, and the erle of Warwike, being in his ambassage about the afore remembred marriage, this poore ladie made humble sute vnto the king, that she might be restored vnto such small lands as hir late husband had giuen hir in iointure. Whome when the king beheld, and heard hir speake, as she was both faire and of a goodlie fauor, moderate of stature, well made, and verie wise: he not onelie pitied hir, but also was enamoured of hir. And taking hir afterward secretlie aside, began to enter in talking more familiarlie. Whose appetite when she perceiued, she vertuously denied him.

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fuer of a chaft
and continent
ladi.

But that did she so wisely, and with so good manner, and words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire than quenched it. And finally, after manie a meeting, much wooing, and many great promises, she well espies the kings affection toward hir so greatly increased, that she durst somewhat the more boldly saie hir mind, as to him whose hart she perceiued more seruientlie set, than to fall off for a word. And in conclusion, she shewed him plaine, that as she wist hir selfe too simple to be his wife, so thought she hir selfe too good to be his concubine. The king much maruelling at hir constancie (as he that had not been wont elsewhere to be so stiffelie said naie) so much esteemed hir continencie and chastitie, that he set hir vertue in the stead of possession and riches: and thus taking counsell of his desire, determined in all possible hast to marie hir.

The kings
mother.

Now after he was thus appointed, and had bestowed them twaine inured hir: then asked he counsell of his other friends, and that in such manner, as they might then perceiue it bored not greatly to say naie. Notwithstanding the duchess of Poike his mother was so fore moued therewith, that she dissuaded the marriage as much as she possible might; alledging that it was his honour, profit, and suertie also, to marie in a noble progenie out of his realme, where vpon depended great strength to his estate, by the affinity and great possibilitie of increase of his possession. And that he could not well otherwise do, seeing that the erle of Warwike had so farre moued already: which were not likelie to take it well, if all

his voyage were in such wise frustrate, and his appointment deluded. And she said also, that it was not princelie to marie his owne subject, no great occasion leading thereto, no possessions, or other commodities depending thereupon; but onlie as it were a rich man that would marie his maid, onelie for a little wanton dosage vpon hir person.

In which marriage manie mo commend the maidens fortune, than the maisters wisdom. And yet therein (she said) was more honestie than honour in this marriage. For so much as there is betwene no merchant and his owne maid so great difference, as betwene the king and this widow. In whose person, albeit there was nothing to be mistak; yet was there (she said) nothing so excellent, but that it might be found in diuerse other that were more meilie (quoth she) for your estate, and maidens also; whereas the onelie widowhead of Elizabeth Greie, though she were in all other things conuenient for you, should yet suffice (as me seemeth) to restraime you from hir marriage, sith it is an vniuersall thing, and a verie blamish and high disparagement to the sacred maiestie of a prince, that ought as nigh to approach priesthood in cleanness as he doth in dignitie, to be defiled with bigamie in his first marriage.

The king, when his mother had said, made hir answer, part in earnest, part in plaie merilic, as he that wist himselfe out of hir rule. And albeit he would gladlie that she should take it well, yet was at a point in his owne mind, toke she it well or otherwise. Howbeit somewhat to satiffie hir, he said, that albeit marriage (being a spirituall thing) ought rather to be made for the respect of God, where his grace inclineth the parties to loue together, as he trusted it was in his, than for the regard of anie temporall aduantage: yet neuerthelesse, him seemed that this marriage, euen wooldie considered, was not vnpassible. For he reckoned the amitie of no earthlie nation so necessarie for him, as the friendship of his owne, which he thought likelie to beate him so much the more hartie fauour, in that he disdeined not to marie with one of his owne land.

And yet if outward alliance were thought to requisite, he would find the means to enter therein, much better by other of his kin, where all the parties could be contented, than to marie himselfe whome he should happlie neuer loue; and for the possibilitie of more possessions, lese the fruit and pleasure of this that he had already. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that euer he hath beside, if he be vnto against his appetite. And I doubt not (quoth he) but there be (as ye say) other, that be in euerie point comparable with hir. And therefore I let not them that like them to wed them. So more is it reason, that it mislike anie man, that I marie where it liketh me. And I am sure that my coufine of Warwike neither loueth me so little, to grudge at that I loue; nor is so vnreasonable, to looke that I should in chosse of a wife, rather be ruled by his eie, than by mine owne: as though I were a ward that were bound to marie by the appointment of a gardian.

I would not be a king with that condition, to forebrace mine owne libertie in chosse of mine owne marriage. As for possibilitie of more inheritance by new affinity in strange lands, is oft the occasion of more trouble than profit. And we haue already title by that means vnto so much, as sufficeth to get and keepe well in one mans daies. That she is a widow, and hath already children; by Gods blessed ladie, I am a bachelor, and haue some too, and so ech of vs hath a profe that neither of vs is like to be barren. And therefore (madame) I prae you be content. I trust in God she shall bring forth a young prince that shall please you. And as for the bigamie, let the bishop

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Elizabeth
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The kings
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Of the earle
of Marwarke.

The earle of
Marwarke
died.

hardlie laie it in my wate when I come to take or-
ders. For I vnderstand it is forbidden a prest, but I
neuer wist it yet, that it was forbidden a prince.
[This spake he as alluding to the libertie of princes,
whose last standeth oftentimes for law, and their opti-
mon for reason, according to the saying of the poet ;

*tunc omnia tenebris,
Cum poteris rex esse.]*

The duchess with these words nothing appeased, and
saying the king so set thereon, that she could not pull
him backe, so highlie she disdaind it, that vnder pre-
text of hir dutie to Godward, she denieth to disturbe
this marriage, and rather to helpe that he should ma-
rie one dame Elizabeth Lucie, whome the king had
also not long before gotten with child. Wherefore the
kinges mother openlie objected against his marriage,
as it were in discharge of hir conscience, that the
king was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucie and hir hus-
band before God. By reason of which words, such ob-
stacle was made in the matter, that either the bi-
shoppes durst not, or the king would not proceed to the
solemnization of this wedding, till these same were
clearlie purged, and the truth well and openlie testi-
fied. Whereupon dame Elizabeth Lucie was then
sent for.

And albeit that she was by the kings mother and
manie other put in good comfort, to affirme that she
was ensured unto the king: yet when she was so-
lemnlie sworn to saie the truth, she confessed that
they were neuer ensured. Wherupon she said his grace
spake so loving words vnto hir, that the verelie ho-
pe he would haue married hir. And that if it had not
bene for such kind words, she would neuer haue
shewed such kindnesse to him, to let him so kindlie
get hir with child. This examination solemnlie ta-
ken, when it was clerelie perceined, that there was
none impediment: the king with great feast and
honourable solemnitie married dame Elizabeth
Lucie, and hir crowned quene that was his enemies
wife, and manie times had praised full hartlie for his
loffe, in which God loued hir better than to grant hir
hir bounce.

But when the earle of Marwarke vnderstood of
this marriage, he took it so highlie that his ambas-
sage was deluded, that for verie anger and disdain
he (at his returning) assembled a great puissance
against the king, and came so fast vpon him yer he
could be able to resist, that he was faine to void the
realme, and flee into Holland for succor, where he re-
mained for the space of two yeares, leauing his new
wife at Westmister in sanctuary, where she was
delivered of Edward the prince, of whome we before
haue spoken. In which meane time the earle of Mar-
warke took out of prison, and set by againe king
Henrie the first, who was before by king Edward
deposed, and that much what by the power of the earle
of Marwarke, which was a wise man, and a couragi-
ous warrour, and of such strength, what for his lands,
his alliance, and fauor with all people, that he made
kings and put downe kings almost at his pleasure,
and not impossible to haue attained it himselfe, if he
had not reckoned it a greater thing to make a king
than to be a king.

But nothing lasteth alwaie: for in conclusion,
king Edward returned, and with much lesse number
than he had at Barnet on the Easterdaie field, slue
the earle of Marwarke, with manie other great es-
tates of that partie, & so stable attained the crowne
againe, that he peaceablie entoid it vntill his deing
daie: and in such plight left it, that it could not be lost
but by the discord of his verie friends, & falshood of
his feined friends. I haue rehearsed this businesse
about this marriage somewhat the more at length,
because it might thereby the better appeare, vpon how

slippie a ground the protector builded his colour, by
which he pretended king Edwards children to be
bastards. But that inuention, simple as it was, it li-
ked them to whome it sufficed to haue somewhat to
saie, while they were sure to be compelled to no lar-
ger profe than themselves list to make.

Now then (as I began to shew you) it was by
the protector and his counsell concluded, that this
doctor Shato should in a sermon at Pauls crosse sig-
nifie to the people, that neither king Edward him-
selfe, nor the duke of Clarence, were lawfullie be-
gotten, nor were not the verie children of the duke of
York, but gotten unlawfullie by other persons, in
adulterie, of the duchess their mother. And that also
dame Elizabeth Lucie was verelie the wife of king
Edward, and so the prince and all his children ba-
stards, that were begotten vpon the quene. Accord-
ing to this deuise doctor Shato the fundaie after, at
Pauls crosse in a great audience (as alwaie assem-
bled great number to his preaching) he took for his
theame; *Spuria vitilamina non agent radices altas*, that
is to saie; Bastard slippes shall neuer take deepe
root.

Thereupon when he had shewed the great grace
that God giueth, and secretlie insundeth in right
generation after the lawes of matrimonie, then de-
clared he, that commonlie those children lacked that
grace, and for the punishment of their parents were
(for the more part) vnhappie, which were gotten in
base, and speciallie in adulterie. Of which, though
some, by the ignorance of the world and the truth hid
from knowledge, inherited for the season other mens
lands, yet God alwaie so prouideth, that it continueth
not in their blood long: but the truth comming to
light, the rightfull inheritors be restored, and the ba-
stard slipp pulled by per it can be rooted dape. And
so he did laie for the profe and confirmation of this
sentence certaine insamples taken out of the old tes-
tament, and other ancient histories.

When began he to descend into the praise of the lord
Richard late duke of Yorke, calling him father to
the lord protector, and declared the title of his heires
vnto the crowne, to whome it was (after the death of
king Henrie the first) intailed by authoritie of parte-
ment. Then shewed he that his verie right heire of
his bodie lawfullie begotten was onelie the lord pro-
tector. For he declared then, that king Edward was
neuer lawfullie married vnto the quene, but was
before God husband vnto dame Elizabeth Lucie, and
so his children bastards. And besides that, neither
king Edward himselfe, nor the duke of Clarence,
among those that were secret in the household, were
reckoned verie suerlie for the children of the noble
duke, as those that by their fauours more resembled
other knowne men than him. From whose vertuous
conditions he said also that the late king Edward
was far off.

But the lord protector he said, the verie noble
prince, the speciall paterne of knightlie provelse, as
well in all princelie behauor, as in the lineaments
and fauour of his visage, represented the verie face
of the noble duke his father. This is, quoth he, the fa-
thers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the
verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted image,
the plaine expresse likenesse of that noble duke.
Now was it before denieth, that in the speaking of
these words, the protector should haue commin in a-
mong the people to the sermon ward, to the end that
those words meeting with his presence, might haue
ben taken among the hearers, as though the Holie
ghost had put them in the preachers mouth, & should
haue moued the people euen there to crie; King Ri-
chard, king Richard: that it might haue bene after
said, that he was speciallie chosen by God, and in
maner

Doc. Shaws
sermon.

This pre-
cher was
taught his
lesson yer he
came into the
pulpit.

R. Edward
slandered in
a sermon.

A marvellous
deuise to
moue the
assemblies.

maner by miracle. But this deuise quailed, either by the protectors negligence, or the preacher's ouermuch diligence.

It Richard
commanded
by the pre-
acher.

For while the protector found by the waie tarieng least he should preuent those words, and the doctor fearing that he should come per his sermon could come to these words, hastned his matter the reso, he was come to them and past them, and entred into other matters per the protector came. Whome when he beheld comming, he suddenlie left the matter with which he was in hand, and without anie deduction therevnto, out of all order and out of all frame, began to repeat those words againe: This is the verie noble prince, the speciall patrone of knightlie prowesse, which as well in all princelie behauioz, as in the lineaments & fauor of his visage, representeth the verie face of the noble duke of Yorke his father: this is the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted image, the plaine expresse likenesse of the noble duke, whose remembrance can neuer die while he liueth.

Note & course
of Gods
iudgement.

While these words were in speaking, the protector accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, went through the people into the place where the doctors commonlie stand in the vpper storie, where he stood to hearken the sermon. But the people were so saure from cring; R. Richard, that they stood as they had bene turned into stones, for wonder of this shamefull sermon. After which once ended, the preacher gat him home, and neuer after durst looke out for shame, but kept him out of sight like an owle. And when he once asked one that had bene his old friend what the people talked of him, all were it that his owne conscience well shewed him that they talked no good; yet when the tother answered him, that there was in euerie mans mouth spoken of him much shame, it so strake him to the heart, that within few daies after he withered and consumed awaie [for verie thought and inward pine, procured by irreuerable cares, whose nature is noted by obseruation of their effects: 40

Ouid. lib. 3. met.

Attendant vigilis corpus miserabile curat.

Then on the tuesday following this sermon, there came to the Guildhall in London the duke of Buckingham, accompanied with diuerse lords and knights mo than haplie knew the message that they brought. And there in the east end of the hall, where the maioz keepeth the Hustings, the maioz and all the aldermen being assembled about him, all the commons of the citie gathered before them. After silence commanded vpon great paine in the protectors name: the duke stood vp, and (as he was neither vblearned, and of nature maruelouslie well spoken) he said vnto the people with a cleare and lowd voice in this maner of wise.

The duke of Buckingham's oration to
the assemblie of the maior, aldermen,
and commoners.



Friends, for the zeale and heartie fauour that we beare you, we be comen to breake vnto you of a matter right great and weightie, and no lesse weightie than pleasing to God, and profitable to all the realme: noz to no part of the realme more profitable, than to you the citizens of this noble citie. For whie, that thing that we wote well ye haue long time lacked, and sore longed for, that ye would haue giuen great good for, that ye would haue gone farre to fetch; that thing we be come hither to bring you without your labour, paine, cost, aduen- 50

ture or leopardie. What thing is that? Certes the suertie of your owne bodies, the quiet of your wiues and your daughters, the safegard of your goods: of all which things in times past ye stood euermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, that would reckon himselfe lord of his own goods among so manie greins & traps as was set therfore; among so much pil-ling and polling, among so manie taxes and tallages, of which there was neuer end, & oftentimes no need: Or if anie were, it rather grew of riot, and vnableasonable wast, than anie necessarie or honouable charge.

So that there was daillie pulled fro good men and honest, great substance of goods, to be lashed out among vnthrifts; so far forth, that fifteen sufficed not, noz anie vniuersall names of knowen taxes: but vnder an easie name of beneuolence and good will, the commissioners so much of euerie man toke as no man could with his good will haue giuen. As though that name of beneuolence had signified, that euerie man should paie, not what himselfe of his owne good will list to grant, but what the king of his good will list to take. Which neuer asked little, but euerie thing was halued aboue the measure, ameracements turned into fines, fines into ransoms, small trespasses into mispison, mispison into treason. Whereof (I thinke) no man looketh that we should remember you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten, that was for a word spoken in hast cruelle beheaded, by the misconstruing of the laws of this realme, for the princes pleasure.

With no lesse honour to Markham then chiefe iustice, that left [the benefit & dignitie] of his office, rather than he would assent to the dishonestie of those, that either for feare or flatterie gaue that iudgement. What Coke, your owne worshipfull neighbour, alderman and maior of this noble citie, who is of you so either negligent that he knoweth not, or so forgetfull that he remembreth not, or so hard hearted that he pittiebeth not that worshipfull mans losse: What speake we of losse? His better spoile and vnderferued destruction, onelie for that it hapned those to fauour him whome the prince fauoured not. We need not (I suppose) to rehearse of these anie mo by name, sith there be (I doubt not) manie here present, that either in themselves or in their nigh friends haue knowen, as well their goods as their persons greatlie endangered, either by feigned quarels, or small matters aggroued with heinous names. And also there was no crime so great, of which there could lacke a pretext.

For sith the king, preuenting the time of this inheritance, attained the crowne by battell: it sufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treason, to haue borne of kindred or alliance, neer familiaritie, or legier acquaintance with anie of those that were at anie time

An. Dom. 1481

An. Regni,

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Sheweth
howe full
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reign all the
reign Eng-
land.

time the kings enemies, which was at one
time and other more than halfe the reigne.
Thus were neither your goods in suertie,
and yet they brought your bodie in ieo-
parchie, beside the common aduenture of o-
pen warre, which albeit that it is euer the
will and occasion of much mischæfe, yet is
it neuer so mischæuous, as where any peo-
ple fall at distance among themselves; nor
in none earthlie nation so deadlie and so
pestilent, as when it hapneth among vs,
and among vs neuer so long continued dis-
sention, nor so manie batels in that season,
nor so cruell and so deadlie fought, as was
in that kings daies that dead is, God for-
giue it his soule.

In whose time, and by whose occasion,
what about the getting of the garland,
hæping it, læsing and winning againe, it
hath cost more English blood, than hath
twise the winning of France. In which
inward war among our selues, hath bene
so great effusion of the ancient noble blood
of this realme, that scarce the halfe re-
maineth, to the great infæbling of this no-
ble land, beside manie a good tobone ransac-
ked and spoiled by them, that haue bene
going to the field or comming from thence.
And peace long after not much surer than
war. So that no time was therein, which
rich men for their monie, and great men
for their lands, or some other for some
feare, or some displeasure were not out of
perill, for whom trusted he that mistrusted
his owne brother: Whome spared he that
killed his owne brother: Or who could per-
fectlie loue him, if his owne brother could
not?

What maner of folke he most fauoured
we shall for his honour spare to speake of.
Howbeit this wore you well all, that who
so was best, bare alwaie least rule; & more
sute was in his daies to Shores wife, a
byle and an abhominable strumpet, than
to all the lords in England: except vnto
those that made hir their protector. Which
simple woman was well named & honest,
till the king for his wanton lust and sinfull
affection bereft hir from hir husband, a
right honest substantiall yong man among
you. And in that point, which in god faith
I am sozie to speake of, sauing that it is in
baine to kepe in counsell that thing that
all men know, the kings grædie appetite
was insatiable, and euerie where ouer all
the realme intollerable.

For no woman was there anie where,
yong or old, rich or poore, whome he set his
eye vpon, in whome he anie thing liked, ei-
ther person or fauour, speech, pale, or coun-
tenance, but without anie feare of God, or
respect of his honour, murmur or grudge
of the world, he would importunelie pursue
his appetite, and haue hir, to the great de-
struction of manie a good woman, and great
dolor to their husbands, and their other
friends, which being honest people of them
selues, so much regard the cleanness of
their house, the chastitie of their wiues,

and their children, that they were leauer
to læse all that they had beside, than to
haue such a villanie done them. And all
were it that with this and other importa-
ble dealing, the realme was in euerie part
annoied: yet speciallie ye here the citi-
zens of this noble citie, as well for that a-
mongest you is most plentie of all such
things as minister matter to such iniuries
as for that you were nearest at hand, with
that nere hereabouts was commonlie
his most abiding.

And yet he ye the people, to whome he had
as singular cause well and kindlie to in-
treat, as anie part of his realme; not one-
lie for that the prince (by this noble citie,
as his speciall chamber, & the speciall well
renowned citie of this realme) much ho-
nourable fame receiueth among all other
nations: but also for that ye (not without
your great cost, & sundrie perils & ieo-
parchie in all his warres) bare euen your spe-
ciall fauor to his part. Which your kind
minds bozne to the house of Poike, with
hath nothing worthilie acquitted, there is
of that house that now by Gods grace bet-
ter shall: which thing to shew you is the
whole summe and effect of this our present
errand. It shall not (I wot well) need that
I rehearse you againe, that ye haue al-
readie heard of him that can better tell it,
and of whome I am sure ye will better be-
leue it. And reason is that it so be.

I am not so proud, to loke therfore that
ye should reckon my words of as great au-
thoritie as the preachers of the word of
God, namlie a man so cunning and so wise,
that no man better woteth what he should
saie, and thereto so good and vertuous, that
he would not saie the thing which he wist
he should not saie, in the pulpit namelie,
into the which no honest man commeth to
lie. Which honozable preacher, ye well re-
member, substantiallie declared vnto you
at Paules crosse, on sundaie last pasted, the
right & title that the most excellent prince
Richard duke of Glocester, now protector
of this realme, hath vnto the crowne and
kingdome of the same. For as the worship-
full man groundlie made open vnto you,
the children of king Edward the fourth
were neuer lawfullie begotten, forsomuch
as the king (leauing his verie wife dame
Elizabeth Lucie) was neuer lawfullie ma-
ried vnto the quene their mother, whose
blood, sauing that he set his voluptuous
pleasure before his honor, was full bnmæt-
lie to be matched with his; and the ming-
ling of whose blouds together, hath bene
the effusion of a great part of the noble
bloud of this realme.

Wherby it may well seme the mariage
not well made, of which there is so much
mischæfe growne. For lacke of which law-
full coupling, & also of other things which
the said worshipfull doctoz rather signified
than fullie explained, & which things shall
not be spoken for me, as the thing wherein
euerie man forberech to say that he know-
eth

He directeth
his speech to
the commonal-
tie of the citie.

London the
kings spect-
all chamber.

Doct. Shaw
commended
by the duke of
Buckingham.

A slanderous
lie confirmed.

The title of
R. Richard to
the crowne.

eth in auoiding displeasure of my noble lord
protector, bearing (as nature requirerth) a
fullall reuerence to the duchesse his mother.
For these causes (I say) before remembred,
that is to wit, for lacke of other issue law-
fullie of the late noble prince Richard duke
of Yorke, to whose roiall blood the crowne
of England and of France is by the high
authoritie of parlement intailed, the right
and title of the same is by the iust course of
inheritance (according to the comon lawes
of the land) deuolued & comen vnto the
most excellent prince the lord protector, as
to the verie lawfullie begotten sonne of the
fore remembred noble duke of Yorke.

Which thing well considered, and the
great knightlie prowesse pondered, with
manifold vertues, which in his noble per-
son singularlie abound; the nobles and
commons also of this realme, and speciallie
of the north part, not willing anie bastard
blood to haue the rule of the land, nor the
abusions before in the same bled anie lon-
ger to continue, haue condescended and ful-
lie determined, to make humble petition to
the most puissant prince the lord protector,
that it maie like his grace (at our humble
request) to take vpon him the guiding and
gouernance of this realme, to the wealth
and increafe of the same, according to his
verie right and iust title. Which thing I
wote it well, he will be loth to take vpon
him, as he whose wisdom well perceiueth
the laboz and studie both of mind and bodie,
that come therewith, to whomsoever so
will occupie the come, as I dare say he
will, if he take it. Which come I warne
you well is no childes office. And that the
great wise man well perceiued, when he
said: *Veregno cuius rex puer est*: Wo is that
realme that hath a child to their king.

The dignitie
and office of a
king full of
care & studie.

Wherefore so much the more cause haue
we to thanke God, that this noble perso-
nage, which is so rightlie intituled therun-
to, is of so sad age, & thereto so great wise-
dome ioined with so great experience,
which albeit he will be loth (as I haue
said) to take it vpon him, yet shall he to our
petition in that behalfe more gracioullie
incline, if ye the worshipfull citizens of this
the chiefe citie of this realme, ioine with
vs the nobles in our said request. Which
for your owne weale (we doubt not) but ye
will: and nathelesse I heartlie pray you
so to do, whereby you shall do great profit
to all this realme beside, in choosing them
so good a king, and vnto your selues speciall
commoditie, to whom his maiestie shall e-
uer after beare so much the more tender
fauor, in how much he shall perceiue you
the more prone and beneuolentlie minded
toward his election. Wherin deere friends
what mind you haue, we require you
plainlie to shew vs.

When the duke had said, and looked that the people,
whome he hoped that the maioz had framed before,
should after this proposition made, haue cried; King
Richard, king Richard; all was hush and mute, and

not one word answered therunto. Wherewith the
duke was maruellouslie abashed, and taking the
maioz nerrer to him, with other that were about him
prieue to that matter, said vnto them looke. What
meaneth this, that the people be so still? Sir (quoth
the maioz) percase they perceiue you not well. That
shall we mend (quoth he) if that will helpe. And by this
somewhat louder he reherced to them the same mat-
ter againe in other order, and other words, so well
and ornatlie, and nathelesse so euidentlie and plaine,
with voice, gesture, and countenance so comelie, and
so conuenient, that euerie man much marvelled that
heard him, and thought that they neuer had in their
liues heard so euill a tale so well told (inso much that
he seemed as cunning an orator, as he, of whome the
poet spake to his high praise & comendation, saleng:

Quilibet eloquio causa fit apta suo.

But were it for wonder or feare, or that each looked
that other should speake first: not one word was
there answered of all the people that stood before, but
all was as still as the midnight, not so much as royn-
ning amongst them, by which they might seme to
commune what was best to do. When the maioz saw
this, he with other partners of that counsell drew a-
bout the duke, and said that the people had not bene
accustomed there to be spoken vnto, but by the re-
corder, which is the mouth of the citie, and hapilie to
him they will answer. Whith that the recorder, cal-
led Fitz William, a sad man, & an honest, which was
so new come into that office, that he neuer had spo-
ken to the people before, and loth was with that mat-
ter to begin, notwithstanding therunto commanded
by the maioz, made rehearfall to the commons of
that the duke had thus rehearsed to them himselfe.

But the recorder so tempered his tale, that he
shewed euerie thing as the dukes words, and no part
his owne. But all this nothing no change made in the
people, which alwaie after one stood as they had bene
men amazed. Wherevpon the duke coloured vnto the
maioz and said; This is a maruellous obstinate ob-
lence: and therewith he turned vnto the people a-
gaine with these words; Deere friends, we come to
moue you to that thing, which peradventure we not
so greatlie needed, but that the lords of this realme,
and the commons of other parties might haue suffi-
ced, sauing that we such loue beare you, and so much
set by you, that we would not gladlie do without
you, that thing in which to be partners is your weale
and honor, which (as it seemeth) either you see not, or
weie not. Wherefore we require you giue vs an
swer one way or other, whether you be minded, as
all the nobles of the realme be, to haue this noble
prince, now protector, to be your king or not.

At these words the people began to whisper among
themselves secretly, that the voice was neither loud
nor distinct, but as it were the sound of a swarime of
bees, till at the last in the nether end of the hall, an
ambushment of the dukes seruants and halberds,
and other belonging to the protector, with some priu-
ties and lads that thrust into the hall amongst the
people, began suddenly at mens backs to crie out,
as loud as their throates would giue; King Richard,
king Richard: and threw vp their caps in token of
ioy. And they that stood before, cast backe their heads
maruellling therof, but nothing they said. Now when
the duke and the maioz saw this manner, they wiselie
turned it to their purpose, and said it was a godlie
crie, & a ioisfull, to heare euerie man with one voice,
no man saleng nate.

Wherefore friends (quoth the duke) sith we per-
ceiue it is all your whole minds to haue this noble
man for your king (whereof we shall make his grace
so effectuell report, that we doubt not but it shall
redound vnto your great weale and commoditie) we
require

The election
of R. Richard
perceiued by
the recorder.

Fitz William
recorder.

R. Richards
election per-
ceiued by the
recorder.

The maioz
comming to
Richard's ca-
pell vnto the
lord protector.

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require ye, that ye to morrow go with vs, and we with you vnto his noble grace, to make our humble request vnto him in maner befoze remembred. And therewith the lordes came downe, and the companie dissolved and departed, the moze part all sad: some with glad semblance that were not verie metrie, and some of those that came thither with the duke not able to dissemble their sorrow, were faine at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the dolor of their hearts burst out of their eyes.

The moztos
coming to
Bernards ca-
stell vnto the
protector.

Then on the morrow after, the maior with all the aldermen, and chiefe commoners of the citie, in their best maner apparelled, assembling themselves togither, resorted vnto Walsnarde castell, where the protector late. To which place repaired also (according to their appointment) the duke of Buckingham, and diuerse noble men with him, beside manie knights and other gentlemen. And thereupon the duke sent word vnto the lord protector, of the being there of a great and honourable companie, to moue a great matter vnto his grace. Whereupon the protector made difficultie to come out vnto them, but if he first knew some part of their errand, as though he doubted and partly mistrusted the coming of such a number vnto him so suddenlie, without anie warning or knowledge, whether they came for good or harme.

Then the duke, when he had shewed this to the maior and other, that they might thereby see how little the protector looked for this matter, they sent vnto him by the messenger such louing message againe, and therewith so humble besought him, to vouchsafe that they might resort to his presence to propose their intent, of which they would vnto none other person anie part disclose; that at the last he came forth of his chamber, and yet not downe vnto them, but stood above in a gallerie ouer them, where they might see him, and speake to him, as though he would not yet come too nere them till he wist what they ment. And therupon the duke of Buckingham first made humble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them all, that his grace would pardon them, and licence them to propose vnto his grace the intent of their coming, without his displeasure, without which pardon obtained, they durst not be bold to moue him of that matter.

In which albeit they ment as much honor to his grace, as wealth to all the realme beside, yet were they not sure how his grace would take it, whome they would in no wise offend. When the protector (as he was verie gentle of himselfe, and also longed sore to wit what they ment) gaue him leaue to propose what him liked, verelie trusting (for the good mind that he bare them all) none of them anie thing would intend vnto himward, wherewith he ought to be grieved. When the duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then wared he bold to shew him their intent and purpose, with all the causes mouing them thereto (as ye befoze haue heard) and finally to beseech his grace, that it would like him, of his accustomed goodnesse and zeale vnto the realme, now with his eye of pitie to behold the long continued distresse and decaye of the same, and to set his gracions hands to redresse and amendment thereof.

All which he might well do, by taking vpon him the crowne and gouernance of this realme, according to his right and title lawfullie descended vnto him, and to the land of God, profit of the land, & vnto his noble grace so much the moze honour, and lesse paine, in that, that neuer prince reigned vpon anie people, that were so glad to liue vnder his obediense, as the people of this realme vnder his. When the protector had heard the proposition, he looked verie strangelie thereat, and answered: that all were it that he part-

lie knew the things by them alledged to be true; yet such entire loue he bare vnto king Edward and his children, that so much moze regarded his honour in other realmes about, than the crowne of anie one of which he was neuer desirous, that he could not find in his hart in this point to incline to their desire. For in all other nations, where the truth were not well knowne, it should peraduenture be thought, that it were his owne ambitious mind and deuise, to depose the prince, and take himselfe the crowne.

With which infamie he would not haue his honour stained for anie crowne, in which he had euer perceiued much moze labour and paine, than pleasure to him that so would vse it, as he that would not, were not worthy to haue it. Notwithstanding, he not onlie pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hartie fauour they bare him, praiseng them for his sake to giue and beare the same to the prince, vnder whom he was, and would be content to liue, and with his labour and counsell (as farre as should like the king to vse him) he would do his uttermost deuoir to set the realme in good state, which was already in this little while of his protectorship (the praise giuen to God) well begun, in that the malice of such as were before occasion of the contrarie, and of new intended to be, were now partlie by god policie, & partlie moze by Gods speciall prouidence, than mans prouision, repressed.

Upon this answer giuen, the duke by the protectors licence, a little rownded aswell with other noble men about him, as with the maior and recorder of London. And after that (vpon like pardon desired & obtained) he shewed aloud vnto the protector, that for a small conclusion, that the realme was appointed R. Edwards line should not anie longer reigne vpon them, both for that they had so farre gone, that it was now no suertie to retreat, as for that they thought it for the weake vniuersall to take that waie, although they had not yet begun it. Wherefore, if it would like his grace to take the crowne vpon him, they would humble beseech him thereto. If he would giue them a resolute answer to the contrarie, which they would be loth to heare, then must they needs seeke and should not faile to find some other noble man that would. These words much moued the protector, which else (as euerie man may well) would neuer of likelihood haue inclined thereto.

But when he saw there was none other waie, but that either he must take it, or else he and his both go from it, he said vnto the lordes and commons: With we perceiue well that all the realme is so set, thereof we be verie sorie, that they will not suffer in any wise king Edwards line to gouerne them, whom no man earthly can gouerne against their willes; & we well also perceiue, that no man is there, to whome the crowne can by iust title apperteine, as to our selues, as verie right here lawfully begotten of the bodie of our most deere father Richard late duke of Yorke, to which title is now ioined your election, the nobles and commons of this realme, which we of all titles possible take for the most effectual: we be content and a gré sauourable to incline to your petition and request, and (according to the same) here we take vpon vs the rofall estate, preheminentie and kingdome of the two noble realmes, England and France: the one from this date forward by vs and our heires to rule, gouerne, and defend; the other by Gods grace, and your good helpe, to get againe and subdue, and establish for ener in due obedience vnto this realme of England, the aduancement wherof we neuer aske of God longer to liue than we intend to procure.

With this there was a great shout, crying: King Richard, king Richard. And then the lordes went by to the

A singular
dissimulation
of king Ri-
chard.

R. Richard
spake other-
wise than he
meant.

The election
of R. Richard
hardly to be
preferred.

R. Richard
recorder.

R. Richards
election pro-
posed by vol-
untaries of con-
federacie.

The protector
tacth vpon
him to be
king.

I made match
to coulent the
people.

Inuenerat. fac. 2.

the king (for so was he from that time called) and the people departed, talking diuersie of the matter, euerie man as his fantasie gaue him. But much they talked and marvelled of the maner of this dealing, that the matter was on both parts made so strange, as though neither had euer communed with other thereof before, when that themselves wist there was no man so dull that heard them, but he perceiued well enough that all the matter was made betwene them. Wholpelt some excused that againe, and said all must be done in good order though: and men must sometime for the maners sake, not be aknownen what they know though it be hard to outreach the circumstance, tosse, & bigilant minded man; as the poet saith:

non facile est tibi

Decipere vlysem.]

For at the consecration of a bishop, euerie man woteth well by the pateng for his bails, that he purpo-

seth to be one, & though he pale for nothing else. And yet must he be twise asked whether he will be bishop or no, and he must twise saie naie, and the thirde time take it, as compelled thereunto by his owne will. And in a stage plaie, all the people know right well, that one plaing the Solban, is percase a solter; yet if one should can so little god, to shew out of season what acquaintance he hath with him, and call him by his owne name while he standeth in his maiestie, one of his tormentors might hap to breake his head (and worthis) for marring of the plaie. And so they said, that these matters be kings games, as it were stage plates, and for the moze part plated upon scaffolds, in which poze men be but the lookers on. And they that tosse he will meddle no further. For they that sometime step bp, and plaie with them, when they can not plaie their parts, they disorder the plaie, and do themselves no good.

Thus farre Edward the fift, who was neuer king crowned, but shamefullie by his vncke slaine, as in the proceffe following appeereth.



Richard the third, third sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, and vncke to Edward the fift.

Anno Reg. 1

1483
(*) This that
is here be-
twene this
marke (*) was
not written
by maister
More in this
hystorie writ-
ten by him in
Englisch, but
is translated
out of this hi-
storie which
he wrote in
Latine.

The next daie the protector, with a great traine went to Westminster hall, & there when he had placed himselfe in the court of the kings bench, declared to the audience, that he would take upon him the crowne in that place there, where the king himselfe sitteth and ministrereth the law, because he considered that it was the chiefest dutie of a king to minister the lawes. When with as pleasant an oration as he could, he went about to win vnto him the nobles, the merchants, the artificers, and in conclusion all kind of men, but especiallie the lawiers of this realme. And finally, to the intent that no man should hate him for feare, and that his deceitfull clemencie might get him the good will of the people, when he had declared the discommodities of discord, & the comodities of concord & vnite, he made an open proclamation, that he did put out of his mind all enimities, and that he there did openlie pardon all offenses committed against him.

And to the intent that he might shew a pzoofe thereof, he commanded that one fog, whom he had long deadlie hated, should be brought then before him, who being brought out of the sanctuarie (for thither had he fled for feare of him) in the sight of the people, he took him by the hand. Which thing the common people reioysed at, and praised, but wise men took it for a banitie. In his returne homeward, whom so euer he met, he saluted. For a mind that knoweth it selfe guiltie,

is in a manner defected to a seruile flatterie (which refuseth no dutifullnesse, tend the same to neuer to vie a degree of indignitie; which one noteth, saing:

rides? maiore cachinno

Concussur; flet, si lachrymas affexit amici;

Frigeris? friger; si dixeris, affusio sudat.]

When he had begun his reigne in the moneth of June, after this mockish election, then was he crowned king in the verie same moneth. And that sollemnitie was furnished, for the most part, with the selfe same pouison that was appointed for the coronation of his nephew. (*) But here to shew the maner of his coronation, as the same is inserted in this pamphlet of sir Thomas More, by maister Edward Hall and Richard Grafton (although not found in the same pamphlet) thus we find it by them reported.

(*) First, to be sure of all enemies (as he thought) he sent for fve thousand men of the north against his coronation, which came by euill apparelled, and worse harnessed, in russe harnesse, neither defensible, nor scotized to the sale, which mustered in ffinsthorpe field to the great disdain of the lookers on. By which be- grinning it appeared to the world that he had his state in suspition, otherwisse he would not haue procured such a power to be attendant at his commandment, and that at such time as (all weapons laid aside) peace and tranquillitie should haue bene sought after for the comforts of the peoples minds, & the safetie of his owne person; but being verie mistrustfull & fraught with careful thoughts, he was in a mize betwene hope and feare, according to this verie true saing:

Sollicita

Benetene
nights of
the bath crea-
ted by king
Richard.

what peers &
nates were
attendant on
him going to
his coronation.

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Geor
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John
Bech
fir W
Ludi
fir W
Thwa
ton, fi
Philp
Greff
ris, fi
fir Jo
Cour
medil

Sollicita mentes speque metuque pauent.

The fourth daie of Iulie he came to the Towber by water with his wife, and the fift daie he created Thomas lord Howard duke of Norfolk, and sir Thomas Howard his sonne he created earle of Surrie, and William lord Berkeleye was then created erle of Nottingham, and Francis lord Louell was then made viceroy Louell, and the king his chamberleine, and the lord Stanleie was deliuered out of ward, for feare of his sonne the lord Strange, which was then in Lancashire, gathering men (as men said) and the said lord was made steward of the king his household: likewise the archbishop of Yorke was deliuered, but Dorset bihop of Elie was committed to the duke of Buckingham to keepe in ward, which sent him to his manour of Brecknocke in Wales, from whence he escaped to king Richard his cousin.

The same night, the king made seuteneene knights of the Bath, whose names insue : Sir Edmund the duke of Suffolke sonne, sir George Greie, the earle of Kentis sonne, sir William, the lord Zouches sonne, sir Henrie Aburgauennie, sir Christopher Willoughbbie, sir William Berkeleie, sir Henrie Babington, sir Thomas Arundell, sir Thomas Bologne, sir Serueis of Clifton, sir William Saie, sir Edmund Bedingfield, sir William Cnderbie, sir Thomas Lekenoz, sir Thomas of Winton, sir John Browne, sir William Berkeleie. The next daie, being the fist daie of Iulie, the king rode through the cite of London toward Westmister with great pompe, being accompanied with these dukes, earles, lords, and knights, whose names follow. Edward prince of Wales, the kings onelie sonne. Dukes : the duke of Norfolke, the duke of Buckingham, the duke of Suffolke. Earles : the earle of Northumberland, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Kent, the earle of Surrie, the earle of Wiltshire, the earle of Huntington, the earle of Nottingham, the earle of Marwike, the earle of Lincoln. Lords : the lord Lisle vicount, the lord Louell vicount, the lord Stanleie, the lord Audleie, the lord Dacres, the lord Ferrers of Chartleie, the lord Powres, the lord Scropes of Upfall, the lord Scropes of Bolton, the lord Greie Conner, the lord Greie of Wilton, the lord Sturton, the lord Cobham, the lord Horleie, the lord Aburgauennie, the lord Zouch, the lord Ferrers of Grobie, the lord Welles, the lord Lomleie, the lord Patreuers, the lord Herbert, the lord Becham. Knights : sir James Tyrell, sir William Kneuet, sir Thomas Abozov, sir William Stanleie, sir William Apage, sir George Browne, sir Robert Middleton, sir John Penningham, sir Nicholas Latimer, sir Thomas Montgomerie, sir Thomas Delamer, sir Gilbert Debnam, sir Terrie Kobsart, sir William Brandon, sir John Sauell, sir Henrie Wentford, sir Edward Stanleie, sir Henrie Sentmount, sir William Pong, sir Thomas Bowser, sir Henrie Winkelfield, sir Thomas Woztleie, sir John Sentlow, sir Charles of Pilkington, sir James Harrington, sir John Aleie, sir Thomas Berkeleie, sir Richard Becham, sir William Hopton, sir Thomas Versie, sir Robert Dimmocke, sir John Cheinie, sir Richard Ludlow, sir John Eldington, sir William Sands, sir Richard Audleie, sir William Sentlow, sir Thomaswaights, sir Edmund of Audleie, sir Rafe Ashton, sir Richard Charlington, sir Thomas Greie, sir Philip Berkeleie, sir Robert Harrington, sir Thomas Grefleie, sir Richard Harecourt, sir William Norris, sir Thomas Selenger, sir Richard Hodelsen, sir John Conias, sir William Stoner, sir Philip Courtneie, sir William Gascoigne, sir Richard Asmediton, sir Roger Fines, sir George Ware, sir

fir Henric Perſie, fir John Wood, fir John Sparre,
 fir John Grete, fir John Dandie, fir Richard Taile-
 buſh, fir John Kudet, fir John Herring, fir Richard
 Cumberbie, fir John Berkeleie, fir James Stran-
 guith, fir Maſe Carnbreche, fir John Conſtable, fir
 Robert Elhard, fir Richard Derell, fir John Wilford,
 fir John Lehenoz, fir John Pozele, fir John Pynes,
 fir John Volgone, fir Edmund Shawalderman.

On the morowe, being the first daie of Iulie, the
 10 king with quene Anne his wife, came downe out
 of the White hall into the great hall at Westminster,
 and went directlie into the kings Bench. And
 from thence, the king and the quene going vpon raise
 cloth barefooted, went vnto saint Edwards shrine,
 and all his nobilitie going with him, euerie loe in
 his degre. And first went the trumpets, and then the
 heralds of armes in their rich coats, & next followed
 the crosse with a solemne procession, the priests ha-
 ving fine surplices and graie amisses vpon them.
 20 The abbats and bishops mitred and in rich copes,
 & euerie of them carried their crossiers in their hands.
 The bishop of Rochester bare the crosse before the
 cardinall. Then followed the earle of Huntington
 bearing a paire of gilt spurres, signifying knightshood.
 Then followed the earle of Bedford bearing saint
 Edwards staffe for a relike.

After them came the earle of Northumberland bare-headed, with the pointlesse sword naked in his hand, which signified mercie. The lord Stanley bare the mace of the constablenesship. The earle of Kent bare the second sword on the right hand of the king naked, with a point, which signified iustice vnto the tempozalltie. The lord Louell bare the third sword on the left hand with a point, which signified iustice to the cleargie. The duke of Suffolke followed with the scepter in his hand, which signified peace. The earle of Lincolne bare the ball and crosse, which signified a monarchie. The erle of Surrie bare the fourth sword before the king in a rich scaberd, and that is called the sword of estate. Then went thre together, in the midst went Garter king: t armes in his rich cote: and on his left hand went the maio: of London, bearing a mace: and on his right hand went the gentleman bysher of the plynie chamber. Then followed the duke of Northfolke, bearing the kings crowne betweene his hands,

Then followed king Richard in his robes of purple beluēt, and ouer his head a canopie, borne by foure barons of the cinque ports. And on euerie side of the king there went one bishop, that is to saie, the bishop of Bath, and the bishop of Durham. Then followed the duke of Buckingham bearing the kings traine, with a white staffe in his hand, signifieng the office of the high steward of England. Then there followed a great number of earles and barons before the queene. And then came the earle of Huntington, who bare the queenes scepter, and the viscount Lisle bearing the rod with the dowe. And the earle of Wilshire bare the queenes crowne. Then followed queene Anne daughter to Richard earle of Warwicke in robes like to the king, betwene two bishops, and a canopie ouer his head borne by the barons of the ports. On his head a rich coronet set with stones and pearle.

After hit followed the countesse of Richmond
heire to the duke of Summerfet, which bare by the
queenes traine. After followed the duchesse of Suff-
folke and Pozzfolke, with countesses, baronesses, la-
dies, and manie faire gentlewomen. In this order
they passed through the palace, and entered the abbete
at the west end; and so came to their seats of estate.
And after diuerse songs solemnelie song, they both
ascended to the high altar, and were shifed from
their robes, and had diuerse places open from the
middle

The solemn
ceremonies
used at king
Richards co-
ronation.

Queene Anne
wife to king,
Richard and
daughter to
Richard earle
of warwike,
and hir traine,

The king &
queene crowne
1483.

middle byward, in which places they were annoyned. Then both the king and the queene changed them into cloth of gold, and ascended to their seats, where the cardinal of Canturburie, & other bishops them crowned according to the custome of the realme, giuing him the scepter in the left hand, & the ball with the crose in the right hand; and the queene had the scepter in hir right hand, and the rod with the dove in hir left hand.

On euerie side of the king stood a duke, and before him stood the earle of Surrie with the sword in his hands. And on euerie side of the queene standing a bishop, & a ladie kneeling. The cardinal song masse, and after par, the king and the queene descended, and before the high altar they were both houseled, with one host dined betwene them. After masse finished, they both offered at saint Edward his shrine, and there the king left the crowne of saint Edward, and put on his owne crowne. And so in order as they came, they departed to Westminster hall; and so to their chambers for a season: during which time the duke of Norfolk came into the hall, his horse trapped to the ground in cloth of gold, as high marshall, and voided the hall. About foure of the clocke, the king and queene entered the hall, and the king sate in the middle, and the queene on the left hand of the table, and on euerie side of hir stood a countesse, holding a cloth of plectance, when the list to drinke.

And on the right hand of the king sat the bishop of Canturburie. The ladies sat all on one side, in the middle of the hall. And at the table against them sat the chancellor, and all the lords. At the table next the cupbard, sat the maior of London; and at the table behind the lords, sat the barons of the ports: and at the other tables sat noble and worshipfull personages. When all persons were set, the duke of Norfolk, earle marshall, the earle of Surrie, constable for that daie, the lord Stanlie lord steward, sir William Hopton treasurer, & sir Thomas Perse controller, came in and serued the king solemnly, with one dish of gold, and an other of silver, and the queene all in gilt vessel, and the bishop all in silver.

Sir Robert
Dinmoke
the kings
champion his
challenge in
the behalfe of
king Richard.

At the second course came into the hall sir Robert Dinmoke the kings champion, making proclamation, that whosoever would saie, that king Richard was not lawfull king, he would fight with him at the utterance, and threw downe his gantlet, and then all the hall cried, King Richard. And so he did in three parts of the hall, and then one brought him a cup of wine covered, and when he had drunke, he cast out the drinke, and departed with the cup. After that, the heralds cried a largesse thise in the hall, and so went by to their stage. At the end of dinner, the maior of London serued the king & queene with swete wine, and had of each of them a cup of gold, with a cover of gold. And by that time that all was done, it was darke night. And so the king returned to his chamber, and euerie man to his lodging.

A gale pre-
tence of iustice
and equitie.

When this feast was thus finished, the king sent home all the lords into their countries that would depart, except the lord Stanlie, whom he retained, till he heard what his sonne the lord Strange went about. And to such as went home, he gave stright charge and commandement, to see these countries well ordered, and that no wrong nor extortion should be done to his subiects. And thus he taught other to erecte iustice and equitie, the contrarie wherof he hadlly exercised. He also with great rewards giuen to the northermen, which he sent for to his coronation, sent them home to their countrie with great thanks: wherof diuerse of them (as they be all of nature verie greedie of authoritie, & speciallie when they thinke to haue anie comfort or fauour) toke on them to highlie, and wrought such miseries, that

the king was faine to ride thither in his first yeare, and to put some in execution, and staie the countrie, or else no small mischeefe had ensued.

Not fell there mischeefe thicke. And as the thing euill gotten is neuer well kept, thorough all the time of his reigne neuer ceased there cruell death and slaughter, till his owne destruction ended it. But as he finished his time with the best death and the most righteous, that is to wit, his owne; so began he with the most pittious and wicked; I meane the lamentable murder of his innocent nephews, the young king and his tender brother: whose death and final fortune hath notwithstanding comen so farre in question, that some remaine yet in doubt, whether they were in his daies destroyed or no. Not for that onlie that Perkin Warbeck by manie folks malice, and mo folks folie, so long space abusing the world, was as well with princes as the poorer people reputed and taken for the younger of these two; but for that also that all things were in late daies so courtly demeaned, one thing pretended, and an other meant.

Insomuch that there was nothing so plaine and openlie proued, but that yet for the common custome of close and couert dealing, men had it euer inwardly suspect; as manie well counterfitted iewels make the true mistrusted. Whobbeit, concerning the opinion, with the occasions mouing either partie, we shall haue place more at large to intreat, if we hereafter happen to write the time of the late noble prince of famous memorie king Henrie the seauenth, or percase that historie of Perkin in anie compendious processe by it selfe. But in the meane time, for this present matter, I shall rehearse you the dolorous end of those babes, not after euerie waie that I haue heard, but after that waie that I haue so heard by such men and by such meanes, as me thinketh it were hard but it should be true.

King Richard after his coronation, taking his waie to Gloucester to visit (in his new honour) the towne of which he bare the name of his old, deuised (as he rode) to fulfill the thing which he before had intended. And sozomuch as his mind gaue him, that his nephews liuing, men would not reckon that he could haue right to the realme: he thought therefore without delaie to rid them, as though the killing of his kinsmen could amend his cause, and make him a kindle king. Whereupon he sent one John Grene, (whom he speciallie trusted) vnto sir Robert Wakenberie, constable of the Tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same sir Robert should in anie wise put the two children to death.

This John Grene did his errand vnto Wakenberie, kneeling before our ladie in the Tower. Who plainelie answered, that he would neuer put them to death to die therefore. With which answer John Grene returning, recounted the same to king Richard at Warwicke yet in his waie. Where with he toke such displeasure & thought, that the same night he said vnto a secret page of his: Ah! whom shall a man trust? Those that I haue brought by my selfe, those that I had went would most fuerlie serue me, euen those saile me, and at my commandement will do nothing for me. Sir (quoth his page) there lieth one on your pallet without, that I dare well saie, to do your grace pleasure, the thing were right hard that he would refuse. Meaning this by sir James Tirrell, which was a man of right goodlie personage, and for natures gifts worthe to haue serued a much better prince, if he had well serued God, and by grace obtained as much truth and good will as he had strength and wit.

The man had an high heart, & soze longed byward, not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being hindered & kept vnder by the meanes of sir Richard Ratcliffe,

Sir Thomas
More 1483.

Perkin War-
becke.

Clothe dealing
to euery law
1483.

John Grene
Robert Waken-
berie constable
of the Tower.

The number
of the new
young prince
1483.

Sir James
Tirrell de-
scribed.

Richard
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The murder
of the two
young prince
let abrook.

Sir James
Cirell de
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Anthony was
rich no possi
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The constable
of the Tower
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Two
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The young
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Sir James
Cirell de
scribed.

Anthony was
rich no possi
ners.

and sir William Catesbie, which longing for no more partners of the princes favour; and namely, not for him, whose pride they wist would beare no peers, kept him by secret drifts out of all secret trust, which thing this page well had marked and knowne. Wherefore this occasion offered, of verie speciall friendship he took his time to put him forward, and by such wise do him good, that all the enemies he had (except the devil) could neuer have done him so much hurt. For upon this pages words king Richard arose (for this communication had he sitting at the draught, a convenient carpet for such a counsell) and came out into the pallet chamber, on which he found in bed sir James and sir Thomas Cirells, of person like, and brethren of blood, but nothing of kin in conditions.

Then said the king merilie to them; What sirs, be ye in bed so lone? And calling by sir James, brake to him secretlie his mind in this mischeuous matter. In which he found him nothing strange. Wherefore on the morow he sent him to Wakenberie with a letter, by which he was commanded to deliuer sir James all the keyes of the Tower for one night, to the end he might there accomplish the kings pleasure, in such things as he had given him commandement. After which letter deliuered, the keyes receiued, sir James appointed the night next ensuing to despoile them, dressing before and preparing the means. The prince (as some as the protectors left that name, and take himselfe as king) had it the woe to him, that he should not reigne, but his uncle should haue the crowne. At which word the prince foze abashed, began to sigh, and said: Alas, I would my uncle would let me haue my life yet, though I lese my kingdom.

Then he that told him the tale, bled him with good words, and put him in the best comfort he could. But forthwith was the prince and his brother both shut up, & all other remoued from them, onelie one (called Blacke Will, or William Slaughter) excepted, let to serue them and see them sure. After which time the prince neuer tied his points, nor ought rought of himselfe, but with that young babe his brother, lingers with thought and heavinesse, untill this traitorous death deliuered them of that wretchednesse. For sir James Cirell deuised, that they should be murdered in their beds. To the execution whereof, he appointed Miles Forrest, one of the four that kept them, a fellow fleshed in murder before time. To him he loined one John Dighton his owne horse keeper, a big, broad, square, and strong knaue.

Then all the other being remoued from them, this Miles Forrest, and John Dighton, about midnight (the selie children lieng in their beds) came into the chamber, & suddenlie lapping them by among the clothes, so to betrapped them and intangled them, heaping downe by force the feather-bed and pillowes hard onto their mouths, that within a while, smothered and stifled, their bzeath failing, they gaue vp to God their innocent soules into the ioies of heauen, leaving to the tormentors their bodies dead in the bed. Which after that the wretches percelued, first by the strugling with the paines of death, and after long lieng still, to be thoroughlie dead, they laid their bodies naked out upon the bed, and fetched sir James to see them; which upon the sight of them caused those murderers to burie them at the faire foot, maillie dape in the ground, under a great heape of stones.

Then rode sir James in great hast to king Richard, and shewed him all the manner of the murder; who gaue him great thanks, and (as some saie) there made him knight. But he allowed not (as I haue heard) the burieng in so vile a corner, saieing, that he would haue them buried in a better place, because they were a kings sounes. To the honourable cou-

courage of a king. Whereupon they saie, that a priest of sir Robert Wakenberies took by the bodies a gaine, and secretlie interred them in such place, as by the occasion of his death, which onelie knew it, could neuer since come to light. Verie truth is it, and well knowne, that at such time as sir James Cirell was in the Tower, for treason committed against the most famous prince king Henrie the seauenth, both Dighton and he were examined, and confessed the murder in manner aboue written: but whether the bodies were remoued, they could nothing tell.

The murder
confessed.

And thus (as I haue learned of them that much knew, and little cause had to lie) were these two noble princes, these innocent tender children, borne of most roiall blood, brought up in great wealth, libelie long to lue, reigne, and rule in the realme, by traitorous tyrannie taken, deprived of their estate, shortly shut up in prison, and priuillie slaine and murdered, their bodies cast God wot where, by the cruel ambition of their unnatural uncle & his despitesus tormentors. Which things on euerie part well pondered, God neuer gaue this world a more notable example, neither in that vnfortunate standeth this world lie weale; or that mischance worketh the proud enterprize of an high heart; or finallie, what wretched end inueth such despitesus crueltie.

For first, to begin with the ministers, Miles Forrest, at St. Martins peccemcale rotted auaile. Dighton in dead yet walketh on alieue in gods possibilitie to be hanged per he die. But sir James Cirell died at the Tower hill beheaded for treason. King Richard himselfe, as ye shall hereafter heare, slaine in the field, hacked and helmed of his enemies hands, hanged on horse-backe dead, his haire in despite torne and tugged like a curie dog; and the mischance that he took, within lesse than thre yeares of the mischance that he did: and yet all (in the meane time) spent in much paine & trouble outward, much feare, anguish and sorow within. For I haue heard by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberlerie, that after this abhominable deed done, he neuer had a quiet mind. [When the which there can be no greater torment. For a guiltie conscience inwardlie accusing and bearing witness against an offender, is such a plague and punishment, as hell it selfe (with all the fiends therein) can not afford one of greater horror & affliction; the poet implieng no lesse in this trifidion;

The first
indgement of
God severeth
reueing the
murder of the
innocent prince
upon the
malefactor.

Pana autem vehemens, ac multo senior illis,
Quis Creditus grauis inuenit & Radamanthus,
Nocte dieque sum gressum in pectore testem.

Perf. 3.

He neuer thought himselfe sure. Where he went abroad, his eies whirled about, his bodie priuillie fenled, his hand euer upon his dagger, his countenance and maner like one alwaies ready to strike againe, he took ill rest a nights, laie long waking and musing, foze wearied with care and watch, rather stumbled than slept, troubled with fearefull dremes, suddenlie sometime start by, lept out of his bed, and ran about the chamber; so was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stonie remembrance of his abhominable deed. Now had he outward no long time in rest. For hereupon, lone after began the conspiracie, or rather god confederation, betwene the duke of Buckingham and manie other gentlemen against him. The occasion whereupon the king and the duke fell out, is of diuerse folke in diuerse wise pretended.

The outward
and inward
troubles of
tyrants by
means of a
gnawing
conscience.

This duke (as I haue for certeine bene informed) as lone as the duke of Gloucester, upon the death of king Edward, came to Poike, & there had solemn funeral service for king Edward, sent thither in the most secret wise he could, one Perfall his trustie servant, who came to John Ward a chamberer of like secret trust with the duke of Gloucester, desiring that

Perfall, faith Ed. Hall.

in the most close and covert maner, he might be admitted to the presence and speech of his maister. And the duke of Glocester advertised of his desire, caused him in the dead of the night (after all other folke asleeped) to be brought vnto him in his secret chamber, where Desfall (after his maisters recommendations) shewed him that he had secret sent him to shew him, that in this new world he would take such part as he would, & wait vpon him with a thousand good fellows, if need were.

The messenger sent backe with thanks, & some secret instruction of the protectors mind, yet met him againe with further message from the duke his maister within few daies after at Nottingham: whither the protector from Poike with manie gentlemen of the north countrie, to the number of six hundred horses, was come on his waie to London-ward, & after secret meeting and communication had, espies departed. Whereupon at Northhampton, the duke met with the protector himselfe with three hundred horses, and from thence still continued with him partner of all his deuises; till that after his coronation, they departed (as it seemed) verie great friends at Glocester. From thence as soone as the duke came home, he so lightlie turned from him, and so highlie conspired against him, that a man would maruell whereof the change grew. And suerlie, the occasion of their variance is of diuerse men diuerselie reported.

Causes of the duke of Buckingham and King Richards falling out.

Some haue I heard say, that the duke a little before his coronation, among other things, required of the protector the duke of Herefords lands, to the which he pretended himselfe iust inheritor. And for so much as the title, which he claimed by inheritance, was somewhat interlaced with the title to the crowne by the line of king Henrie before depeined, the protector conceiued such indignation, that he reiected the dukes request with manie spitefull and minatorie words. Which so wounded his heart with hatred and mistrust, that he neuer after could indure to looke aright on king Richard, but euer feared his owne life; so far forth, that when the protector rode through London toward his coronation, he feined himselfe sicke, because he would not ride with him. And the other also taking it in euill part, sent him word to rise, and come ride, or he would make him be caried. Whereupon he rode on with euill will, and that notwithstanding on the morrow, rose from the feast, feining himselfe sicke, and king Richard said it was done in hatred and despite of him.

The duke of Buckingham and king Richard mistrust each other.

And they said, that euer after continuallie, each of them liued in such hatred and distrust of other, that the duke verelie looked to haue bene murdered at Glocester: from which nathelesse, he in faire maner departed. But suerlie some right secret at that daie denie this: and manie right wise men thinke it verelike (the deepe dissembling nature of both those men considered, and what need in that Greene world the protector had of the duke, and in what perill the duke stood, if he fell once in suspicion of the tyrant) that either the protector would giue the duke occasion of displeasure, or the duke the protector occasion of mistrust. And verelie, men thinke, that if king Richard had anie such opinion conceiued, he would neuer haue suffered him to escape his hands. Verie truth it is, the duke was an high minded man, and euill could beare the glorie of another; so that I haue heard of some that say they saw it, that the duke, at such time as the crowne was first set vpon the protectors head, his eie could not abide the sight thereof, but turned his head another way.

But men say, that he was of truth not well at ease, and that both to king Richard well knowne, and not euill taken; nor anie demand of the dukes

uncourteousie reiected; but he both with great gifts, and high behests, in most loving and trullie maner departed at Glocester. But soone after his coming home to Brecknocke, hauing there in his custodie by the commandement of king Richard doctor Poxton bishop of Ely, who (as ye before heard) was taken in the counsell at the Tower, waied with him familiar, whose wisdomne abused his pride to his owne deliuerance, and the dukes destruction. The bishop was a man of great naturall wit, verie well learned, and honozable in behauior, lacking no wise waies to win fauour. He had bene fast vpon the part of king Henrie, while that part was in wealtie; and nathelesse left it not, nor forsooke it in wo, but fled the realme with the queene & the prince, while king Edward had the king in prison, neuer came home, but to the field.

After which loss, and that part bitterlie subdued, the other (for his fast faith and wisdomne) not onlie was content to receiue him, but also wooed him to come, and had him from thenceforth both in secret trust, and verie speciall fauour, which he nothing deceiued. For he being (as ye haue heard) after king Edwards death, first taken by the tyrant for his truth to the king, found the meane to set this duke in his top, joined gentlemen together in the aid of king Henrie, deuising first the marriage betwene him & king Edwards daughter: by which his faith he declared the good seruice to both his masters at once, with infinit benefit to the realme by the coniunction of those two blonds in one, whose severall titles had long disquieted the land, he fled the realme, went to Rome, neuer minding more to meddle with the world; till the noble prince king Henrie the seventh gat him home againe, made him archbishop of Canturburie, and chancellor of England, whereunto the pope joined the honour of cardinal. Thus liuing manie daies in as much honoz as one man might well wish, ended them so goodlie, that his death with Gods mercie well changed his life.

This man therefore (as I was about to tell you) by the long & often alternate profe, as well of prosperitie as aduerse fortune, had gotten by great experience (the verie mother and mistress of wisdomne) a deepe insight in politike worldlie diffis. Whereby perceiuing now this duke glad to commune with him, fed him with faire words, and manie pleasant praises. And perceiuing by the proceffe of their communications, the dukes pride now and then belking out a little breath of enuie toward the glorie of the king, and thereby feeling him easie to fall out if the matter were well handled: he craftilie sought the waies to picke him forward, taking alwaies the occasion of his coming, and so keeping himselfe so close within his bounds, that he rather seemed to follow him, than to lead him. For when the duke first began to praise and boast the king, and shew how much profit the realme should take by his reigne: my lord Poxton answered thus.

Suerlie, my lord, follie were it for me to lie, for if I would sweare the contrarie, your lordship would not (I weene) beleue; but that if the world would haue gone as I would haue wished, king Henries sonne had had the crowne, and not king Edward. But after that God had ordered him to lese it, and king Edward to reigne, I was neuer so mad that I would with a dead man strue against the quicke. So was I to king Edward a faithfull chapleine, & glad would haue bene that his child had succeeded him. Whosoeuer, if the secret iudgment of God haue otherwise provided, I purpose not to spurne against a picke, nor labour to set vp that God pulleth downe. And as for the late protector and now king, And even there he left, saying that he had already medled too much

Doctor Poxton bishop of Ely, a wise pageant to please.

The high honour of king Edward.

Bishop Poxton's subtil underminyng of the duke.

More endeth Sir Thomas More, & this that followeth is taken out of matter Hall.

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much with the world, and would from that daie med
dle with his booke and his beads, and no further.
Then longed the duke to heare what he would
have said, because he ended with the king, and there
so suddenlie stopped, and exhorted him so familiarlie
betwene them twaine to be bold to saie whatsoeuer
he thought; whereof he faithfullie promised there
should neuer come hurt, and peradventure more good
than he would haue; and that himselfe intended to
use his faithfull secret aduise & counsell, which he said
was the onelie cause for which he procured of the
king to haue him in his custodie, where he might re
con himselfe at home, and else had he bene put in the
hands of them with whom he should not haue found
the like fauour. The bishop right humble thanked
him, and said: In god faith my lord, I loue not to
talke much of princes, as a thing not all out of perill,
though the word be without fault: for so much as it
shall not be taken as the partie ment it, but as it
pleaseth the prince to construe it.
And euer I thinke on Aesops tale, that when the
lion had proclaimed that (on paine of death) there
should no horned beast abide in that wood: one that
had in his forech a bunch of flesh, fled alwaie a great
pace. The fox that saw him run so fast, asked him whi
ther he made all that hast: And he answered, In
faith I neither wote, nor reke, so I were once hence,
because of this proclamation made of horned beasts.
What sole (quoth the fox) thou maiest abide well i
nough; the lion ment not by thee, for it is no horne
that is in thine head. So marie (quoth he) that wote
I well enough. But what and he call it an horne,
where am I then? The duke laughed merilie at the
tale, and said: My lord, I warrant you, neither the li
on nor the boze shall pike anie matter at anie thing
here spoken: for it shall neuer come nere their
eare.
In god faith sir (said the bishop) if it did, the thing
that I was about to say, taken as well as (as for God)
I ment it, could deserue but thanke: and yet taken
as I wene it would, might happen to turne me to
a little good, and you to lesser. Then longed the
duke yet much more to wit what it was. Where
upon the bishop said: In god faith (my lord) as for
the late protectoz, sith he is now king in possession, I
purpose not to dispute his title; but for the weale of
this realme, whereof his grace hath now the gouer
nance, and whereof I am my selfe one poze member,
I was about to wit, that to those god habilitie
whereof he hath already right manie, little needing
my praise, it might yet haue pleased God, for the bet
ter store, to haue giuen him some of such other excel
lent vertues, meet for the rule of a realme, as our
Lord hath planted in the person of your grace: and
there left againe.
The duke somewhat maruelling at his sudden
pauses, as though they were but parentheses, with a
high countenance said: My lord, I euidentlie per
ceiue, and no lesse note your often breathing, and sud
den stopping in your communication; so that to my
intelligence, your words neither come to anie direct
or perfect sentence in conclusion, whereby either I
might perceiue and haue knowledge, what your in
ward intent is now toward the king, or what affecti
on you beare toward me. For the comparison of god
qualities ascribed to vs both (for the which I my
selfe acknowledge and recognise to haue none, nor
loke for no praise of anie creature for the same) ma
keth me not a little to muse, thinking that you haue
some other priue imagination, by loue or by grudge,
ingrauen and imprinted in your heart, which for feare
you dare not, or for childish shamefastnesse you be a
bashed to disclose and reueale; and speciallie to mee
being your friend, which on my honor do assure you,

to be as secret in this case, as the deafe and dumbe
person is to the finger, or the tree to the hunter.
The bishop being somewhat bolder, considering
the dukes promise, but most of all animated and in
couraged because he knew the dukes desires to be
exalted and magnified; and also he perceiued the in
ward hatred and priue rancor which he bare toward
king Richard: was now boldened to open his sto
mach euen to the verie bottome, intending thereby
to compass how to destitoe, and utterlie confound
king Richard, and to depriue him of his dignitie ro
all; or else to set the duke so on fire with the desire of
ambition, that he himselfe might be safe and escape
out of all danger and perill. Which thing he brought
shortlie to conclusion, both to the kings destruction,
and the dukes confusion; and to his owne safegard,
and finalie to his high promotion.
And so (as I said before) upon trust and confidence
of the dukes promise, the bishop said: My singular
god lord, since the time of my captiuitie, which being
in your graces custodie, I may rather call it a libe
rall libertie, more than a strict imprisonment, in
auoiding idlenesse, mother and nourisher of all vi
ces, in reading bookes and ancient pamphlets I haue
found this sentence written, that no man is borne
free, and in libertie of himselfe onelie: for one part of
dutie he oweth or should owe to his parents for his
procreation, by a verie naturall instinct and fillall
courtesie: another part to his friends and kinsfolke;
for proximity of blood and naturall amitie doth eue
rie dutie challenge and demand: but the natie coun
trie, in the which he passed first the sweet aires of this
pleasant and flattering world after his natiuitie, de
mandeth as a debt by a naturall bond, neither to be
forgotten, nor yet to be put in oblivion.
Which saieing causeth me to consider in what case
this realme my natie countrie now standeth, and in
what estate and assurance (before this time) it hath
continued: what gouernour we now haue, and what
ruler we might haue. For I plainelie perceiue the
realme being in this case, must needs decaye, and be
brought to bitter confusion, and final extermination.
But one hope I haue incorporat in my breast, that is,
when I consider, and in my mind do diligentlie re
member, and dallie behold your noble personage,
your iustice, and indifferencie, your seruent zeale, and
ardent loue toward your naturall countrie, and in
like manner, the loue of your countrie toward you,
the great learning, pregnant wit, and goodlie elo
quence, which so much doth abound in the person of
your grace, I must needs thinke this realme fortu
nate, yea twice more than fortunate, which hath such a
prince in store, meet and apt to be a gouernour, in
whose person (being indued with so manie princelie
qualities) consisteth and resteth the verie vndoubted
similitude and image of true honour.
But on the other side, when I call to memorie the
god qualities of the late protectoz, and now called
king, so violated and subuerted by tyrannie, so chan
ged and altered by usurped authoritie, so clouded and
shadowed by blind and insatiable ambition; yea, and
so suddenlie (in manner by a metamorphosis) trans
formed from politike ciuilitie, to detestable tyrannic:
I must needs saie, & iustlie affirme, that he is neither
meet to be a king of so noble a realme, nor so famous
a realme meet to be gouerned by such a tyrant (whose
kingdome (if it were of more amplenesse than it is)
could not long continue; neither would the Lord suf
fer him in his bloudthirstines to abuse the holie and
diuine estate of a prince by the cruell title of tyran
nie. For such he will ouerthrow, yea he will bring
most horrible slaughter vpon them, as it is prophesied:
*Impius ad summum quamuis ascendat honorem,
Aspicit quas clades tempora sua vident.*
Cccc. j.

Bishop spoy
ton buildeth
vpon the dukes
ambition.

The duke of
Buckingham
highlie com
mended.

Dispraise of
the lord pro
tectoz or king
in this.

Was not his first enterprize to obtaine the crowne begun and incepted by the murder of diuerse noble, valiant true, and vertuous personages? And holie beginning to come to a mischeuous ending! And he not secundarie proceed (contrarie to all lawes of honestie) shamefullie against his owne naturall mother, being a woman of much honour and more vertue, declaring hir openlie to be a woman giuen to carnall affection, and dissolute liuing: Whyle thing if it had bene true, as it was not indeed, euerie good & naturall child would haue rather murthered at it, than haue blasted it abroad, and especiallie the being aliuie. Declaring furthermore his two brethren, and his two nephews to be bastards, and to be borne in adulterie: yet was he not with all this content.

After that he had obtainted the garland, for the which he so long thirsted, he caused the two poore innocents his nephews, committed to him for especiall trust, to be murdered and shamefullie to be killed. The blood of which felie and litle babes, daile crieth to God from the earth for vengeance. Alas, my hart sobbeth, to remember this bloodie butcher, and cruell monster. What suertie shall be in this realme to anie person, either for life or goods vnder such a cruell prince, which regardeth not the destruction of his owne blood, and then lesse the losse of other? And most especiallie (as oftentimes it chanceth) where a couetous or a cruell prince taketh suspicion, the smallest swearing that is possible (if the thing be misconstrued) may be the cause of the destruction of manie guiltlesse persons: and in especiall of noble and wealthie personages, hauing great possessions and riches: such a lord is Lucifer when he is entered into the hart of a proud prince, giuen to couetousnesse and crueltie.

But now my lord to conclude what I meane to ward your noble person, I saie and affirme, if you loue God, your linage, or your native countrie, you must your selfe take vpon you the crowne and imperiall diademe of this noble empire, both for the maintenance of the honour of the same (which so long hath flourished in fame and renowne) as also for the deliuerance of your naturall countmen, from the bondage and yaldome (worse than the captiuitie of Aegypt) of so cruell a tyrant and arrogant oppressor. For thus I dare saie, if anie forein prince or potentate, yea the Turke himselfe would take vpon him the regiment here, and the crowne, the commons would rather admit and obete him, than to liue vnder such a bloodsucker and child-killer. But how much more iofull and glad would they be to liue vnder your grace, whome they all know to be a ruler meet and conuenient for them, and they to be louing and obedient subiects, meet to liue vnder such a gouernour? Despise not, nor for sake not so manifest an occasion to louinglie offered.

And if you your selfe, knowling the paine and trouble that appertaineth to the office of a king, or for any other consideration, will refuse to take vpon you the crowne and scepter of this realme: then I aduise you, by the faith that you owe to God, by your hono- 60 and by your oth made to saint George, patron of the noble order of the garter (whereof you be a companion) and by the loue and affection that you beare to your native countrie, and the people of the same; to deuiſe some waie, how this realme (now being in miserie) may by your high discretion and princelie policie, be brought and reduced to some suertie and conuenient regiment, vnder some good gouernour by you to be appointed: for you are the verie patrone, the onelie helpe, refuge and comfort for the poore amazed and desolate commons of this realme.

For if you could either deuiſe to set by againe the linage of Lancaster, or aduance the eldest daughter of king Edward to some high and puissant prince,

not onelie the new crowned king shall (small time inioy the glorie of his dignitie; but also all ciuill war should cease, all domesticall discord should cease, and peace, profit and quietnesse should be set forth and increased. When the bishop had thus ended his saying, the duke sigbed, and spake not of a great while, which soe abashed the bishop, and made him change colour. Which thing when the duke perceiued, he said, I am not afraid my lord, all psones shall be kept, to morrow we will common more: let vs go to supper. So that night they communed no more, not a little to the disquieting of the bishop, which now was euen as before to know the dukes mind and intent, as the duke longed the daie before to know his opinion and meaning.

So the next daie, the duke sent for the bishop, and rehearsed to him in maner (for he was both witty and eloquent) all the communication had betwene them before, and so paused a while, and after a little season, putting off his bonet, he said: O Lord God creator of all things, how much is this realme of England, and the people of the same, bounden vnto thy goodnesse! For where we now be in veration and trouble with great stormes oppressed, sailing and tossing in a desperate ship, without godd maiſter or gouernour: yet by thy helpe good Lord I trust per long time passe, that we shall prouide for such a ruler, as shall be both to thy pleasure, and also to the security and safegard of this noble realme.

And then he put on his bonet, saying to the bishop: My lord of Gloucestre, whose true hart and sincere affection toward me at all times I haue euidentlie perceiued and knowen, and now most of all in our last priue communication and secret deuising, I must needs in hart thinke, and with mouth confesse and saie, that you be a sure friend, a trustie counsellor, a vigilant foreser, a verie louer of your countrie, and a naturall countrienman: for which kindnes for my part, I most louinglie render to you my hartie thanks now with words, hereafter trusting to recompense and remunerate you with deaps, if life and power shall serue.

And then, at our last communication, you haue disclosed and opened the verie secrets and priuities of your stomach, touching the duke of Gloucester now usurper of the crowne; and also haue a little touched the aduancement of the two noble families of York and Lancaster: I shall likewise not onelie declare and manifest vnto you all my open acts, attempts, and doings, but also my priue intents, and secret cogitations. To the intent that as you haue vnbuckled the bouget of your priue meanings, and secret purposes to me: so shall all my cloude workings, close deuises, and secret imaginations be (as cleere as the sunne) reuealed, opened, and made lightsome to you.

And to begin, I declare, that when king Edward was deceased, to whome I thought my selfe little or nothing beholden (although we two had married two sisters) because he neither promoted, nor preferred me, as I thought I was worthy, and had deserved, neither fauoured nor regarded me, according to my degree and birth for suertie I had by him little authority, and lesse rule, and in effect nothing at all: which caused me lesse to fauour his children, because I found small humanitie, or none in their parent) I then began to studie, and with ripe deliberation to ponder and consider, how and in what manner this realme should be ruled and gouerned. And first I remembered an old prouerbe worthie of memorie, that often rueth the realme where children rule, and women gouerne.

This old adage so sanke and settled in my head, that I thought it a great errour, and extreme mischiefe

Suspicion in a prince how mischeuous it is.

The bishop aduiceth the duke to release the realme by some deuiſe from the present euill state.

The duke receiued the bishop's words.

An unhappie picture tending to laughter & bloudshed.

The duke's private heart and his secrets to the bishop.

The duke's complaint of want of preferment in king Edward's reign.

the him self first and alte him con per cell: of it and celli with as r perf with des den. thing thou of th gotti unde gnat neue some meai that. princ and k suffice both such p ment of ho gaine doct; sition ward then: to hel vntro before heade (sage) should but ri dooz; to loz ged to by aut the der lawfu For b by rea to in be a bi that b so aga was n At thi his ha pong; uide se state, conter soule d and mu For;

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A new confes
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chiefe to the whole realme, either to suffer the yong king to rule, or the queene his mother to be a gouernesse ouer him, considering that his brethren, and his first children (although they were not extract of high and noble linage) toke more vpon them, and more exalted themselves, by reason of the queene, than did the kings brethren, or any duke in his realme: which in conclusion turned to their confusion. Then I being perswaded with my selfe in this point, thought it necessarie both for the publike and profitable wealth of this realme, and also for mine owne commoditie and emolument, to take part with the duke of Gloucester; whom I asseyre you I thought to be as cleane without dissimulation, as tractable without iniurie, as mercifull without crueltie; as now I know him perfectly to be a dissembler without veritie, a tyrant without pitie, yea & worse than the tyrant Phalaris, destitute of all truth and clemencie.

And so by my meanes, at the first counsell holden at London, when he was most suspected of that thing that after happened (as you my lord know well enough) he was made protector and defender both of the king and of the realme, which authoritie once gotten, & the two children partly by policie brought vnder his gouernance, he being moued with that gnawing and couetous serpent desire to reigne, neuer ceased p'illie to exhort and require, yea and sometimes with minatorie fearmes to perswade me and other lords, as well spirituall as temporall, that he might take vpon him the crowne, till the prince came to the age of foure and twentie yeares, and were able to gouerne the realme, as a ripe and sufficient king.

Which thing when he saw me somewhat sicke at, both for the strangenesse of the example (because no such president had bene seene) and also because we remembered that men once ascended to the highest type of honour and authoritie, will not gladiely descend againe; he then brought in instruments, autentike doctors, proctors, and notaries of the law, with depositions of diuerse witnesses, testifying king Edwards children to be bastards. Which depositions then I thought to be as true, as now I know them to be feined; and testified by persons with rewards butrillie suborned. When the said depositions were before vs read and diligentlie heard, he stood by bare-headed, saying: Well my lords, even as I and you (sage and discreet counsellors) would that my nephue should haue no wrong; so I praie you doe me nothing but right. For these witnesses & sayings of famous doctors being true, I am onelie the vndubitate heire to lord Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, adiudged to be the verie heire to the crowne of this realme by authoritie of parlement.

Which things so by learned men to vs for a veritie declared, caused me and other to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted prince and soueraigne lord. For well we knew that the duke of Clarence sonne, by reason of the atteindor of his father, was disabled to inherit; and also the duke himselfe was named to be a bastard, as I my selfe haue heard spoken, and that vpon great presumptions more times than once: to againe, by my aid and fauour, he of a protecor was made a king, and of a subiect made a gouernor. At which time he promised me on his fidelitie (laing his hand in mine at Bainards castell) that the two yong princes should liue, and that he would so provide for them, and so mainteine them in honorable estate, that I and all the realme ought and should be content. But his words wanted weight, which is a soule discredit to a prince, to a pere, yea to a priuat and meane common man, as testifieth this sentence:

Dedecus est rebus cum bona verba current.

For when he was once crowned king, and in full

possession of the whole realme, he cast aside his old conditions as the adder doth his skin, verifieng the old proverbe; Honours change manners, as the parish priest remembreth that he was neuer parish cleahe. For when I my selfe sued vnto him for my part of the earle of Herefords lands which his brother king Edward wrongfullie detained and withheld from me; and also required to haue the office of the high constableness of England, as diuerse of my noble ancestors before this time haue had, and in long descent continued: in this my first sute shewing his good mind toward me; he did not onelie first delate me, and afterward denate me, but gaue me such unkind words, with such taunts & retawnts, yea in manner cheeke and checkmate, to the vttermost proofe of my patience: as though I had neuer furthered him, but hindered him; as though I had put him downe, and not set him by.

Yet all these ingratitude and vnderseued vnderkindnes I bare closelie, & suffered patientlie, and couertlie remembred, outwardlie dissembling that I inwardlie thought: and so with a painted countenance, I passed the last summer in his last companie, not without manie faire promises, but without any good deeds. But when I was credibile informed of the death of the two yong innocents, his owne natural nephues, contrarie to his faith and promise, to the which (God be my iudge) I neuer agreed, nor condescended; O Lord, how my veines panted, how my bodie trembled, and how my heart inwardlie grudged! inso much that I so abhorred the sight, and much more the companie of him, that I could no longer abide in his court, except I should be openlie reuenged: the end whereof was doubtfull. And so I feined a cause to depart, and with a merrie countenance and a despightfull heart I toke my leaue humble of him (he thinking nothing lesse than that I was displeased) and so returned to Beeknoche to you.

But in that iournie (as I returned) whether it were by the inspiration of the Holie-ghost, or by melancholious disposition, I had diuerse and sundrie imaginations how to depeyne this unnatural uncle, and bloudie butcher, from his roial seat, and princelie dignitie. First I fantasied, that if I list to take vpon me the crowne, and imperiall scepter of the realme, now was the time propice and conuenient. For now was the waie made plaine, and the gate opened, and occasion giuen: which now neglected, should peradventure neuer take such effect and conclusion. For I saw he was disdained of the lords temporall, abhorred and accursed of the lords spirituall, detested of all gentlemen, and despised of all the communaltie: so that I saw my chance as perfectlie as I saw mine owne image in a glasse, that there was no person (if I had bene greedie to attempt the enterprize) could nor should haue woone the ring, or got the gale before me. And on this point I rested in imagination secretlie with my selfe two daies at Tewkesburie.

From thence so iournieng, I mused and thought that it was not best nor conuenient to take vpon me as a conqueror. For then I knew that all men, and especiallie the nobilitie, would with all their power withstand me, both for rescuing of possessions and tenures, as also for subuerting of the whole estate, laws and customes of the realme: such a power hath a conqueror, as you know well enough my lord. But at the last, in all this doubtfull case there sprang a new branch out of my head, which surclie I thought should haue brought forth faire flowers; but the sunne was so hot, that they turned to drie weeds. For I suddenlie remembered that the lord Edmund duke of Summerset my grandfather, was with king Henrie the first in the two and three degrees, from John

The prince's
pall cause why
the duke of
Buckingham
could not such
inward
grudge as
against king
Richard.

The image
of the duke
of Buckingham
to depeyne
Richard.

Note the
working of
ambition in
the duke.

duke of Lancaster lawfullie begotten : so that I thought fure, my mother being eldest daughter to duke Edmund, that I was next heire to king Henrie the first of the house of Lancaster.

This title pleased well such as I made priuie of my counsell, but much more it encouraged my foolish desire, and eleuated my ambitions intent; insomuch that I chereilie iudged, and in mine owne mind was determinatlie resoluē, that I was inuoluntate heire of the house of Lancaster, and thereupon concluded to make my first foundation, and erect my new building. But whether God so ordered, & by fortune it so chanced, while I was in a maze either to conclude suddenlie on this title, & to let it open amongst the common people, or to keepe it secret a while, see the chance: as I rode betwene Worcester and Bridgenoth, I encountered with the ladie Margaret countesse of Richmond, now wife vnto the lord Stanlie, which is the verie daughter and sole heire to lord John duke of Summerset; his grandfather's elder brother, which was as cleane out of my mind, as though I had neuer sene hir: so that she and hir sonne the earle of Richmond be both bulwourke and portcuille betwene me and the gate, to enter into the maiestie roiall and getting of the crowne.

the murtherer of him and getting of his crowne.
How when we had communed a little concerning
his soules, as I shall shew you after, and were depar-
ted, the to our ladie of Worcesterre, and I to Shewsb-
burie: I then new changed, and in maner amazed,
began to dispute with my selfe, little considering
that thus my earnest title was turned to a fittell not
so good as *Et Amen*. Oftentimes I imagined whether
were best to take vpon me, by election of the nobilitie
and communalitie, which me thought easie to be done,
the vsurper king thus being in hatred and abhored
of this whole realme; or to take it by power, which
standeth in fortunes chance, and difficult to be atchi-
ued and brought to passe. Thus tumbling and toiling
in the waues of ambiguitie, betwene the stone and
the sacrifice, I considered first the office, dutie, and
paine of a king, which sweetlie thinke I that no mor-
tall man can iustlie and trulie obserue, except he be
called, elected, and speciallie appointed by God as *It*.
David, and diuerse other haue bene.

But further, I remembred that if I once toke
on me the scepter, and the gouernance of the realme;
that of two extreame enimies I was dalleie sure, but
of one trustie friend (which now a daies be gone a
pilgrimage) I was neither assured nor credible as-
certained; such is the worlde's mutation. For I mani-
fesslie perceived, that the daughters of king Ed-
ward, and their allies and freends, which be no small
number, being both for his sake much beloued, and
also for the great iniurie & manifest tyrannie done
to them by the new blurper, much lamented and piti-
ed, would neuer cease to barke if they cannot bite
at the one side of me. Semblablie, my cosine the
earle of Richmond, his aids and kinsfolks, which be
not of little power, will suerlie attempt like a fierce
greibound, either to bite or to pearle me on the o-
ther side. So that my life and rule shoud euer hang
by a haire, neuer in quiet, but euer in doubt of death,
or deposition.

And if the said two linages of Yorke and Lancaster, which so long haue strided for the imperfall diadem, should ioine in one against me, then were I suerlie mated, and the game gotten. Wherefore I haue clærely determined, and with my selfe concluded, vtterlie to relinquish all such fantastick imaginations, concerning the obtaining of the crowne. But all such plagues, calamities and troubles, which I feared and suspected might haue chanced on me if I had taken the rule and regiment of this realme, I shall with a reredemaine to make them rebound to

to our common enemy that calleth himselfe king,
that the best Copper that he hath at Venice shall not
well doe without a fault.

For (as I told you before) the countesse of Rich-
 mond in my returne from the new named king,
 meeting me in the high way, praised me first for kin-
 red sake, secondly for wit, the last that I bare to my
 grandfather duke Humfris, which was to my
 shew to be rather to move the king to be good to hir
 sonne Henrie duke of Richmond, and to licence him
 with his favour to returne againe into England.
 And if it was of his pleasure so to do, she promised that
 the earle hir sonne should marrie one of king Ed-
 wards daughters, at the appointment of the king,
 without any thing to be taken or demanded for the
 said espousals, but onlie the kings favour: which re-
 quest I some ouerpassed, and gaue hir faire words,
 and so departed.

20 But after in my lodging, when I called to memorie with a deliberate studie, and did circumspectly ponder them, I thus aduised, that the Holie-ghost caused him to imagine a thing, the end whereof he could not consider both for the securitie of the realme, as also for the preferment of his child, and the destruction and final confusion of the common enimie king Richard. Which thing, the neither then thought (I am sure) as by his words could make coniecture, nor; I my selfe call not his desire to be so profittable to the realme, as I now doe perceive. But such a Lord is 30 God, that with a little sparkle he kindleth a great fire, and (to the admiration of the world) of impossibilities he maketh possibilities, of small beginnings mightie increasings, of doops great floods,

And so finally to declare to you the verie conclusion, to the which I am both bent and set, my mind is, and my power and puerile shall helpe, that the earle of Richmond, verie heire of the house of Lancaster (in the quarrell of the which linage, both my father and grandfather lost their liues in battell) shall take to wife ladye Elizabeth eldest daughter to king Edward by the which marriage both the houses of York and Lancaster may be ioined and united in one, to the cleare establishment of the title to the crowne of this noble reirne. To which conclusion if the mothers of both parts, and especially the earle himselfe, and the lady will agree: I doubt not but the bragging boze, which with his tusketh rather enerie mans skin, shall not onelie be brought to confusion (as he hath deserued) but that this empire shall ener be certaine of an vnbattait heire, & then shall all ciuill and intestine warre cease, which so long hath continued to the paring of wantie mens crownes, and this realme shall be reduced againe to quietnesse, renoume and glorie.

60 This inuention of the duke manie men thought after, that it was moze imagined for the inward hatred that he bare to king Richard, than for anie fauor that he bare to the earle of Richmonde. But of such doubtfull matter it is not best to iudge, for erring too farre from the mind and intent of the author. But what soeuer he intended, this deuise once opened to king Richard was the verie occasion, that he was rounded together by the whole head, without attaine doo or iudgement. When the duke had said, the bishop which fauoured euer the house of Lancaster, was wonderous foolish, and much reioiced to heare this deuise. For now came the wind about euen as he would haue it, with all his imagination sented to this effect, to haue king Richard subdued, and to haue the lines of king Edward, and king Henrie the first againe raised and advanced.

But lozd how he reioised, to thinke how that by
this marriage the linages of Yorke and Lancaster
should be conioined in one, to the verie steadfastnesse
of

The motion
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two houses o
Lancaster &
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ed by Duke
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The Duke
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* The taste
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Bishop Moore
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The office of a king berie hard to discharge.

The dukes
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The motion
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two houses of
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to be called
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Commons.

of the publike wealth of this realme. And least the
dukes courage should swage, or his mind should a-
gaine alter, as it did often befoze (as you may easilie
percelue by his owne tale) he thought to set vp all
the failes that he had, to the intent that the ship of
his pretended purpose might come thoztly to some
sure port, and said to the duke: App loyd, sith by Gods
prouision and your incomparable wisdomme and po-
licie, this noble confusion is first moued, now is
it conuenient, yea and necessarie, to consider what
perillages, and what friends we shall first make
prieue of this high deuile and politike conclusion:
[which is not rashlie & without aduilement to be ad-
uentured, for therein is danger, as the wise man saith:
Semper habet damnium mentis temerarius ardor.]

By my truth, quoth the duke, we will begin with
the ladie Richmond, the earles mother, which know-
eth where he is, either in captiuitie, or at large in Bri-
taine. For I heard saie, that the duke of Britaine re-
stored him to libertie, immediatly after the death of
king Edward, by whose means he was restrained:
Sith you will begin that waie (said the bishop) I
haue an old friend with the countesse, a man sober, se-
cret, and well witted, called Reginald Bzaie; whose
pudent policie I haue knowne to haue compassed
things of great importance, for whome I shall se-
cretly send, if it be your pleasure; and I doubt not
but he will gladly come and that with a good will.
So with a little diligence the bishop wrote a letter to
Reginald Bzaie, requiring him to come to Bzeck-
nocke with speed, for great and urgent causes tou-
ching his mistresse: and no other thing was declared
in the letter. So the messenger rode into Lancashire
where Bzaie was with the countesse, and lord Tho-
mas Stanlie his husband, and deliuered the letter:
which when he had read, he took it as a signe or pre-
sage of some good fortune to come.

When he (with the messenger) came to the castell
of Bzecknocke, where the duke and the bishop decla-
red what thing was deuised, both for to set the realme
in a quiet steadfastnesse, as also for the high prefer-
ment of the earle of Richmond, sonne to his ladie
and mistresse: willing hir first to compass holo to
obtaine the good will of quene Elizabeth, and also of
hir eldest daughter bearing the same name: and af-
ter secretly to send to hir sonne into Britaine, to de-
clare what high honoz was prepared for him, if he
would sweare to marrie the ladie Elizabeth asone
as he was king, and in totall possession of the realme.
Reginald Bzaie with a glad heart, forgetting no-
thing giuen to him in charge, in great hast and with
good speed returned to the countesse his ladie and
mistresse.

When Bzaie was departed, and this great doubt
fall besett once set abroad, the bishop thirsting for
nothing more than for libertie: when he saw the
duke pleasant and well minded toward him; he told
the duke, that if he were in his Ile of Elie, he could
make manie friends to further their enterprise: and
if he were there and had but foure daies warning, he
little regarded the malice of king Richard, his coun-
trie was so strong. The duke knew well all this to
be true, but yet loth he was that the bishop should de-
part: for he knew well, that as long as the bishop
was with him, he was sure of politike aduise, sage
counsell, and circumspect proceeding. And so he gaue
the bishop faire words, saing, that he should thoztly
depart, and that well accompanied for fear of en-
mies.

The Bishop being as truttie as the duke was tol-
lie, did not tarrie till the dukes companie were as-
sembled, but secretly disguised, in a night departed
(to the dukes great displeasure) and came to his see
of Elie; where he found manie and friends; and so

passed into Flanders, where he did the earle of Rich-
mond good seruice, and neuer returned againe, till
the earle of Richmond (after being king) sent for him,
and thoztly promoted him to the see of Cantuarburie.
Thus the bishop wound himselfe from the duke when
he had most need of his aid, for if he had tarried still,
the duke had not made so manie blabs of his coun-
sell, nor put so much confidence in the Welshmen,
nor yet so temerariouly set forth without know-
ledge of his friends as he did, which things were his
sudden ouerthrowe (as they that knew it did report)
[and might perhaps haue bene auoided by the bi-
shops wisdomme for the dukes sake, as his owne sith
Qui sapit, ille potest alios sapuisse docere.]

When Reginald Bzaie had declared his message
and priate instruction to the countesse of Richmond
his mistresse, no maruell though she were iolous and
glad, both of the good newes, and also for the obtain-
ing of such a high friend in hir sonnes cause as the
duke was. Wherefore she willing not to steepe this
matter, but to further it to the bittermost of hir pow-
er and abilitie, deuised a means how to breake this
matter to quene Elizabeth then being in sanctua-
rie at Westminster. And thereupon she, hauing hir
hir familie at that time (for the preservation of hir
health) a certaine Welshman called Lewes, learned
in physicke, which for his grauitie and experience,
was well knowne, and much esteemed amongst
great estates of the realme, brake hir mind to him.

For with this Lewes she used sometime liberallie
and familiarly to talke, and now hauing oportu-
tie and occasion to expresse hir hart vnto him in this
weightie matter, declared that the time was come
that hir sonne should be ioined in marriage with la-
die Elizabeth, daughter and heire to king Edward;
and that king Richard being taken and reputed of
all men for the common enimie of the realme, should
out of all honoz & estate be dejected, & of his crowne
and kingdome be cleerly spoiled and expelled: and
required him to go to quene Elizabeth (with whome
in his facultie he was of counsell) not as a messen-
ger, but as one that came frendly to visit and conso-
late hir, and (as time & place should require) to make
hir priue of this deuile; not as a thing concluded, but
as a purpose by him imagined.

This physician did not long linger to accomplish
hir desire, but with good diligence repaired to the
quene, being still in the sanctuarie at Westminster.
And when he saw time propice and conuenient for his
purpose, he said vnto hir: Madame, although my
imagination be verie simple, and my deuise more
folish; yet for the entier affection that I beare toward
you and your children, I am so bold to utter vnto you
a secret and priate conceit that I haue cast and com-
passed in my fantastick braine. When I well re-
membred and no lesse considered the great losse and
damage that you haue sustained, by the death of your
noble and louing husband; and the great dolour and
sorrow that you haue suffered and tolerated, by the
cruell murder of your innocent children: I can no
lesse do both of bounden duetie and christian charitie,
than dailie to studie, and hourely imagine, not one-
lie how to bring your hart to comfort and gladnesse,
but also deuise how to reuenge the righteous quarrell
of you and your children on that bloudie bloudsucker,
and cruell tyrant king Richard.

And first consider, what battell, what manslaugh-
ter, what mischefe hath risen in this realme by the
dissention betwene the two noble houses of York
& Lancaster. Which two families (as I haue contri-
ued) if they may be ioined in one, I thinke, yea and
doubt not, but your line shall be againe restored to
the pristine estate and degree; to your great iaise
and comfort, and to the utter confusion of your nio-
C c c. ij. talk

The bishop of
the faileth
into Flan-
ders to the
earle of Rich-
mond.

Lewes the
physician
sheweth the
quene the
whole con-
ceit and de-
uise of the
matier.

The duke of
Buckingham
resolved to
help to de-
pose king Ri-
chard, and to
prefer the earle
of Richmond
to the crowne.

The duke
of Gloucester
now king.

Shirp Bzaie
was deuise
to be at
the countes-
sies house in
Lancashire of
Elie.

The summe
of the dukes
purpose.

The confu-
tion of the two
families mo-
ued to the Q.
by the phys-
cian.

fall enimie the usurper king. You know verie well madame, that of the house of Lancaster, the earle of Richmond is next of blood, who is living, and a lustie yong batcheler, and to the house of Yorke your daughters now are heires. If you could agree and inuent the meane how to couple your eldest daughter with the yong earle of Richmond in matrimonie, no doubt but the usurper of the realme should be shortly deposed, and your heire againe to his right restored.

When the quene had heard this friendlie motion (which was as farre from his thought; as the man that the rude people saie is in the moone) how his spirit reulde, and how his heart leapt in his bodie for ioye and glorie. And first giving laud to almightie God, as the chiefe author of his comfort, secombarillie to maister Lewes, as the deuiler of the se god newes & tidings, the instantlie besought him, that as he had bene the first inuenter of so great an enterprise, so now he would not relinquish nor desist to follow the same: requirring him further (because he was appertaining to the countesse of Richmond mother to the erle Henrie) that he would with all diligent celeritie resort to him, then lodging in his husbands place, within the citie of London: and to declare on the quenes behalfe to the countesse, that all the friends and fauours of king Edward his husband, should assist and take part with the earle of Richmond his sonne, so that he would take a corporall oth after the kingdome obtained, to espouse and take to wife the ladie Elizabeth his daughter, or else ladie Cicilie, if the eldest daughter were not then living.

The quenes
readinesse to
set forward
this conclusion.

Maister Lewes with all dexterity so sped his businesse, that he made and concluded a finall end and determination of this enterprise betwene the two mothers. And because he was a physician, and out of all suspicion and misdemeaning, he was the common curer and dailie messenger betwene them, aiding and setting forth the inuented conspiracie against king Richard. So the ladie Margaret countesse of Richmond, brought into a good hope of the preferment of his sonne, made Reginald Braie his most faithfull seruant, chiefe solicitor and priuie procurator of this conspiracie, giuing him in charge secretly to inuigle and attract such persons of nobilitie to ioyne with him and take his part, as he knew to be ingenuous, faithfull, diligent, and of activitie. This Reginald Braie within few daies brought vnto his laie (first of all taking of euery person a solemne oth to be true and secret) sir Giles Daubene, sir John Cheinie knight, Richard Gilford, and Thomas Kame esquiers, and diuers other. The countesse of Richmond was not so diligent for his part, but quene Elizabeth was as vigilant on the other side, and made friends, and appointed counsellors to set forward and aduance his businesse.

The countesse
of Richmond
bittereth the
matter to Sir
Sothe his chap-
laine, swearing
him to be
secret.

In the meane season, the countesse of Richmond took into his seruice Christopher Urswike, an honest and wise priest, and (after an oth of him for to be secret taken and sworne) he bitered to him all his mind and counsell, aduising him the more confidence and truth, that he all his life had fauoured and taken part with king Henrie the first, and as a speciall ietwell put to his seruice by sir Lewes his physician. So the mother, studious for the prosperitie of his son, appointed this Christopher Urswike to saile into Britaine to the earle of Richmond, and to declare and reueale to him all pacts and agrements betwene him & the quene agreed and concluded. But suddenlie she remembryng that the duke of Buckingham was one of the first inuensors, and a secret founder of this enterprise, determined to send some personage of more estimation than his chapleine.

Whereupon the elected for a messenger Hugh Contweie esquier, & sent him into Britaine with a great sum of monie to his sonne, giuing him in charge, to declare to the earle the great loue and especiall fauour that the most part of the nobilitie of the realme bare toward him, the louing hearts & benecolent minde which the whole commonaltie of their owne free will frankelie offered, and liberalitie exhibited to him, willing and aduising him not to neglect so good an occasion apparantlie offered; but with all speed and diligence, to addre and settle his mind & full intention how to returne home againe into England, where he was both wished and looked for: giuing him further monition and counsell, to take land and arrivall in the principallitie of Wales, where he should not doubt to find both aid, comfort and friends.

Richard Gilford, least Hugh Contweie might fortune to be taken, or stopped at Plimmouth, where he intended to take his nauigation, sent out of Kent Thomas Kame with the same instructions; and both made such diligence, and had such wind and weather, the one by land from Calis, and the other by water from Plimmouth, that within lesse than an houre both arrived in the duke of Britains court, and spake with the earle of Richmond, which (from the death of king Edward) went at pleasure and libertie, and to him counted and manifested the cause and effect of their message and ambassage. When the earle had receiued this message (which was the more pleasant, because it was unlooked for) he rendered to Iesu his fauour, his most humble & heartie thanks, being in firme credence and beleefe, that such things as he with busie mind and laborious intent had wished & desired, could neuer haue taken anie effect, without the helpe and preferment of almightie God. And now being put in comfort of his long longing, he did communicate & breake to the duke of Britaine all his secrets; and priuie messages, which were to him declared; aduertising him that he was entered into a sure and stedfast hope, to obtaine and get the crowne and kingdome of the realme of England, desiring him both of his good will and friendlie helpe toward the atchaining of his offered enterprise, promising him when he came to his intended purpose, to render to him againe equall kindnes, and condigne recompense. Although the duke of Britaine before that daie, by Thomas Hutton ambassadour from king Richard, had both by monie and prayers bene solicited and moued to put againe into safe custodie the earle of Richmond, he neuertheless promised faithfullie to aid him; and his promise he trulie performed.

Whereupon the earle with all diligence sent into England againe Hugh Contweie, and Thomas Kame, which should declare his comming hostile into England: to the intent that all things, which by counsell might be for his purpose provided, should be speedilie and diligentlie done; and that all things doubtful, should of his friends be prudentlie foreseene, in auoiding all engines or snares which king Richard had or might set in disturbance of his purpose: and he in the meane season would make his abode still in Britaine, till all things necessarie for his iournie were prepared, and brought in a readinesse. In the meane season, the chiefeins of the confuration in England began together manie enterprises: some in conuentient fortresses put strong garrisons, some kept armed men priuie, to the intent that when they should haue knowledge of the earles landing, they would begin to stir by the war: other did secretlie moue and solicit the people to rise & make an insurrection: other (amongst whom John Morton bishop of Ely then being in Flanders was chiefe) by priuie letters and cloked messengers did stirre and

The Duke
sent out for
the same pur-
pose for feare
of intercepting

The earle of
Richmond
maketh the
duke of Bri-
taine priuie to
the matter.

Hugh Contweie
and Thomas
Kame returne
into England
and deliver
their message.

Preparation
to bring in
the earle of
Richmond.

Richard
purpose in the
of contra-
diction against
him.

The duke of
Buckingham
purposeth as-
sault king
Richard.

The duke of
Buckingham
purposeth as-
sault king
Richard.

Richard
put in the
disposing of
his armie.

Con: Hugh Cour-
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and moue to this new confuration, all such which they certeinly knew to haue a costed hatred, or to beare cankered malice toward king Richard and his proceedings.

Although this great enterpryse were neuer so priuily handled, and so secretlie amongst so circumspect persons treated, compassed and conueied, yet knowledge therof came to the eares of king Richard, who with the sudden chance was not a little moued and astonished. First, because he had no host readie prepar- ed; secondlie, if he should raise an armie so sudden- lie, he knew not where to meet his enemies, or whither to go, or where to tarrie. Wherefore he determi- ned to dissemble the matter, as though he knew no- thing, till he had assembled his host; and in the meane season either by the rumour of the common people, or by the diligence of his espials to search out all the counsels, determinations, intents, and compasses of his close abusers; or else by policie to inter- cept and take some person of the same confuration, considering that there is no more secret nor hid es- piall, than that which lurketh in dissimulation of knowledge and intelligence, or is hidden in name and shadow of counterfeit humanitie and feined kindnesse. But yet wisdom hath a deuise to auoid a shift off all such deceiters, as the poet well saith:

Dissimulatores vitia prudentia vafros.

And because he knew the duke of Buckingham to be the chiefe head and aid of the confuration, he thought it most necessarie to plucke him from that part, either by faire promises or open warre. Where- upon he addrest his louing letters to the duke, full of gentle words, & most friendly speech; giuing fur- ther in charge to the messenger that carried the letter to promise the duke (in his behalfe) golden billes, and slauer riuers, and with all gentle and pleasant means to persuaade and exhort the duke to come to the court. But the duke as wylie as the king, mistrusting the faire flattering words, and the gaie promises to him so suddenly without any cause offered, knowing the craftie crafts of king Richards bow, which in diuerse affaires before time he had seene practised, required the king to pardon him, excusing himselfe that he was so diseased in his stomach, that scant he could ei- ther take refection or rest.

King Richard not being content with this excuse, would in no wise admit the same; but incontinent directed to the duke other letters, of a more rougher and hautier sort, not without taunting and biting teames, and checking words, commanding him (all excuses set apart) to repaire without anie delay to his roiall presence. The duke made to the messeng- er a determinate answer, that he would not come to his most tall enemy, whome he neither loued, nor fa- uoured: and immediatlie prepared open warre a- gainst him, and persuaaded all his complices and par- takers, that euery man in his quarter, with all dili- gence should raise by people & make a commotion. And by this means almost in one moment Thomas marques Doyet came out of sanctuary, where since the beginning of k. Richards daies he had continued, whose life by the onelie helpe of sir Thomas Louell was preserved from all danger & perill in this trou- blous world, gathered together a great band of men in Yorkshire.

Sir Edward Courtenie, and Peter his brother bishop of Excester, raised an other armie in Denon- shire and Coznewall. In Kent Richard Gilsford and other gentlemen collected a great companie of souldiers, and openlie began warre. But king Ri- chard, who in the meane time had gotten together a great strength and puissance, thinking it not most for his part beneficiall, to disperse and diuide his great armie into small branches, and particularlie to

persecute anie one of the confuration by himselfe, de- termined (all other things being set aside) with his whole puissance to set on the thiefe head, which was the duke of Buckingham. And so remouing from London, he took his iournie toward Salisbury, to the intent that in his iournie he might set on the dukes armie, if he might know him in anie place in- camped, or in order of battell arraied.

The king was scarce two daies iournie from Sa- lisburie, when the duke of Buckingham accompani- ed with a great power of wild Welshmen, whom he (being a man of great courage and sharpe speech) in maner against their willes had rather thereto infor- ced and compelled by lordlie and streng command- ment, than by liberall wages and gentle demour, which thing was the verie occasion why they left him desolate, & cowardlie forsooke him. The duke with all his power marched through the Forrest of Deane, in- tending to haue passed the riuer Seuerne at Gloce- ster, & there to haue ioined his armie with the Court- neis, and other westerne men of his confederacie and affinitie. Which if he had done, no doubt but king Richard had bene in great leopordie, either of priua- tion of his realme, or losse of his life, or both.

But see the chance. Before he could attaine to Se- uerne side, by force of continuall raine and moisture, the riuer rose so high that it ouerflowed all the coun- trie adioining, insomuch that men were drowned in their beds, and houses with the extreame violence were ouerturned, children were caried about the fields swimming in cradels, beasts were drowned on hills. Which rage of water lasted continuallie ten daies, insomuch that in the countrie adioining they call it to this daie, The great water; or the duke of Buckingham's great water. By this flood the passages were so closed, that neither the duke could come ouer Seuern to his adherents, nor they to him. During the which time, the Welshmen lingring idle- lie, and without monie, vittels, or wages, suddenly scattered and departed: and for all the dukes faire promises, threatnings, and inforcements, would in no wise either go further nor abide.

The duke (being thus left almost post alone) was of necessitie compelled to flie, and in flight was with this sudden fortune maruellouslie dismayed: and be- ing unpurueied what counsell he should take, and what waie he should follow, like a man in despaire, not knowing what to do, of verie trust & confidence conueied himselfe into the house of Humfreie Banas- ter his seruant beside Shrewesburie, whome he had tenderlie brought up, and whome he about all men loued, fauoured, and trusted; now not doubting but that in his extreame necessitie he should find him faithfull, secret, and trustie, intending there couertlie to lurke, till either he might raise againe a new ar- mie, or else thorowlie to saile into Brittain to the earle of Richmond. [But alas (good duke) the meanes (by occasion of Gods prouidence, shaking men out of their thiffs of supposed safetie) failed him, and he fell infortunatlie into the hands of the coming boze, that tare him in peeces with his tuskes.]

Now when it was knowne to his adherents, which were rebie to giue battell, that his host was scattered, and had left him almost alone, and was fled, & could not be found; they were suddenly amazed & stricken with a sudden feare, that euery man like persons des- perate shifted for himselfe & fled. Some went to sanc- tuary, and to solitarie places; some fled by sea, where- of the most part within a few daies after actiued safetie in the duchie of Brittain. Among which num- ber were these persons: Peter Courtenie bishop of Excester, and sir Edmund Courtenie his brother, by king Henrie the seventh after created earle of Denonshire; Thomas marquesse Doyet, John lord Welles,

The duke of
Buckingham
power of wild
welshmen
(saile him).

A foze flow
or high water
doing much
harme, called
the duke of
Buckingham's
great water.

The dukes
adherents &
their powers
dispersed,

Welles, sir John Bourchier, sir Edward Mordaunt, a valiant man in armes, brother to queene Elizabeth, sir Robert Willoughbie, sir Giles Daubeneie, sir Thomas Arundell, sir John Cheinie, and his two brethren, sir William Barkelie, sir William Brandon, & Thomas his brother, sir Richard Edgecombe: all these for the most part being knights, John Hallowell, and Edward Poynings, a politike capteine.

At this verie season, John Hoxton bishop of Cite, and Christopher Urswike priest, and an other compaignie of noble men sojourned in Flanders; and by letters and messengers procured manie enemies against king Richard, which using a vigilant eye, and a quick remembrance, being newlie come to Salisburie, hauing perfect notice and knowledge how the duke was fled, and how his complices intended to passe out of the realme; first he sent men of warre to all the next ports and passages, to keepe streitlie the sea coast, so that no person should passe outward, nor take land within the realme without their assent and knowledge; secondarilie he made proclamation, that that person could shew and reueale where the duke of Buckingham was, should be highlie rewarded; if he were a bondman, he should be enfranchised and set at libertie; if he were of free blood, he should haue a generall pardon, and be rewarded with a thousand pounds.

Furthermore, because he understood by Thomas Hutton, which (as you haue heard) was newlie returned out of Britaine, that Francis duke of Britaine not onelie refused to keepe the earle of Richmond as a prisoner, at his contemplation, and for his sake; but also that he was readie to aid and succour the said earle, with men, monie, and all things necessarie for his transporting into England: he therefore rigged and sent out ships of warre, well furnished and decked with men and artillerie, to scowpe and keepe that part of the sea that lieth ouer against Britaine, to the intent that if the earle of Richmond would aduenture to saile toward England, either he should be taken captiue, or be beaten and driuen from the coast of England. And moreover, to the intent that euerie coast, waie, passage, and corner, should be diligentlie watched & kept, he set at euerie doubtful and suspected place men of warre, to seeke, search, and inquire, if anie creature could tell tidings of the duke of Buckingham; or of anie of his confederation, adherents, fauours, or partakers.

While this busie search was diligentlie applied and put in execution, Humfreie Banasser (were it more for feare of life and losse of goods, or allured & prouoked by the auaricious desire of the thousand pounds) he betrayed his guest and maister to John Hutton then shiriffe of Shropshire; which suddenlie with a strong powder of men in harnesse apprehended the duke in a little groue adioining to the mansion of Humfreie Banasser, and in great hast and euill speed conueied him apparelled in a pilled blacks cloake to the towne of Shrewesburie, where king Richard then kept his household. Whether this Banasser betrayed the duke more for feare than couetous, manie men doe doubt: but sure it is, that shortly after he had betrayed the duke his maister; his sonne and hesteward mad, & so died in a bores stie; his eldest daughter of excellent beantie, was suddenlie stricken with a foule lepposie; his second sonne maruellouslie deformed of his lims, and made lame; his younger sonne in a small poodle was strangled and poisoned; and he being of extreme age, arreigned, and found guiltie of a murder, and by his cleargie faued. And as for his thousand pounds, R. Richard gaue him not one farthing, sauing that he which would be untrue to so good a maister, would be false to all other: howbeit some saie that he had a small office, or a farme to stop

his mouth withall. The duke being by certeine of the kings counsell diligentlie vpon interrogatories examined, that things he knew preiudiciall vnto the kings person, opened and declared frankly and frankly all the contriuation, without dissembling or glossing; trusting, because he had trulie and plainelie reuealed and confessed all things that were of him required, that he should haue licence to speake to the king: which (whether it were to sue for pardon and grace, or whether he being brought to his presence, would haue stiked him with a dagger as men then iudged) he soze desired and required. But when he had confessed the whole fact & conspiracie, vpon all foules daie, without arreignment or iudgement, he was at Salisburie in the open market place, on a new scaffold beheaded and put to death.

This death (as a reward) the duke of Buckingham receiued at the hands of king Richard, whom he before in his affaires, purposes and enterprises had holpen, sustained, and set forward, about all Gods forboode. By this all men may easilie perceiue, that he not onelie loseth both his labour, trauell, and industrie (and further stanneth and spoyleth his line with a perpetuall ignominie and reproch) which in euill and mischiefes assisteth and aideth an euill disposed person, considering for the most part, that he for his frendlie fauour should receiue some great displeasure or importunate chance. Beside that, God of his iustice in conclusion appointed to him a conbigne paine and affliction for his meritis and deserts. [Available therefore, and for his best aduantage had it bene, to haue followed the wise counsell of him, that willed him, and such as he, to keepe them from the man that hath power to slay; so shalt thou doubt (saith he) the feare of death. And if thou come vnto him make no fault, least he take auaite thy life: remember that thou goest in the middell of snares; & that thou walkest vpon the towers of the citie. Which aduise a learned man, in good place, and necessarie seruice aboode the prince, neatie compiled in these few verses:

*Prætere principibus modice, nimis esse propinquum
Si cupis, in vita multa pericula rui.
Sic uti fortuna facit seruire potenti,
Disce ne turbes, atque repente cadis,
Sollicite vigilas, laquei sunt vindique fusi,
Turribus in summis es situs, ergo caue.]*

While these things were thus handled and ordered in England, Henrie earle of Richmond prepared an armie of fine thousand manlie Britons, and fortie well furnished ships. When all things were prepared in a readinesse, and the daie of departing and setting forward was appointed, which was the twelue daie of the moneth of October, the whole armie went on shipboard, and halsted by their sailes, and with a prosperous wind toke the sea. But toward night the wind changed, and the weather turned, and so huge and terrible a tempest so suddenlie arose, that with the verie power and strength of the storme, the ships were disparted, seuered & separated asunder: some by force were driuen into Normandie, some were compelled to returne againe into Britaine. The ship wherein the earle of Richmond was, associated onelie with one other barke, was all night tossed and turmoiled.

In the morning after, when the rage of the furious tempest was allwaged, and the ire of blustering wind was some deale appeased; about the houre of none the same daie, the earle approached to the south part of the realme of England, euen at the mouth of the haue of Poole, in the countie of Dorset, where he might plainelie perceiue all the sea banks & shores garnished and furnished with men of warre and soldiers, appointed and deputed there to defend his arrival and landing (as before is mentioned.) Therefore he gaue streit charge, and soze commandement, that

A proclamation for the apprehension of the duke of Buckingham, with large reward to the apprehender.

R. Richard fourth sent a name to scowpe the sea over against Britaine.

Humfreie Banasser servant vnto the duke of Buckingham, had betrayed his maister.

Gods secret judgement vpon Banasser and his children after the duke was apprehended.

The duke of Buckingham was beheaded on a new scaffold.

Foraged tale in the eyes met.

The earle of Richmond was beneuolent to the earle of Richmond.

The earle of Richmond was beneuolent to the earle of Richmond.

The earle of Richmond was beneuolent to the earle of Richmond.

The earle of Richmond was beneuolent to the earle of Richmond.

The earle of Richmond was beneuolent to the earle of Richmond.

An. Reg. 1.

Cu. Fla.

the sea all
furnished with
soldiers.

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The earle of
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peth by la
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lane again

Charles the
1. of France
his benemo-
lence to the
caric of Ri-
mond.

The early
mentally ar
translating.

that no person should once presume to take land, and go to shore, untill such time as the whole manie were assembled and come together. And while he tarried and lingered, he sent out a shipboate toward the land side, to know whether they, which stood there in such a number, and so well furnished in apparell defensiuve, were his foes and enemies, or else his friends and comforters.

they that were sent to inquite, were instantlie desired of the men of warre keeping the coast (which thereof were before instructed & admonished) to descend and take land, affirming that they were appointed by the duke of Buckingham there to await and tarry for the arrivall and landing of the earle of Richmonde, and to conduct him safelie into the campe, where the duke not far of late incamped with a mighty armie, and an host of great strength and power, to the intent that the duke and the earle, joining in pursuances and forces together, might prosecute and chase King Richard being destitute of men, and in manner desperate, and so by that means, and their owne labours, to obtaine the end of their enterprise which they had before begun.

The earle of Richmond suspecting their flattering request to be but a fraud (as it was in deed) after he perceived none of his ships to appeare in sight, he twiced by his anchors, halled by his sailles, & hauing a prosperous and streinable wind, and a fresh gale sent euen by God to deliuer him from that perill and teopardie, arrived safe and in all securitie in the duchie of Normandie, where he (to refresh and solace his foliowers and people) toke his recreation by the space of thre daies, and clarellie determined with part of his companie to passe all by land againe into Brittain. And in the meane season he sent ambassadoers to the french king; called Charles the eight, which noblie succeeded his father king. Letwes the eleventh, not long before departed to passe, requesting of him a safe conduct and licence to passe thorough his countrie of Normandie into Brittain.

That this young king, having compassion of the misfortune of the earle of Richmond, not onely gentlie granted and assigned to him a passport; but also liberallie disbursed to him a great somme of monie for his conduct and expences necessarrie in his long tourne and passage. But the earle trusting in the French kings humanitie, adventured to send his ships home into Brittain, and to set foorth himselfe by land on his tournee, making no great hast till his messengers were returned. Which being told that benefit so comforted, and with hope of prosperous successe to encourage, marched towards Brittain with all diligence, intending there to consult further with his lovers; friends of his affaires and enterpises. When he was returned againe into Brittain, he was certified by credible information, that the duke of Buckingham had lost his head; and that the marquess of Dorset, and a great number of noble men of England, had a little before inquired and searched for him there, and were now returned to Cannes.

When he had heard these news thus reported, he first grieved and lamented his first attempt and setting forthward of his friends, and in especial of the nobility, not to have more fortunatelly succceeded. Seeing, however, that his friends were not so much condolant, he rejoiced on the other part, that God had sent him so manly valiant and prudent captains to be his companions in his martiall enterprises, trafficking suerlie and nothing doubting in his opinion, but that all his businesse should be well compassed, and brought to a good conclusion. Therefore he determining with all diligence to set forthward his new begun businesse, departed to Rihelms, and sent certaine of his private seruitors to conduct and bring the marquisse and other noble men to his pre-

seince. When they knew that he was safelie returned
into Britaine, Lord how they reioised ! for before
that time they misled him, and knew not in what
part of the world to make inquirie : or search for him.
For they doubted and no lesse feared least he had ta-
ken land in England, & fallen into the hands of king
Richard, in whose person they knew well was nei-
ther mercie nor compassion.

Wherefore in all speedie maner they galoped to
ward him, and him reuerentlie saluted. Which me-
ting after great ioy and solace, and no small thanks-
giuen and rendered on both parts, they aduisedlie de-
bated and communed of their great businesse and
weightie enterprize. In the which season the feast of
the Paschittie of our saviour Christ happened, on
which daie all the English lords went with their so-
lemnitie to the chiefe church of the citie, and there e-
gaue saith and promise to other. The earle himselte
first toke a corporall oth on his honor, promising that
incontinent after he shuld be possessed of the crowne
and dignitie of the realme of England, he would be
conioined in matrimonie with the lady Elizabeth
daughter to king Edward the fourth. Then all the
companie swore to him fealtie, and did to him ho-
mage (as though he had bene that time the crowned
king, and annointed prince) promising faithfullie,
and firmelie affirming, that they would not onelic
lose their worldlie substance, but also be deprived of
their liues and worldlie felicitie, rather than to suffer
king Richard that tyrant longer to rule and reigne
ouer them.

Which ſolemne oſſs made and taken , the earle of
Richmond declared and communicated all theſe do-
mings to Francis duke of Britaine , deſiring ſ moſt
heartliele requirung him to aid him with a greater
armie to conduct him into his couentie , which ſo fore-
longed and looked for his returne , and to the which be-
was by the more part of the nobilitie and commu-
naltie called and deſired. Which (with Gods aid, and
40 the dukes comfort) he doubted not in ſhort time to
obtaine; requirung him further to preſt to him a con-
uenient ſumme of monie ; affirming that all ſuch
ſummess of monie which he had received of his eſpe-
ciall friends , were ſpent and conſumed in preparati-
on of his laſt iourneie made toward England; which
ſummess of monie, after his enterpriſe once atchieved,
he in the woꝝd of a prince faithfullie promiſed to re-
paie and reſtoꝝe againe . The duke promiſed him aid
and helpe. Upon confidence whereof he rigged his
50 ſhips , and ſet ſoꝝth a nauie well decked with ordi-
nance , and warlikeſhelie furniſhed with all things ne-
ceſſarie, to the intent to ſaile foꝝward Spoytie, and to
loſe no time.

In the meane season king Richard apprehended
in diuerse parts of the realme certaine gentlemen
of the earle of Richmonds faction, & confederation,
which either intended to faile into Britaine towards
him, or else at his landing to assist and aid him. A-
mongst whome sir George Bowene, sir Roger Clif-
ford, and foure other were put to execution at Lon-
don, and sir Thomas Senteleger which had married
the duchesse of Excester the kings owne sister, and
Thomas Rame, and diuerse other were executed at
Excester. Beside these persons, diuerse of his house-
hold seruants, whome either he suspected or doubted,
were by great crueltie put to shamefull death. [Wher-
the obseruation of which mens names, the place, and
the action here mentioned, with the computation of
time, I find fit occasion to interlace a note (newlie
received from the hands of one that is able to saie
much by record) deliuering a summrie (in moze am-
ple sort) of their names, whome king Richard did so
tyrannicallie persecute and execute: as followeth.]

King Richard (saith he) came this ycare to the cl
ste.

The English
lords giue
faith and pro-
mise either to
other.

The earle of
Richmond
sweareth to
marrie Eli-
zabeth daugh-
ter to Ed-
ward the
fourth, after
possession of
the crowne.

Dinner of the
eater of Rich-
monds faction
apprehended
and executed.

Abr.Flem.

John Hooker,
alias Vowel.
Is Richard
commeth to
Excester, and
is received
with pre-
sents.

A prophetic,
the inclosure
whereof did
appall the
kings spirits.

Lord Scrope
by the kings
commission
kept a session
against di-
uerse indicted
of high treason.

More than
five hundred
indicted,
whereof some
escaped, and
some were ex-
ecuted.

1484
The earle of
Richmond at-
tainted in par-
liament, and all
other that fled
our sea to
take his part.

Anno Reg. 2.

King Richard
chargeth the
lord Stanleie
to keepe his
wife in some
secret place
from dealing
against him.

tie, but in verie secret maner, whome the maior & his
brethren in the best maner they could did receiue, and
then presented to him in a purse two hundred nobles;
which he thankfullie accepted. And during his abode
here he went about the citie, & viewed the seat of the
same, & at length he came to the castell: and when he
understood that it was called Rugemont, suddenlie
he fell into a dume, and (as one affonied) said; Well,
I see my daies be not long. He spake this of a pro-
pheticke told him, that when he came once to Rich-
mond, he should not long liue after: which fell out in
the end to be true, not in respect of this castle, but in
respect of Henrie earle of Richmond, who the next
yeare following met him at Bosworth field where
he was slaine. But at his being here, he did find the
gentlemen of this countrie not to be best affected to-
wards him, and after his departure, did also heare
that the marquesse of Dorset, the bishop of Excester,
and sundrie other gentlemen were in a confederacie
against him for the assisting of the erle of Richmond.

Wherefore he sent downe John lord Scrope
with a commission to keepe a session; who sat at
Rington, & then & there were indicted of high treason,
Thomas marquesse Dorset, Peter bishop of Exce-
ster, Thomas Sentleger, and Thomas Fulford
knights as principals, and Robert Willoughbie and
Thomas Arundell knights, John Arundell deane of
Excester, David Hopton archdeacon of Excester,
Oliver abbat of Buckland, Bartholomew Sentle-
ger, William Gylson, Thomas Grenefeld, Ri-
chard Cogecombe, Robert Burnbie, Walter Court-
neie, Thomas Wolune, Edward Courtneie, Hugh
Lutterell, John Crocker, John Halletwell, and five
hundred others were indicted as accessaries. All
which fled and hid themselves, some into Bri-
taine, and some else where; saving sir Thomas Sent-
leger, and one sir John Kame; who were brought to
Excester, and there at the Carefor were beheaded.]

After this, king Richard called a parlement, in the
which he attainted the earle of Richmond and all o-
ther persons which were fled out of the realme for
feare, or anie other cause, as enemies to him, and to
their naturall countrie; & all their lands, goods, & pos-
sessions, were confiscate and seized to the kings vse.
And yet not content with this pzeie, which no doubt
was of no small valour and moment, he laid on the
peoples necks a great tax and tallage, and fuerlie ne-
cessitie to that act in maner him compelled. For what
with purging and declaring his innocencie concer-
ning the murder of his nephues toward the world,
and what with cost to obtaine the lone and fauour of
the communitie (which outwardlie glosed, and open-
lie displeased with him) he gaue prodigallie so manie
and so great rewards, that now both he lacked, and
scarce with honestie holw to borrow.

In this troublous season, nothing was more mar-
uelled at, than that the lord Stanleie had not bene
taken, and reputed as an enemie to the king; consi-
dering the working of the ladie Margaret his wife,
mother to the earle of Richmond. But forsomuch as
the enterpryse of a woman was of him reputed of no
regard or estimation; and that the lord Thomas his
husband had purged himselfe sufficientlie to be inno-
cent of all doings and attempts by him perpetrated
and committed: it was given him in charge to keepe
him in some secret place at home, without hauing a-
nie seruant or companie: so that from thence forth
he should neuer send letter or messenger vnto his
sonne, nor anie of his friends or confederats, by the
which the king might be molested or troubled, or anie
hurt or pzeiudice might be attempted against his
realme and communitie. Which commandement
was a while put in execution and accomplished, accor-
ding to his deadfull commandement.

Yet the wild woman of vengeance waueing in
his head, could not be content with the death of di-
uerse gentlemen suspected of treason; but also he
must extend his bloody furie against a pzeie gentle-
man called Collingborne, for making a small rime
of three of his unfortunate counsellors, which were
the lord Louell, sir Richard Ratcliffe his mische-
uous minion, and sir William Catesbie his secret
seducer, which matter of time was thus framed:

The Cat, the Rat, and Louell our dog.

Ryecall England vnder an hog.

Meaning by the hog, the breadfull wild boare,
which was the kings cognifance. But because the first
line ended in dog, the metrickian could not obseruing
the regiments of meter, and the second verse in
boare, but called the boare an hog. This poetickall
schollemaster, corrected of breets and longs, caused
Collingborne to be abbreviated shorter by the head,
and to be diuided into foure quarters.

Here is to be noted, that beside the rime which is
reported by some to be the onelie cause for which this
gentleman suffered, I find in a register booke of in-
dicaments concerning felonies and treasons by
sundrie persons committed, that the said Colling-
borne (by the name of William Collingborne) late
of Libbard in the countie of Wilshire esquier, and o-
ther his associats were indicted in London: for that
they about the tenth date of Iulie, in this second
yeare of king Richards reigne, in the parish of saint
Botolphes in Portoken ward had solicited and re-
quested one Thomas Hute, offering to him for his
paines eight pounds, to go ouer into Britaine vnto
Henrie earle of Richmond, Thomas marquesse Dor-
set, John Cheineie esquier, and others, which in the
last parlement holden at Westminster had bene
attainted of sundrie high treasons by them pyanished
with in the kings dominion.

Wherefore this, to declare vnto them that they should
do verie well, to returne into England with all such
power as they might get before the feast of S. Luke
the euangelist next ensuing; for so they might recou-
er all the whole reuenues of the realme due at the feast
of saint Michaell next before the said feast of saint
Luke. And that if the said earle of Richmond and his
partakers, following the counsell of the said Colling-
borne, would arrive at the haven of Pote in Dor-
setshire, he the said Collingborne and other his asso-
ciats would cause the people to rise in armes, and to
leuie warre against king Richard, taking part with
the said earle and his friends; so that all things should
be at their commandements. Whereupon, to moue
the said earle to send the said John Cheineie vnto the
French king, to auertise him that his ambassadors
sent into England should be dallied with, onelie to
driue off the time till the winter season were past, and
that then in the beginning of summer king Richard
meant to make warre into France, inuading that
realme with all puissance: and so by this meanes to
persuade the French king to aid the earle of Rich-
mond and his partakers, in their quarrell against king
Richard.

Further, that the said William Collingborne, be-
ing confederate with the said earle and other his ad-
herents, as well within the realme as without, the
eighteenth day of Iulie, in the said second yeare, with
in the parish of saint Gregories in Faringdon ward
within, had deuised certeine bills and writings in
rime, to the end that the same being published, might
stir the people to a commotion against the king. And
those bills and writings in rime so deuised and writ-
ten, the same Collingborne the daie and yeare last
mentioned, had fastened and set vpon diuerse doores
of the cathedraall church of saint Paule, for the mo-
spacie furthering of his intended purpose. Thus
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An. Dom. 1484

An. Reg. 2.

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Collingborne
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fare the indictment. But whether he was guiltie in part or in all, I haue not to saie.

King Richard being thus disquieted in mind, and doubtful for the surtie of his owne estate, called to remembrance that confederations, honest bands and pacts of amitie, concluded and had betwixt princes and gouernours, are the efficient cause that realmes and common wealths are strengthened with double power, that is, with aid of friends abroad, and their owne forces at home. Whereupon he deuised how to conclude a league and amitie with his neighbour the king of Scots: who not long before had made diuerse incursions and roads into the realme of England. And although he had not much gotten; yet verelie he lost not much. And now euen as king Richard could haue wished, he of himselfe made safe for peace or truce to be had betwixt him and king Richard; who willinglie giuing eare to that sute, commissioners were appointed to meete about the treatie thereof, as in the historie of Scotland it maie appeare.

At length they agreed vpon a truce for three yeeres, and withall for a further increase of firme friendship and sure amitie (betwixt him and the king of Scots) king Richard entered into a treatie also of alliance for the concluding of a marriage betwixt the duke of Northfolke (eldest sonne to the king of Scots) and the ladie Anne de la Pole daughter to John duke of Suffolke and the duchesse Anne, sister to king Richard: which sister he so much fauoured, that studying by all waies and meanes possible how to aduance hir linage, he did not onelie thus seeke to preferre hir daughter in marriage; but also after the death of his sonne, he proclaimed John earle of Lincoln hir sonne and his nephew, heire apparent to the crowne of England, disheriting king Edwards daughters, whose brethren (as ye haue heard) he most wickedlie had caused to be murdered and made awaie.

The king of Scots standing in need of friends, although not so greatlie as king Richard, did willinglie consent to that motion of marriage, first broched by king Richard, inasmuch that it toke effect, and by commissioners was passed and concluded, in maner as in the historie of Scotland it likewise appeareth. But albeit that by this league and amitie thus conuenanted and concluded, it might be thought, that all conspiracies, conirations, and confederacies against king Richard had bene extinct, especiallie considering the duke of Buckingham and his allies were dispatched out of the waie, some by death, and some by flight and banishment into farre countries: yet king Richard, more doubting than trusting to his owne people and friends, was continually bered and troubled in mind for feare of the earle of Richmonds returne: which daillie dread and horrible agonie caused him to liue in dolefull miserie, euer vniquiet, and in maner in continuall calamitie.

Wherefore he intending to be relieved, and to haue an end of all his doubtfull dangers, determined straightlie to extirpate and plucke vp by the roots all the matter and ground of his feare and doubts. Inasmuch that (after long and deliberate consultation had) nothing was for his purpose and intent thought either more necessarie or expedient than once againe with price, praier, and rewards, to attempt the duke of Britaine, in whose territorie the earle of Richmond then abode, to deliuer the said earle into his hands: by which onelie meanes he should be discharged of all feare and perill, and brought to rest and quietnesse both of bodie and mind. Wherefore incontinent he sent certeine ambassadoys to the duke of Britaine, which toke vpon them (beside the great and

ample rewards that they brought with them into Britaine) that king Richard should yearelie paie and answere the duke of all the reuenues, rents, and profits of the seignories, lands, and possessions, as well belonging and appertaining to the erle of Richmond, as to anie other noble or gentleman, which then were in the earles companie; if he after that time would keepe them in continuall prison, and restraine them from libertie.

The ambassadoys (furnished with these and other instructions) arrived in Britaine, and came to the dukes house; where with him they could haue no manner of communication concerning their weightie affaires; by reason that he being faint and weakened by a long and daillie infirmite, began a litle to waxe tole and weake in his wit and remembrance. For which cause Peter Landoise his chiefe treasurer, a man both of pregnant wit and great authoritie, ruled and aduised all things at his pleasure and commandement, for which cause (as men set in authoritie be not best beloued) he excited & prouoked against him the malice and euill will of the nobilitie of Britaine, which afterwarde (for diuerse great offenses by him during his authoritie perpetrate & committed) by these meanes was brought to death & confusion.

The English ambassadoys moued their message and request to Peter Landoise, and to him declared their masters commandement, instantlie requiring and humble desiring him (in whose power it late to do all things in Britaine) that he would frendlie assent to the request of king Richard: offering to him the same rewards and lands, that they should haue offered to the duke. This Peter (which was no lesse despised than hated almost of all the people of Britaine) thought that if he did assent & satisfie king Richards petition and desire, he should be of power and abilitie sufficient to withstand and reuell the malicious attempts and disdeinfull inuentions of his enuious aduersaries. Wherefore he faithfullie promised to accomplish king Richards request & desire: so that he kept promise with him, that he might be able to withstand the cankered malice of his secret enemies.

This act that he promised to do, was not for anie grudge or malice that he bare vnto the erle of Richmond: for (as you haue heard before) he deliuered him from the perill of death at saint Palas, when he was in great doubt of life, and leopardie. But as cause artlesse we euer offend, and that cursed hunger of gold, and execrable thirst of lucre, and inward feare of losse of authoritie, diueth the blind minds of couetous men, & ambitious persons to euils and mischiefes innumerable, not remembering losse of god name, obloquie of the people, nor in conclusion the punishment of God for their meritis and deserts. [Which vengeance of God for such fallshood was moze to be feared, than the gaie offers of the king to be desired; for the one was sure to fall, the other was likelie to faile. Wherefore it is wisdome to make choise of a friend, by the rule of the wiseman to be obserued in wine, which is drunke with pleasure when it is old. Neither doth it stand with a mans safetie to trust a friend too farre: for occasions maie fall out wherby he shall become an enimie, as the poet saith:

Hostis erit forsan qui tuum hospes erat.

But fortune was so fauourable to the publike wealth of the realme of England, that this deaillie and dolozous compact toke none effect or place. For while postes ran, and letters were sent to and fro for the finishing of this great enterprise betwene king Richard and Peter Landoise, John spozton bishop of Elic (sojourning then in Flanders) was of all this craftie conuiance certified by his secret and sure friends. Wherefore he sent Christopher Urswike (which at that verie season was come out of Britaine into

A great temptation with large offers.

Peter Landoise is named by the ambassadoys of king Richard in their sute.

Note what loue of lucre or greedie gasping after rewards doth.

See page 701.

Abr. Fl.

Bishop spozton preuenteth & defeateth the practices of king Richard and Peter Landoise.

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Collingborne executed.

Collingborne indictment.

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into fflanders) to declare to the earle of Richmond how all the deceit and craftie working was conueyed and compassed, giuing him charge to counsell and aduise the earle in all hault possible with all his companie to retire out of Britaine into France.

The earle of Denbroke co-
duktor of the
earle of Rich-
monds com-
panie.

When these newes were brought to the earle, he then kept house in Tannes, and incontinent dispatched againe Christopher Urswike vnto Charles the French king, requiring him that he and his might safelie passe into France. Which desire being obtained, the messenger shortly returned to his lord and prince. The earle, well perceiuing that it was expedient and necessarie, with all speed and diligence to looke to this weightie matter, calling verie few to counsell, he made inquirie and search of all secret & by-ways, & sent before all his noble men, as though for a certaine familiaritie and kindnesse they should visit and comfort the duke, which then (for recreation and change of aire) late on the borders and confines of France. And secretlie he gaue charge to the earle of Denbroke, which was the leader and conductor of his companie, that when they approached the marches and limits of Britaine, they should diuert and take the next waie into France.

The earles
small traine
for a policie.

The noble men somewhat suspicious of things newlie imagined, without any tarieng, scowring the waies as fast as their horses could runne, came out of the duchie of Britaine into the duchie of Anjou in the dominion of France, where they taried the erles comming, which two daies after departed out of Tannes, onelie accompanied with five seruitors, as though he had gone secretlie to visit a familiar friend of his, in a small village adioining. So man suspected that he would depart, considering that a great multitude of Englishmen were left and continued in the citie. But after that he had passed three or four miles forward, he suddenly turned into a solitarie wood next adioining, where clothing himselfe in the simple coat of his page seruant, made and appointed his said minister leader and maister of his small companie, & he as an humble page diligentlie followed and serued his counterfeit gouernor, neither resting nor refreshing themselves, except the basking of their horses, till they by waies vnknewne, now this way, now turning that way, came to their companie abiding them in Angiers.

The earle ap-
parelled like a
page attended
vpon one of his
men as his
maister.

The fourth day after the earle of Richmond was thus departed, that craftie merchant Peter Landois, thirsting still after his preie promised by king Richard, was ready to set forward his crew of soldiers, which he priuily had consigned, with certaine trafficke captains for that onelie purpose appointed and elected, to performe and atchieue his pretended enterprise; dissembling and feining them to be conducted and hired by him to serue the earle of Richmond, and him to conduct in his returne toward his native countrie: meaning no other thing but to apprehend him, and the other noble men in his retinue, which no such fraud suspected, nor yet anie treason imagined, vnto ware and vnprouided, and destitute of all aid, and them to cast and commit suddenly into continuall captiuitie and bondage, to the intent that by this his wretched and naughtie act, he might satiffie the charitable request and longing desire of good king Richard, more for his owne profit than king Richards gaine.

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But when this craftie dissembler Peter Landois, which was no wittier than an old fox, perceiued that the earle was departed (thinking that to be true that he imagined) Lord how curiously ran into euerie coast how light horsemen galloped in euerie street to follow and deteine him, if by anie possibilitie he could be met with and ouertaken, and him to apprehend and bring captiue into the citie of Tannes. The

horsemen made such diligence, and with such celeritie set forward their iournie, that nothing was more likele than they to haue obtained, yea and seized their preie. For the earle of Richmond was not entered into the realme of France scarce one houre, but the followers came to the limits and confines of Britaine, and durst adventure no further, but baine (without their desire) sorrowfullie returned.

At which season were left at Tannes about the number of three hundred Englishmen, which not being called to counsell, and vnto ware of this enterprise, but knowing of the earles sudden departure, were so incontinentlie afforced, that in manner they were all in despair, both of him, and their owne libertie and safegard. But fortune turned his faile, and otherwise it happened than their feare them incumbered. For the duke of Britaine, now being somewhat recovered, was sore displeased, and nothing contented, that the earle of Richmond was in his dominion so vn-courteouslie vied and intreated, that he should be by fraud and vntruth compelled to leave and flie out of his duchie and countrie, contrarie to his honour. Wherefore he toke verie great displeasure with Peter Landois his treasurer, to whom (although he knew not, and was ignorant that all the guilt was vniuen and deuised by him) he laid the fault, and imputed the crime.

Hereupon he sent for Edward Mowbray, and Edward Poynings, valiant esquires of England, and deliuered vnto them monie sufficient for their conduct, willing them to conuie the rest of the Englishmen being in Britaine, to the earle of Richmond's presence. When the earle was thus furnished, and appointed with his trustie companie, and was escaped all the dangers, labirinths, and snares that were set for him: no maruell though he were iocund and glad of the prosperous successe that happened in his affaires. Wherefore, least he should seeme to be blotted with the note of ingratitude, he sent diners of his gentlemen to the duke of Britaine, the which should publish and declare to him on the behalfe of the earle, that he and his were onelie by his benefit and fauour conserued and deliuered from the imminent danger that they were like to be trapped in. Wherefore at that time he rendered vnto him his most hartie thanks in words, trusting and not doubting, but in time to come liberallie to recompense him with acts and deeds.

After this, the earle toke his iournie to Charles the French king, lieng then at Langes vpon the river of Loire, to whom (after great thanks giuen for manifold pleasures by him to the earle shewed) he disclosed and manifested the cause and occasion of his access and repaire to his person. After that, he required of him helpe and succour, to the intent that by his immortall benefit to him at that time shewed, he might safelie returne vnto the nobilitie of his realme; of whom he was generallie called to take vpon him the crown & scepter of the realme, which they much hated and abhorred the tyrannie of king Richard. King Charles promised him aid and comfort, and bade him be of good courage, and make good cheare; for he assured him that he would glablie shew to him his beneuolent mind and bountifull liberalitie. Which king from thence remoned to Apontargis, leading with him the earle of Richmond, and all the noble personages of his retinue and faction.

This is that Charles the French king, in whose time France was all adant, for the state of that realme is said, that then it was verie populous in multitudes of men, for wealth and riches euerie particular region most fertile and plentifull, for glorie in armes most flourishing & renowned, a policie well directed, discipline administered, an authoritie dreadfull, and

The duke of
Britaine
to the earle of
Richmond, &
the cause of
the earle's
departure.

Edw. Mow-
bray & Edw.
Poynings
to the earle of
Richmond
the duke's
earles com-
panie.

Abt. Fl. ex L.S.
pg. 73.

The earle of
Richmond
power and
summe into
England.

The earle of
Richmond
goeth to the
French king
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Abt. Fl.
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page 74.

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in opinion and hope most mightie; lastlie their general conditions and faculties so well furnished, as perhaps it was not more happie in these mortall felicities since the daies of Charlemaine. It was newlie amplified in euerie one of the three parts wherein all Gall stood diuided by the ancients: for fortie yers before vnder Charles the tenth (a prince for his victories obtained with great dangers called Haplie) Normandie and the duchie of Guen, holden by the Englishmen, were reduced to the obedience of the French crowne. And in the last daies of Lewis the eleuenth, the earldome of Province, the dukedome of Burgognie, almost all Picardie, together with the duchie of Britaine, were by a new mariage inuessed in the power of Charles the eight.]

While the earle was thus attendant in the French court, John Wre earle of Drford, which (as you haue heard before) was by king Edward kept in prison within the castell of Hammes, so perswaded James Blunt capteine of the same fortreffe, and sir John Forsetscue porter of the towne of Calis, that he himselfe was not onelie dismissed and set at libertie, but they also abandoning and leauing their fruitfull offices, did condescend to go with him into France to the earle of Richmond, and to take his part. But James Blunt, like a wise capteine, because he left his wife remaining in the castell before his departure, did fortifie the same both with new munitions, and fresh souldiers. [And here because the names of Wre and Forsetscue are remembred, it shall not be amisse, somewhat out of due place, yet better a little out of order than altogether to omit the same, to adde a supplement for the further perfecting of a report recored in page 693, and adding some light also to this present place touching the said persons, with others.]

Know you therefore, that this sir John Wre earle of Drford (that withdrew himselfe from Barnet field, and with all speed fled into Scotland) in the yere 1473, and the thirteenth of Edward the fourth, did (after he had sometime sojourned there) saile into France, about the borders whereof he was continually hounding, as hoping to win some price (to support his estate) of such passengers as for merchandise cause or otherwise must keepe their course a long the sea. Whose good successe therein did not deceiue his mind. For in the end (what of one and other) hee got such riches and other furniture, as he was able to support a chosen number of followers. Wherewith he (being releued and encouraged to aduenture to set forth in his countrie in despite of king Edward) did with his companie of 397 persons, and with his sale of ships land in the west countrie the last of September, where (partlie by force of his, and partlie through feare of the inhabitants, but mostlie by a subtil shift) he gat and entered the castell of saint Michaels mount, a place of strength, and such an harbourough, as he determined to keepe the same against all assaillants. During the time of his remaine there, he would with his companie manie times descend the hill, and come abrode in the countrie, where (for his loue, for his honour, and for the hatred they bare to king Edward) he was well interteined of manie gentlemen and others of the countrie.

But this matter vnpossible long to be kept in secret, was at the length brought to the knowledge of king Edward; who being somewhat moued, thought in the beginning to withstand such mischance, least suffering too long, & the earle growing to strength, he might be put to as great plunge for the crowne as he had bene twice before: wherewith seeing he was perswaded, he grew resolute to keepe it both by policie and puissance, maugre the open violence and priuite practices as well of his professed as secret enemies.

For he ran through the pikes per he could obtaine it, and offered his bodie to manie desperate perils in hope to get it: which if he had either feared or shunned, it is a matter of demand whether he had euer had it. For pretious things, as principallities and such like, vnlesse they be hereditarie, as they are hardlie kept, so are they not easilie gotten: for he that desirith to gather a rose, must not be tender ouer his fingers because of thornes; and he that would fast honte fresh out of the hieue, must not be scared with the stinging of bees, as the poet verie sweetlie noteth:

Non quisquam fruitur veris odoribus,

Et ybleas latebris nec spoliat fauos,

Sis fronti caueat si timeat rubos,

Armat spina rosas, mella tegunt apes.

Wherefore king Edward gave in charge to Bodingham, ruler of Shirrife of Cornewall, to assemble such power as he could, and besieging the mount, he should either take or kill the earle of Drford. The which the Shirrife did accordingly, but that so feintlie and sauourable, as he permitted the earle of Drford (now in distresse) to reuittell the mount, knowing that there was no waie to expell the earle from thence but by famine. These things thus done (the king not pleased, and the earle not displeased) one Forsetscue (which surname is deduced from the strength of his shield, whereof that familie had first originall) was with a stronger and faithfuller companie sent by king Edward to laie siege to the castell, which he did, and long continued. For it was not easie to be had, being (of it selfe) by nature stronglie set, by policie well vittelled, and by manhood valiantlie defended: which moued the king to assay an other means therefore, and to see if policie might do that which force could not.

For which cause, as Forsetscue still continued the said siege, the king supposed it best (if possible he might) to weaken the earles part, by withdrawing the strength and hearts of his people from him: which might not be done but with rich promises and strong pardons. On which consideration he sent liberallie pardons to them, and in the end so secretlie wrought with the earles men: that if the earle/feared the worst, and iudging it better to trie the kings mercie, than to hazard the extremitie of taking, in which rested nothing but assured death) had not wholie submitted himselfe to king Edward, he had bene by his owne men most dishonestlie betrayed, and suddenlie taken prisoner. Wherupon the earle comming forth to Forsetscue, did there yield himselfe and the castell into the kings hands. At what time/being the sixteenth of Februarie, which from the first entrance of the earle into that castell being the last of September, was about foure moneths and fouretene daies) the same Forsetscue entered the mount, & toke possession thereof, finding it yet sufficientlie vittelled to haue sustained an other siege more than one halfe yere. After all things were thus quieted, the earle, the lord Beaumont, two brothers of the said earle, and Thomas Cliffe, were brought up as prisoners vnto king Edward. And now to our present historie againe.]

When the earle of Richmond saw the earle of Drford, he was causthed with an incredible gladnesse, that he being a man of so high nobilitie, of such knowledge and practices in seates of warre, and so constant, trustie and assured (which alwaie had stood for the maintenance and preferment of the house of Lancaster) was now by Gods prouision deliuered out of captiuitie and imprisonment; and in time so necessarie and conuenient come to his aid, succour, and aduancement; in whome more surer than anie other he might put his trust and confidence, and take lesse paine and trauell in his owne person. For it

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Shirriff Bodingham besiegeth the mount that the earle had taken.

The name of Forsetscue wherupon it grew.

Deuises to withdraw the earles power from him.

The earle of Drford submitted himselfe & yielded the castell into the kings hands.

he Duke of

John Wre earle of Drford

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was not hid from him, that such as cuer had taken part with king Edward before this time, came to do him seruice, either for malice they bare king Richard, or else for feare to liue vnder his cruell rule and tyrannous gouernance.

Not long after, the French king returned againe to Paris, whome the earle of Richmond followed, intending there to solicit his matter to the conclusion. Whereupon he brought king Charles to take vpon him the whole tuition and defense of him and his cause, so that he and his compaignie being (by his means) aided and comforted, should confesse and saie, their wealth, victorie, and advancement to haue botwed and budded forth of his bountifullnesse and liberalitie, which they would (God willing) shortly acquite. In the meane season, diuerse Englishmen, which either fled out of England for feare, or were at Paris to learne and studie goddly literature and vertuous doctrine, came voluntarie and submitted themselves to the earle of Richmond, and botwed & swore to take his part. Amongst whom was Richard for a priest, a man of great wit and no lesse learning, whome the earle incontinent receiued into secret familiaritie, and in brasse time erected and aduanced him to high dignities and promotions, and in conclusion made him bishop of Winchester.

In the meane season, king Richard was credibly advertised, what promises and othes the earle and his confederates had made and sworn together at Reims, and how by the earles means all the Englishmen were passed out of Britaine into France. Wherefore being sore dismayed, and in a manner desperate, because his craftie chieuanee took none effect in Britaine, he imagined & deuised how to infringe and disturbe the earles purpose by an other meane; so that by the marriage of ladie Elizabeth his nece, he should pretend no claime nor title to the crowne. For he thought if that marriage failed, the earles chiefe combe had bene clearely cut. And because that he being blinded with the ambitious desire of rule before this time in obtaining the kingdome, had committed and done manie cursed acts, and detestable tyrannies, yet according to the old proverbe: Let him take the bull that scale awaie the calfe: he thought all facts by him committed in times passed to be but of small moment, and not to be regarded in comparison of that mischeuous imagination, which he now heliole began and attempted.

There came into his vngracious mind a thing not onelie detestable to be spoken of in the remembrance of man, but much more cruell and abominable to be put in execution. For when he reuolued in his waivering mind, how great a founteine of mischeue toward him should spring, if the earle of Richmond should be aduanced to the marriage of his nece: which thing he heard saie by the rumor of the people, that no small number of wise and witty personsages enterprised to compasse and bring to conclusion; he cleerlie determined to reconcile to his fauour his brothers wife queene Elizabeth, either by faire words, or liberall promises; firmelie beleening his fauour once obtained, that he should not flie to commit (and lounglie credit) to him the rule and gouernance both of hir and hir daughters, and so by that meane the earle of Richmond of the affinitie of his nece should be utterlie defrauded and beguiled.

And if no ingenious remedie could be otherwise inuented, to saue the innumerable mischeues which were euen at hand, and like to fall, if it should happen queene Anne his wife to depart out of this present life, then he himselfe would rather take to wife his consine and nece the ladie Elizabeth; than for lacke of that affinitie the whole realme should run to

ruine, as who said, that if he once fell from his estate and dignitie, the ruine of the realme must needs shortly insue and follow. Wherefore he sent to the queene (being in sanctuarie) diuerse and often messengers, which first should excuse and purge him of all things before against hir attempted or procured, and after should so largelie promise promotions innumerable, and benefits, not onelie to hir, but also to hir sonne lord Thomas Marquesse Dorset, that they should bring hir (if it were possible) into some wanhope, or (as men saie) into a soles paradise.

The messengers, being men both of wit and grauitie, so perswaded the queene with great and pregnant reasons, & that with faire and large promises, that she began somewhat to relent, and to giue to them no deafe eare; inso much that she faithfullie promised to submit and yield hir selfe fullie and frankly to the kings will and pleasure. And so she putting in oblivion the murder of hir innocent children, the infamie and dishonour spoken by the king hir husband, the liuing in adulterie laid to hir charge, the bastarding of hir daughters; forgetting also the faithfull promise and open oth made to the countesse of Richmond mother to the earle Henrie, blinded by auaricious affection, & seduced by flattering words, first deliuered into king Richards hands hir five daughters, as lambs once againe committed to the custody of the rauenous wolfe.

After she sent letters to the marquesse hir sonne, being then at Paris with the earle of Richmond, willing him in anie wise to leaue the earle, and with out delaie to repaire into England, where for him were provided great honours, and honourable promotions; ascertaining him further, that all offenses on both parts were forgotten and forgiven, and both he and she highlie incorporated in the kings heart. Suerlie the inconstancie of this woman were much to be marvelled at, if all women had bene found constant; but let men speake, yet women of the worse bond of nature will follow their owne sex. [But it was no small allurement that king Richard bled to ouercome hir (for we know by experience that women are of a proud disposition, and that the waie to win them is by promises of preferment) and therefore it is the lesse maruell that he by his wille wit had made conquest of hir waivering will. Besides that, it is to be presumed that she stood in feare to impugne his demands by denials, least he in his malicious mood might take occasion to deale roughly with hir, being a weakie woman, and of a timorous spirit.]

Now when king Richard had thus with glorious promises, and flattering words, pleased and appeased the mutable mind of queene Elizabeth, which knew nothing lesse than that he most intended; he caused all his brothers daughters to be conueied into his palace with sollemne receiuing: as though with his new familiar and louing intertainment they should forget, and in their minds blot out the old committed iniurie, and late executed tyrannie. Now nothing was contrarie and against his diuillish purpose, but that his mansion was not void of his wife, which thing he in any wise aduised necessary to be done. But there was one thing that so much feared and staied him from committing this abominable murder, because (as you haue heard before) he began to counterfet the image of a god and well disposed person: and therefore he was afraid least the sudden death of his wife once openlie knowne, he should lose the good and credible opinion which the people had of him, without anie desert, conceived and reported.

But in conclusion, euill counsell preuailed in a wit latelie minded to mischeue, and turned from all goodnesse. So that his vngracious desire ouercame his

Diuerse Englishmen voluntarie submitted themselves to the earle of Richmond in France.

Richard desired to infringe and disturbe the earle of Richmonds purpose.

A subtil and two practice of king Richard to beguile the earle of Richmond.

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his honest feare. And first to enter into the gates of his imagined enterprise, he abstained both from the bed and companie of his wife. When he complained to diuerse noble men of the realme, of the infortunate sterilitie and barrenesse of his wife, because she brought forth no fruit and generation of hir bodie. And in especiall he recounted to Thomas Mothe-ram archbishop of York (whome latelie he had deli-uered out of ward and captiuitie) these impediments of his quene, and diuerse other, thinking that he would reueale to hir all these things, trusting the se-quele hereof to take due effect, that the hearing this grudge of hir husband, & taking therfore an inward thought, would not long lue in this world.

Of this the bishop gathered (which well knew the complexion and vsage of the king) that the quenes daies were short, and that he declared to certeine of his secret friends. After this he procured a common rumour (but he would not haue the author knowne) to be published and spred abroad among the common people, that the quene was dead; to the intent that the taking some conceit of this strange faile, should fall into some sudden sickness or greivous maladie; and to proue if afterwards she should fortune by that or anie other waies to lease hir life, whether the people would impute hir death to the thought or sick-ness, or therof would laie the blame to him. Now when the quene heard tell that so horrible a rumour of hir death was sprung amongst the communitie, she sore suspected and iudged the world to be almost at an end with hir. And in that sorrowfull agonie the with lamentable countenance and sorrowfull cheare, repaired to the presence of the king hir husband, de-manding of him what it should meane, that he had iudged hir worthy to die.

The king answered hir with faire words, and with smiling and flattering leastings comforted hir, and bid hir be of good cheere, for (to his knowledge) she should haue no other cause. But howsoever that it fortune, either by inward thought and pensiuenesse of hart, or by infection of poison (which is affirmed to be most likelie) within few daies after the quene de-parted out of this transitorie life, and was with due solemnitie buried in the church of S. Peter at West-minster. This is the same Anne, one of the daugh-ters of the earle of Marlowe, which (as you haue heard before) at the request of Lewes the French king was married to prince Edward, sonne to king Henrie the first. The king thus (according to his long desire) loosed out of the bonds of matrimonic, began to cast a solisly fantasie to ladie Elizabeth his nace, making much sute to haue hir ioined with him in lawfull matrimonie.

But because all men and the maiden hirselfe most of all detested and abhorred this unlawfull, and in-manner unnatural copulation; he determined to pro-long and defer the matter, till he were in a more quietnesse. For all that verie season he was oppressed with great weightie, and urgent causes, and busines-ses on euerie side; considering that daile, part of the nobilitie sailed into France to the earle of Rich-mond: other prouillie fauoured and aided certeine of the conuiration, so that of his short end few or none were in doubt. And the common people (for the most part) were brought to such desperation, that manie of them had rather be reputed and taken of him in the number of his enimies, than to abide the chance and hazard to haue their goods taken as a spoile of bloodie, by his enimies. [In such hatred they had the wretch, wishing his hart in their hands with the ha-zard of their heads. For how can people saie well or thinke well of tyrants, whose propertie it is to feare them in paces with their clauies, like a wolfe let loose among a fold of sheepe? Wherefore Homer had

an eie when he said in pitie sense as here followeth:

*Quisquis inhumanis studet intestabilis viti
Meritis, huic omnes viuo clam dira precantur:
Huic omnes credunt sua insultare perempto.*

Amongst the noble men whome he most mistrus-ted, these were the principall. Thomas lord Stanleie, sir William Stanleie his brother, Gilbert Talbot, and sir hundred other: of whose purposes although king Richard were not ignorant, yet he gaue neither confidence nor credence to anie one of them; and least of all to the lord Stanleie, because he was ioined in matrimonie with the ladie Margaret, mother to the earle of Richmond, as afterward apparantlie we may perceiue. For when the said lord Stanleie would haue departed into his countrie to visit his familie, and to recreate and refresh his spirits (as he openlie said, but the truth was, to the intent to be in a perfect readinesse to receiue the earle of Richmond at his first arrivall in England) the king in no wise would suffer him to depart, before he had left as an hostage in the court George Stanleie lord Strange, his first begotten sonne and heire.

While king Richard was thus troubled and vexed with imaginations of the troublous time that was like to come: lo, euen suddenlie he heard newes, that fire was sprung out of the smoke, and the war fierly begun; and that the castell of Hammes was deli-uered into the hands of the earle of Richmond, by the meanes of the earle of Drford; and that not onlie he, but also James Blunt captaine of the castell, were fled into France to aid the earle Henrie. Wherefore he, thinking it great policie to withstand the first burst, sent the most part of the garrison of Calis, to reconer againe by force the castell of Hammes. They which were in the castell, perceiuing their aduerfa-ries to approach, prepared munitions and engines for their defense, and sent also to the earle of Richmond, to aduertise him of their sudden inuasion, requiring him of hastie aid and speedie succour.

The earle sleeping not this first begun assault, sent the earle of Drford with an elected companie of souldiers to raise the siege, and rescue the castell: which at their first arriuing pitched their campe not far from their enimies. Now while king Richards men gaue vigilant eie, waiting least the earle of Drford should take anie aduantage of them that laie on that side of the castell; Thomas Brandon with thirtie appoy-ued men of war by a marsh, which laie on the other side, entered into the castell. The souldiers within greatlie encouraged, & much comforted by this new succour and aid, griued the enimies, by shooting from the walles more than they were accustomed to do. When they of the castell vied their enimies on the fore part: and the earle of Drford no lesse molested & vniquieted them on the other part. Which was the occasion that king Richards men offered (of their owne mere motion) licence to all being within the castell to depart in safetie, with bag and baggage, nothing excepted.

Which condition the earle of Drford, comming onelie for that purpose to deliuer his louing friends out of all perill and danger, and chiefe of all, his old hostesse Jane Blunt, wife to James Blunt the cap-taine, would in no wise forsake or refuse: and so lea-ving the castell bare and ungarnished both of vittels and artillerie, came safelie to the earle of Richmond sojourning in Paris. During this time, king Ri-chard was crediblie informed of his inquisitors and espials, that the earle of Richmond was with long sute in the court of France sore wearied; and desir-ing great aid, could obtaine small reliefe: in somuch that all things went so farre backwards, that such things as were with great diligence (and no lesse de-liberation) purposed and determined to be set for-

ward,

Hom. Odys.
lib. 19.

what noble
men & Ri-
chard most
mistrusted.

I 485
Anno Reg.

The castell of
Hammes de-
liuered vnto
the earle of
Richmond.

Thomas
Brandon en-
tereth the ca-
stell.

why king
Richard gaue
licence to all
in the castell
to depart in
safetie with
bag and bag-
gage.

Richard
gathered
the king
gathered
the king
gathered
the king

Richard
gathered
the king
gathered
the king
gathered
the king

The income
of Anne of
Elizabeth.

Quene El-
izabeth al-
loweth her
sonne the
marquess
of Dorset
home out
of France.

The quene
gathered
the king
gathered
the king
gathered
the king

Richard
gathered
the king
gathered
the king
gathered
the king

ward, were now dashed and overthrowne to the ground.

King Richard either being too light of credence, or seduced and deluded by his craftie tale-tellers, greatly rejoiced, as though he had obtained the over hand of his enemies with triumphant victorie, and thought himselfe neuer so surelie deliuered of all feare and dreadfull imaginations: so that he needed now no more once for that cause either to wake, or to breake his golden sleepe. Wherefore he called home againe his ships of warre, which he had appointed to keepe the narrow seas, and dispatched all such souldiers as he had deputed to keepe certaine garrisons, and to stop certaine passages (as you haue heard before.) Yet lest he might for lacke of prouision be suddenly trapped, he strenghtlie charged and gaue in commandement to all noblemen, and especiallie such as inhabited nere the sea coast, and on the frontiers of Wales, that (according to the vse of the countrye) they should keepe diligent watch and strong ward, to the intent that his aduersaries in no wise should haue any place opportune easilie to take land, without defence or rebutting backe.

For the custome of the countries adioining nere to the sea is (speciallie in the time of warre) on euery hill or high place to erect a beacon with a great lanterne in the top, which may be seene and discerned a great space off. And when the noise is once heard that the enemies approach nere the land, they suddenly put fire in the lanternes, and make shouts and outcries from towne to towne, and from village to village. Some run in post from place to place, admonishing the people to be readie to resist the ieopardie, and defend the perill. And by this policie the same is sone blowne to euery citie and towne, in somuch that aswell the citizens as the rurall people be in short space assembled and armed, to repel and put backe the newe arrived enemies. [Whereas if the necessarie vse of this visible warning were neglected, the policie of the enemies might prouide so preuaile, as that the people should sooner fall into perill irreuerable, than they could thinke on (much lesse prouide) meanes to auoid it.]

But now to returne to our purpose. King Richard thus somewhat eased of his accustomed penitence, began to be a little more merrie, & toke lesse thought and care for outward enemies than he was wont to doe; as who say, that he with politike prouision should withstand the destinie which hong ouer his head, and was ordeined in briefe time suddenly to fall. Such is the force and puissance of diuine iustice, that euery man shall lesse regard, lesse prouide, lesse be in doubt of all things, when he is most nereest punishment, and next to his mischance for his offenses & crimes. [For though God did forbear him a while, yet was that forbearance no acquittance, but rather a time of preparing & making by that which wanted of the plagues that God had purposed in iustice to powre vpon and ouerwhelme him for his foule offenses, which could not scape heauie iudgment & vengeance:

Nam scelus admissum poena seuerâ premit.

About this season, while the earle of Richmond was desiring aid of the French king, certaine noble men were appointed to rule the realme of France, during the minority of king Charles, which amongst themselves were not of one opinion. Of which dissent, Lewis duke of Orleans was the chiefe stirrer, who because he had married ladie Joane sister to the French king, toke vpon him aboue other the rule and administration of the whole realme. By reason of which controuersie, no one man was suffered to rule all. Wherefore the earle of Richmond was compelled to make sute to euery one of the counsell seuerallie one after another, requiring and desiring them

of aid and reliefe in his weightie businesse, and so his cause was prolonged and deferred. During which time, Thomas marquisse Dorsset, which was (as you haue heard) inticed by his mother to returne againe into England, partly despairing in the good successe of the earle of Richmond, and partly overcome and vanquished with the faire gloving promises of king Richard: secretlie in the night season stole out of Paris, and with all diligent expedition toke his iourne toward Flanders.

When relation of his departure was made to the earle of Richmond, and the other noble men, no maruell though they were astonied and greatly amazed. Yet that notwithstanding, they required of the French king, that it might be lawfull for them in his name, and by his commandement, to take and staie their companion, confederate, and partaker of all their counsell, in what place within his realme and territorie he ener they could find him. Which petition once obtained, they sent out curroes into euery part, amongst whom Humfreie Cheynie (platerig the part of a good bloudhound) followed the tract of the silver to euen by the sent, that he ouertoke and apprehended him not far from Campeigne; and so what with reason, and what with faire promises, being perswaded, he returned againe to his companions.

The earle of Richmond unburdened of this misadventure, least by lingering of daies, and prolonging of time, he might lose the great opportunity of things to him offered and ministered: also lest he should further wound and molest the minds of his faithfull and assured friends, which daily did expect and tarie for his coming, determined no longer to protract and deferre the time; but with all diligence and celeritie attempted his begun enterprise. And so obtaining of king Charles a small crew of men, and borrowing certaine summes of monie of him, and of diuerse other his priuate friends, for the which he left as debter (or more likelie as a pledge or hostage) lord Thomas marquisse Dorsset (whome he halfe mistrusted) and sir John Bourchier, he departed from the French court, and came to the citie of Rhone.

While he taried there, making prouision at Harflet in the mouth of the riuer of Sene for all things necessarie for his nanie, tidings were brought to him that king Richard (being without children, & now a widower) intended shortly to marie the ladie Elizabeth his brothers daughter; and to prefer the ladie Cecile his sister to a man found in a cloud, and of an unknowne linage and familie. He toke these newes as a matter of no small moment; and so (all things considered) it was of no lesse importance than he toke it for. For this thing onelie toke awaie from him and all his companions their hope and courage, that they had to obtaine an hapie enterprise. And therefore no maruell though it nipped him at the berie stomach: when he thought, that by no possibilitie he might attaine the mariage of any of his daughters, which was the strongest foundation of his building; by reason whereof he iudged that all his friends in England would abandon and thinke from him.

Wherefore, making not mantle of his counsell, after diuerse consultations, he determined not yet to set forward: but to tarie and attempt how to get more aid, more friends, and more stronger succours. And amongst all other, it was thought most expedient to allure by assinitie in his aid, as a companion in armes, sir Walter Herbert, a man of an ancient stocke, & of great power among the Welch, who had with him a faire ladie to his sister, of age ripe to be coupled with him in matrimonie. And for the attaining of this purpose, messengers were secretlie sent to Henrie earle of Northumberland (which had been

Richard called home his ships of warre from the narrow seas.

The vse of beacons in countries nere the sea coasts.

The welshmen offer to aid the earle of Richmond.

The earle arrueth at Harflet harbor.

False rumors still newes.

Dissent among the peers of France made the earle of Richmond renew his sute and put him to his shifts.

The earle of Richmond's power made stronger by accesse of confederates.

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The marquis
Doxer foist
beth the earle.

The welth
man offer to
and the earle
at Richmond.

The earle ar
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Willesham.

Wille rump
shilmes.

The earle is
granted at the
news of king
Richards in
tended mar
age with his
nace.

The earle of
Richmonds
power made
stronger by
marriage of con
sents.

foze married another sister of sir Walter Herberts) to the intent that he should set forward all this devise and purpose: but the waies were so narrowlie watched, and so manie spies laid, that the messenger proceeded not in his iourne and businesse.

But in the meane season, there came to the earle a more sofull message from Morgan Isiduelle, learned in the temporall law, which declared that Rice ap Thomas, a man of no lesse valiantnesse than actiuitie, and John Sauage an approued capteine, would with all their power be partaker of his quarrell. And that Reginald Bric had collected and gotten togither no small summe of monie for the payment of the wages to the souldiers and men of warre: admoynishing him also to make quicke expedition, and to take his course directlie into Wales. The earle of Richmond, because he would no longer linger and wearie his frends, liuing continuallie betwene hope and feare, determined in all conuenient hast to set forward, and caried to his ships armes, weapons, 20 bittels, and all other ordinances expedient for warre.

After that all things were in readinesse, the earle being accompanied onelie with two thousand men, and a small number of ships, laded vp his anchors, and halied vp his sailles in the moneth of August, and sailed from Harflet with so prosperous a wind, that the seuenth daie after his departure, he arrived in Wales in the euening, at a place called Milford hauen, and incontinent toke land, and came to a place called Dulle; where he heard saie that a certeine companie of his aduersaries were laid in garison to defend his arrivall all the last winter. And the earle at the sunne rising remoued to Hereford west, being distant from Dulle not full ten miles, where he was sofullie receiued of the people, and he arrived there so suddenlie, that he was come and entered the towne at the same time when the citizens had but knowledge of his coming.

Here he heard newes, which were as vntrue as they trulie were reported to him in Normandie; that Rice ap Thomas, and John Sauage, with bodie and goods, were determined to aid king Richard. While he and his companie were some what astonied at these new tidings, there came such message from the inhabitants of the towne of Penbroke, that refreshed and reuiued their frosen harts and daunted courages. For Arnold Butler a valiant capteine, which first asked pardon for his offenses before time committed against the earle of Richmond, and that obtained, declared to him that the Penbrochians were ready to serue and giue their attendance on their natural and immediat lord Jasper earle of Penbroke. The earle of Richmond, hauing his armie thus increased, departed from Hereford west to the towne of Cardigan, being five miles distant from thence.

While the souldiers were refreshing and trimming themselves in their campe, strange tidings spiong among them without anie certeine author; that sir Walter Herbert, which laie with a great crue of men at Carmarden, was now with a great armie ready to approach and bid them battell. With which newes the armie was soze troubled, and euerp man assaied his armour and proued his weapon, and were prest to defend their enemies. And as they were in this fearfull doubt, certeine hostlemen, which the earle had sent to make inquirie and search, returned and reported all the countrie to be quiet, and no let nor impediment to be laid or cast in their iourne. And euen at the same time, the whole armie was greatly recomforted, by reason that the coming of Richard Griffith, a man of great nobilitie, the which notwithstanding that he was confederate with sir Walter Herbert, and Richard ap Thomas, yet at that berie instant he came to the earle of Richmond

with all his companie, which were of no great number. After him the same daie came John Morgan with his men.

Then the earle advanced forward in god hast, making no repose or abode in anie one place. And to the intent to passe forward with sure and short expedition, he assaulted euerie place where his enemies had set anie men of warre; which with small force, and lesse difficultie, he byieslie did overcome & vanquish. And suddenlie he was by his espials ascertained, that sir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas were in harnesse before him, ready to encounter with his armie, and to stop their passage. Wherefore like a valiant capteine he first determined to set on them, and either to destroe or to take them into his fauour, and after with all his power and puissance to giue battell to his mostall enimie king Richard. But to the intent his frends should know in what readinesse he was, and how he proceeded forward; he sent of his most secret and faithfull seruants with letters and instructions to the ladie spargaret his mother, to the lord Stanleie and his brother, to sir Gilbert Talbot, and to other his trustie frends; declaring to them that he being succoured and holpen with the aid and reliefe of his frends, intended to passe ouer the riuer of Seuerne at Shrewesburie, and so to passe directlie to the citie of London.

Wherefore he required them, as his speciall trust and confidence was fixed in the hope of their fidelitie, that they would meet him by the waie with all diligent preparation; to the intent that he and they, at time and place conuenient, might communicate together the depenense of all his doubtfull and weightie businesse. When the messengers were dispatched with these commandements and admonitions, he marched forward toward Shrewesburie: and in his passing, there met and saluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodlie band of Welshmen, which making oath and promise to the earle, submitted himselfe wholly to his order and commandement. For the earle of Richmond two daies before made to him promise, that if he would sweare to take his part and be obedient to him, he would make him chief gouernour of Wales: which part as he faithfullie promised and granted, so after that he had obtained and possessed the realme and diademe he liberallie performed and accomplished the same.

In the meane time the messengers, that were sent, diligentlie executed their charge, and laden with rewards of them to whom they were sent, returned to him the same day that he entered into Shrewesburie: and made relation to him that his frends were ready in all points to do all things for him, which either they ought or might do. The earle Henrie brought in god hope with this pleasant message, continued forth his intended iourne, and came to a little towne called Newport, and pitching his campe on a little hill adioining, reposed himselfe there that night. In the euening the same daie came to him sir Gilbert Talbot, with the whole power of the young earle of Shrewesburie, then being in ward, which were accounted to the number of two thousand men. And thus his power increasing, he arrived at the towne of Stafford, and there paused.

There also came sir William Stanleie accompanied with a few persons. And after that the earle and he had communed no long time together; he reuerted to his souldiers, whom he had assembled together to serue the earle: which from thence departed to Lichfield, and lay without the walles in his campe all the night. The next morning he entered into the towne, and was with all honoz like a prince receiued. A daie or two before, the lord Stanleie, hauing in his hand almost five thousand men, lodged in the

The earle sent
deeth secret
word to his
mother and
other his
frends that
he meant a
direct passage
to London &
their confes
rence.

Rice ap Tho
mas sweareth
fialtie and
seruice to the
earle of
Richmond.

The lord
Stanleie be-
cause to avoid
suspicion of
Richard and
to save his
sonnes life.

same towne. But hearing that the erle of Richmond was marching thitherward, gaue to him place, dislodging him and his, and repaired to a towne called Aderstone, there abiding the coming of the erle. And this wille for did this act, to avoid all suspicion on king Richards part.

For the lord Stanleie was afraid, least if he should seeme openlie to be a fautor or aider to the erle his sonne in law, before the day of the battell, that king Richard, which yet vtterlie did not put in him diffidence and mistrust, would put to some cruell death his sonne and heire apparant George lord Strange, whome king Richard (as you haue heard before) kept with him as a pledge or hostage, to the intent that the lord Stanleie his father should attempt nothing peiudiciall to him. King Richard at this season keeping his house in the castle of Nottingham, was informed that the erle of Richmond, with such banished men as were fled out of England to him, were now arrived in Wales, and that all things necessarie to his enterprise were improuided, unpurueied, and verie weake, nothing meet to withstand the power of such as the king had appointed to meet him.

R. Richard
contemne-
th the erle and
his power.

This rumour so inflated his mind, that in maner disdaining to heare speake of so small a companie, he determined at the first to take little or no regard to this so small a sparkle, declaring the erle to be innocent and vnwise, because that he rashly attempted such a great enterprise with so small and thin a number of warlike persons: and therefore he gaue a definitive sentence, that when he came to that point that he should be compelled to fight against his will, he either should be apprehended alieue, or else by all likelihood he should of necessitie come to a shamefull confusion: and that he trusted to be shortly done by sir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas, which then ruled Wales with equall power and like authoritie.

But yet reuoluing and casting in his mind, that a small war begun and winked at, and not regarded, maie turne to a great broile and trouble; and that it was prudent policie not to contemne and disdaine the little power and small weaknesse of the enimie (be it neuer so small) thought it necessarie to prouide for afterclaps that might happen & chance. [For victorie doth not alwaies follow the greatest multitude, neither is it a necessarie consequent, that the biggest bodie is indued with most force. For we see that the small viper is the huge buls deadly bane, and a little cure doth catch a boze bolserous and big; as the poet properlie (and to the purpose) verie well saith:

Ouid.

*Parsua necat morsu spatio sum vipera tantum,
A cane non magno sepe tenetur aper.*

The king sendeth
to his
friends for a
chosen power
of men.

Wherefore he sent to John duke of Norfolk, Henrie erle of Northumberland, Thomas erle of Surrie, and to other of his especiall & trustie friends of the nobilitie, which he iudged moze to preferre and esteeme his wealth and honour, than their owne riches and pinate commoditie; willing them to muster and biew all their seruants and tenants, and to elect and chose the most couragious and aduie persons of the whole number, and with them to repaire to his presence with all speed and diligence. Also he wrote to Robert Bakenberie lieutenant of the Tower, commanding him with his power to come to his armie, and to bring with him (as fellows in armes) sir Thomas Bourchier, & sir Walter Hungerford, and diuerse other knights and esquires, in whom he cast no small suspicion.

Now while he was thus ordering his affaires, tidings came that the erle of Richmond was passed Seuerne, & come to Shrewesburie without anie detriment or incumbiance. At which message he was sore moued and boyled with melancholie and dolor, crieng out, & asking vengeance of them that against

their oth and promise had so deceiued him. For which cause he began to haue diffidence in other, insomuch that he determined himselfe out of hand the same daie to meet with and resist his aduersaries: and in all haste sent out espials to biew and espie what waie his enimies kept and passed. They diligently doing their dutie, shortly after returned, declaring to the king that the erle was incamped at the towne of Lichfield.

When he had perfect knowledge where the erle with his armie was sojourning, he hauing continued all repaire of his subjects to him, began incontinentlie without delate to marshall and put in order his battels (like a balliant capteine and politike leder) and first he made his battels to set forward, fure and fure in a ranke, marching toward that way where his enimies (as was to him reported) intended to passe. In the middle part of the armie, he appointed the traffike and cartage pertaining to the armie. Then he (intrenched with his gard) with a frowning countenance and cruell visage, mounted on a great white courser, and followed with his footmen, the wings of horsemen coasting and ranging on euerie side: and keeping this arrate, he with great pompe entered the towne of Leicester after the sunne set [full of indignation & malice, which vttered it selfe from the inward hart by the mouth, out of which flowed speaches of horrible heate, tempered with cruell threatenings, equall to his of whome it was thus said long ago:

Horrebant seuis omnia verba minis.]

The erle of Richmond raised his campe, and departed from Lichfield to the towne of Tamworth: thereto nere adioining, and in the mid way passing, there saluted him sir Walter Hungerford, and sir Thomas Bourchier knights, and diuerse other which yielded and submitted themselves to his pleasure. For they, being aduertised that king Richard had them in suspicion and gelousie, a little beyond stonie Stratford left and forsooke pituallie their capteine Robert Bakenberie; and wandering by night, and in maner by vnknowne paths, and vncertaine waies searching, at the last came to erle Henrie. Diuerse other noble personages, which inwardlie hated king Richard worse than a tode or a serpent, did likewise resort to him with all their power and strength: nothing and working his destruction, who otherwise would haue bene the instrument of their casting away.

There happened in this progression to the erle of Richmond a strange chance worthy to be noted. For albeit he was a man of valiant courage, & that his armie increased, and daillie moze and moze he waxed mightier and stronger; yet he was not a little afraid, because he could in no wise be assured of his father in law Thomas lord Stanleie, which for feare of the destruction of the lord Strange his sonne (as you haue heard) as yet inclined to neither partie. For if he had gone to the erle, and that notified to king Richard, his sonne had bene shortly executed. Wherefore he accompanied with twentie light horsemen lingered in his iournie, as a man musing & imagining what was best to be done. And the moze to aggravate his pensiuenesse, it was shewed him, that king Richard was at hand with a strong power & a great armie.

While he thus heauilie dragged behind his hof, the whole armie came before the towne of Tamworth; and when he for the deepe darknesse could not perceiue the steps of them that passed on before, and had wandered hither & thither, seeking after his companie, and yet not once hearing anie noise or whispering of them; he turned to a verie little villiage, being about thre miles from his armie, taking great thought, and much fearing least he should be espyed, and so trapped by king Richards scout watch. There he

The erle
incamped at
Lichfield.

The ordering
of king
Richards armie.

The lord
Stanleie, the
erle of Rich-
mond, & others
met, embrace,
and consult.

The princel-
pals of R. Ri-
chards power
fled from him.

The treason
of king Ri-
chard the
third foretel-
ling him of
his end.

A strange
chance that
happened to
the erle of
Richmond.

The erle of
Richmond
went to a place
secret.

he taried all night, not once aduenturing to aske or dem and a question of any creature, he being no more amayed with the icopardie & perill that was passed, than with this present chance, soze feared that it shuld be a prognostication or signe of some infortunate plage after ward to succed. As he was not merie being absent from his armie, so likewise his armie much marvelled, and no lesse mourned for his suddenn absence.

The next morning earlie in the dawning of the day he returned, and by the conduct of god fortune, espied and came to his armie, excusing himselfe not to have gone out of the way by ignorance: but that for a policie (denied for the nonce) he went from his campe to receiue some glad newlage from certeine of his priuie friends and secret allies. This excuse made, he prouillie departed againe from his host to the towne of Aberfcon, where the lord Stanleie and sir William his brother with their bands were abiding. There the erle came first to his father in law, in a litle close, where he saluted him, and sir William his brother: and after diuerse and frendlie imbracings, each reioised of the state of other, and suddennlie were surprised with great ioy, comfort, and hope of fortunate successe in all their affaires and doings. Afterward they consulted together how to giue battell to king Richard if he would abide, whome they knew not to be farre off with an huge host.

In the euening of the same day, sir John Sauage, sir Brian Sanfozd, sir Simon Digbie, and manie other, leauing king Richard, turned and came to the part of the earle of Richmond, with an elect compaignie of men. Which refusall of king Richards part, by men of such experience, did augment and increase both the god hope, and the puissance of the earle of Richmond. In the meane season, king Richard which was appointed now to finish his last labor, by the very diuine iustice & prouidence of God (which called him to condigne punishment for his mischievous deserts) marched to a place meet for two battells to encounter, by a village called Bosworth, not farre from Leicester: and there he pitched his field on a hill called Anne Weame, refreshed his souldiers, and toke his rest.

The same went, that he had the same night a dreadfull and terrible dreame: for it seemed to him being asleepe, that he did see diuerse images like terrible diuels, which pulled and haled him, until suffering him to take anie quiet or rest. The which strange vision not so suddennlie strake his heart with a sudden feare, but it stuffed his head and troubled his mind with manie busie and dreadfull imaginations. For incontinent after, his heart being almost damped, he prognosticated before the doubtfull chance of the battell to come; not vsing the alacritie and mirth of mind and countenance as he was accustomed to doe before he came toward the battell. And least that it might be suspected that he was abashed for feare of his enemies, and for that cause looked so pitiouslie; he recited and declared to his familiar friends in the morning his wonderfull vision and fearefull dreame.

But I thinke this was no dreame, but a punishment and pricke of his sinfull conscience: for the conscience is so much more charged and aggravated, as the offense is greater & more heinous in degree. [So that king Richard, by this reckoning, must needs haue a wonderfull troubled mind, because the deeds that he had done, as they were heinous and unnatural, so did they excite and stirre by extraordinary motions of trouble and verasions in his conscience.] Which sting of conscience, although it strike not alwaie; yet at the last daie of extreame life, it is wont to shew and represent to vs our faults and offenses, and the paines and punishments which hang ouer our heads

for the committing of the same, to the intent that at that instant, we for our deserts being penitent and repentant, maie be compelled (lamenting and bewailing our sinnes like forakers of this world) to cund to depart out of this mischæe life.

Now to returne againe to our purpose. The next daie after, king Richard being furnished with men & all ablements of warre, bying all his men out of their campe into the plaine, ordered his foreward in a maruellous length, in which he appointed both horsemen and footmen, to the intent to imprint in the hearts of them that looked a farre off, a sudden terror and deadlie feare, for the great multitude of the armed souldiers: and in the fore-front he placed the archers like a strong fortified trench or bulwourke.ouer this battell was capteine, John duke of Norfolk, with whome was Thomas earle of Surrie his sonne. After this long vant-gard, followed king Richard himselfe with a strong compaignie of chosen and approued men of warre, hanning horsemen for wings on both sides of his battell.

After that the earle of Richmond was departed from the communication of his friends (as you haue heard before) he began to be of a better stomach, and of a more baltant courage, and with all diligence pitched his field iust by the campe of his enemies, and there he lodged that night. In the morning betimes, he caused his men to put on their armour, and apparel themselves readie to fight and giue battell; and sent vnto the lord Stanleie (which was now come with his band into a place indifferent betwene both the armies) requiring him with his men to approach naxre to his armie, and to helpe to set the souldiers in arrate. But he answered that the earle should set his owne men in god order of battell, while he would arrate his compaignie, and come to him in time conuenient. Which answer made otherwise than the earle thought or would haue indged, considering the oportunitie of the time & the weight of the businesse. And although he was therewithall a litle vbered, & began somewhat to hang the head; yet he without anie time delaing, compelled of necessitie, after this manner instructed and ordered his men.

He made his foreward somewhat single and slender, according to the small number of his people. In the front he placed the archers, of whome he made capteine John earle of Drenford. To the right wing of the battell he appointed sir Gilbert Talbot to be the leader. To the left wing, he assigned sir John Sauage, who had brought thither with him a crue of right able personages, clad in white coats and hoods, which mustered in the eyes of their aduersaries right humilie. The earle of Richmond himselfe, with aid of the lord Stanleie, gouerned the battell, accompanied with the earle of Denbroke, hauing a good compaignie of horsemen, and a small number of footmen. For all his whole number exceeded not five thousand men, beside the power of the Stanleies, wherof three thousand were in the field, vnder the standard of sir William Stanleie. The kings number was double so much and more. When both these armies were thus ordered, and all men readie to set forward, king Richard called his chiefeins together, and to them said as followeth.

The oration of king Richard the third
to the chiefeins of his armie.



I most faithfull and assured fel-
lowes, most trustie & welbelo-
ued friends, & elected capteins,
by whose wisdom and policie
I haue obtained the crowne,
and

The earle to
incamped at
Richfield.

The ordering
of king Ri-
chards armie.

Delaid
greatly the
time of Rich-
mond, & others
in it, embrace
no casualtie.

The earle of
Richmond re-
moueth his
power to
Camworth.

The prince
pays of his
armies power
fel from him.

The traime
of king Ri-
chard the
third battell,
beginning of
the end.

A strange
chance that
happened to
the earle of
Richmond.

The earle of
Richmond
put to a hard
life.

King Richard
bying all
his men into
the plaine.

The duke of
Norfolk and
the earle of
Surrie on
the Richards
side.

The lord
Stanleie re-
sisteth to set
the earles
men in bat-
tell raie.

The earle set-
teth his men
in order and
appointeth
chiefeins.

King Richard
justifieth him-
selfe and his
gouernement.

and type of this famous realme, and noble region: by whose puissance & baliantnesse I haue inioind and possessed the state roiall & dignitie of the same, maugre the ill will and seditious attempts of all my cankered enemies, and insidious aduersaries: by whose prudent & politike counsell I haue so gouerned my realme, people, & subiects, that I haue omitted nothing apperteyning to the office of a iust prince; nor you haue pretermitted nothing belonging to the dutie of wise and sage counsellors. So that I maie saie, and trulie affirme, that your approued fidelitie & tried constancie, maketh me to beleue firmelie, and thinke that I am an vndoubted king, and an indubitate prince.

And although in the adeption and obtaining of the garland, I being seduced, and prouoked by sinister counsell, and diabolical temptation, did commit a wicked and detestable act: yet I haue with streit penance and salt tears (as I trust) expiated & clereleie purged the same offense: which abhominable crime I require you of friendship as clereleie to forget, as I daile remember to deploze and lament the same. If ye will euen now diligentlie call to remembrance in what case and perplexitie we do stand; and in what doubtfull perill we be all intrapped; I doubt not but you in heart will thinke, and with mouth confesse, that if euer amitie and faith preuailed betwene prince and subiects, or betwene subiect and subiect; or if euer bond of allegiance obliged the bassall to loue and serue his naturall souereigne lord; or if anie obligation of dutie bound anie prince to aid & defend his subiects; all these loues, bonds, and duties of necessitie are now this day to be tried, shewed, and put in experience.

For if wise men saie true (as they do not lie) there is some policie in getting, but much more in keeping; the one being but fortunes chance, & the other high wit and policie. For which cause, I with you, and you with me, must needs this day take labour and paine, to keepe and defend with force, that preheminance and possession, which by your prudent deuises I haue gotten & obtained. I doubt not but you know how the diuell (continuall enimie to humane nature, disturber of concord, & sower of sedition) hath entered into the heart of an vnknowne Welshman (whose father I neuer knewe, nor him personallie saw) exciting him to aspire and couet our realme, crowne, and dignitie, and thereof clereleie to depriue and spoile vs and our posteritie. Ye see further, how a companie of traitors, theues, outlawes, and runnagates of our owne nation, be aiders and partakers of his feat and enterprize, readie at hand to ouercome and oppresse vs.

You see also, what a number of beggerlie Britans and faint-hearted Frenchmen be with him arrited to destroe vs, our wiues and children. Which imminent mischeifs and apparant inconueniences, if we will

withstand & resell, we must liue together as brethren, fight together like lions, & feare not to die together like men. And obseruing and keeping this rule and precept, beleue me, the fearefull hare neuer fled faster before the greedie greihound, nor the fillie larke before the sparrowhawk, nor yet the simple sheepe before the rauenous wolfe; than your proud bragging aduersaries, astonied and amazed with the onelie sight of your manlie visage, will flee, run, and skir out of the field. For if you consider and wisely ponder all things in your mind, you shall perceiue, that we haue manifest causes, and apparant tokens of triumph and victorie.

And to begin with the erle of Richmond captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welsh milkesop, a man of small courage, and of lesse experience in martiall acts and feats of warre, brought up by my mothers meanes, and mine, like a captiue in a close cage in the court of Francis duke of Britaine; and neuer saw armie, nor was exercised in martiall affaires: by reason whereof he neither can, nor is able by his owne will or experience to guide or rule an host. For in the wit and policie of the captaine consisteth the chiefe adeption of the victorie, and ouerthrow of the enemies. Secondly feare not, but put awaie all doubts; for when the traitors and runnagates of our realme, shall see vs with banner displayed come against them, remembering their oath, promise, and fidelitie made vnto vs, as to their souereigne lord and annointed king; they shall be so pricked and stung in the bottome of their scrupulous consciences, that they for verie remorse and dread of the diuine plague, will either shamefullie flee, or humble submit themselves to our grace and mercie.

And as for the Frenchmen and Britans, their baliantnesse is such, that our noble progenitors, and your baliant parts haue them oftener banquished and overcome in one moneth, than they in the beginning imagined possible to compass and finish in a whole yeare. What will you make of them: braggers without audacitie, drunkards without discretion, ribalds without reason, cowards without resisting, and in conclusion, the most effeminate and lasciuious people that euer shewed themselves in front of battell; ten times more courageous to flee & escape, than once to assault the breast of our strong & populous armie. Wherefore considering all these advantages, expell out of your thoughts all doubts, auoid out of your minds all feare; and like baliant champions aduance forth your standards, & assaie whether your enemies can decide and trie the title of battell by dint of sword. Aduance (I say againe) forward my captains, in whome lacketh neither policie, wisdom, nor yet puissance. Euerie one giue but one sure stripe, & such like iournie is ours. What preuaileth a handfull to a whole realme?

Desiring

He speaketh
approbriously
of the erle of
Richmond.

The Erle
persuade the
captains that
the erle of
Richmond
no feare.

Frenchmen
aduaunce
great bodie
small valour

The person of
the erle of
Richmond
described.

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Richard
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but all con-
fession.

The French
perceive his
captains that
the earle of
Richmond is
no warrior.

Frenchmen
Britons
great bolders
small rollers.

Exposition
of
the earle of
Richmond
speeches.

Desiring you (for the loue that you beare to me) and the affection that you haue to your native and naturall countrie, and to the safeguard of your prince & your selues, that you will this daie take to you your accustomed courage and couragious spirits, for the defense and safeguard of vs all. And as for me, I assure you, this daie I will triumph by glorious victorie, or suffer death for immortall fame. For they be maintained out of the palace of fame disgraced, dieng without renoume, which do not asmuch prefer and exalt the perpetual honour of their native countrie, as their owne mortall and transitorie life. Now saint George to bozow, let vs set forward, and remember well, that I am he which shall with high aduancements reward and preferre the balaunt and hardie champions, and punish and torment the shamefull cowards, and dreadfull standards.

This exhortation incouraged all such as fauoured him; but such as were present (more for dread than loue) kissed them openlie, whome they inwardlie hated. Other swore outwardlie to take part with such, whose death they secretlie compassed, and inwardlie imagined. Other promised to inuade the kings enemies, which fled and fought with fierce courage against the king. Other stood still and looked on, intending to take part with the victors and overcomers. So was his people to him vntrue and vnfaithfull at his end, as he was to his nephues vntrue and vnfaithfull in his beginning. [How then was it possible that this princes regiment could long stand, seeing the preservation and prologation of his reigne consisted not in the loue of his subiects? In place whereof because feare (yea seruile and forced feare succeeded) he was the sooner forsaken of his people, whose hearts fell from him as icicles from a penthouse in a sunnie daie; and in this case the poet saith truelie, and was well worthy of credit when he craued it, saying:

Credite quem metuit quisq; perire cupit.

When the earle of Richmond knew by his foreriders that the king was so nere imbatelled, he rode about his armie from ranke to ranke, & from wing to wing, giuing comfortable words to all men, and that finished (being armed at all peeces, sauing his helmet) mounted on a little hill, so that all his people might see and behold him perfectlie, to their great reioicing. For he was a man of no great stature, but so formed and decorated with all gifts and lineaments of nature, that he seemed more an angelicall creature, than a terrestriall personage. His countenance and aspect was cherefull and couragious, his haire yellow like the burnished gold, his eyes graie shining and quicke, prompt and readie in answering, but of such sobrietie, that it could neuer be iudged whether he were more dull than quicke in speaking (such was his temperance). Now when he had overlooked his armie ouer euerie side, he paused awhile, and after with a lowd voice and bold spirit spake to his companions these, or the like words following.

The oration of king Henrie the seventh to his armie.

If euer God gaue victorie to men fighting in a iust quarrell, or if he euer aided such as made warre for the wealth & fission of their

owne naturall and nutritiue countrie, or if he euer succoured them which aduentured their liues for the releefe of innocents, suppressing of malefactors and apparant offenders; no doubt my fellowes & friends, but he of his bountifull goodnesse will this daie send vs triumphant victorie, and a luckie iourne ouer our prouid enemies, and arrogant aduersaries: for if you remember and consider the verie cause of our iust quarrell, you shall apparantlie perceiue the same to be true, godlie, and vertuous. In the which I doubt not, but God will rather aid vs (yea and fight for vs) than let vs be banquished and ouerthrowne by such as neither feare him nor his laws, nor yet regard iustice or honestie.

Our cause is so iust, that no enterprisse can be of more vertue, both by the lawes diuine & ciuill. For what can be a more honest, goodlie, or godlie quarrell, than to fight against a capteine, being an homicide and murtherer of his owne bloud or progenie, an extream destroyer of his nobilitie, and to his and our countrie and the poze subiects of the same a deadlie mallet, a drie brand, and a burthen intollerable? Beside him, consider who be of his band and company: such as by murther and vntrueth committed against their owne kin and lineage, yea against their prince and souereigne lord, haue disherited me and you, and wrongfullie deteine and vsurpe our lawfull patrimonie & lineall inheritance. For he that calleth himselfe king, keepeth from me the crowne and regiment of this noble realme and countrie, contrarie to all iustice and equitie.

Likewise, his mates and friends occupie your lands, cut downe your woods, and destroye your manors, letting your wiues and children range abroade for their liuing: which persons for their penance and punishment I doubt not, but God of his goodnes will ether deliuer into our hands, as a great gaine and bootie; or cause them (being graued and compuncted with the pricke of their corrupt consciences) cowardlie to flie, and not abide the battell. Beside this I assure you, that there be yonder in the great battell, men brought thither for feare, and not for loue; souldiers by force compelled, and not with good will assembled; persons which desire rather the destruction than saluation of their maister and capteine: and finally, a multitude, whereof the most part will be our friends, and the least part our enemies.

For truelie I doubt which is greater, the malice of the souldiers toward their capteine; or the feare of him conceived of his people. For suerlie this rule is infallible, that as ill men daile couet to destroye the good; so God appointeth the good men to confound the ill. And of all wofullie goods the greatest is to suppress tyrants, and releue innocents; whereof the one is as much hated, as the other is beloued. If this be true (as clearkes preach) who will spare

The caries
cause iust and
right, & there-
fore like of
good successe.

A great moti-
uue to the nob-
les & gentles
assisting the
earle.

R. Richards
offices and
ill qualities
summarily
touchen by
the carle.

spare yonder tyrant Richard duke of Glo-
cester, vntruelie calling himselfe king, con-
sidering that he hath violatid and broken
both the lawes of God and man: What
vertue is in him which was the confusion
of his brother, and murtherer of his ne-
phues: What mercie is in him that slei-
eth his trustie frends as well as his ex-
treame enemies: Who can haue confi-
dence in him which putteth diffidence in
all men:

If you haue not read, I haue heard good
clarkes saie, that Tarquine the proud for
the vice of the bodie lost the kingdome of
Rome; and the name of Tarquine bani-
shed the citie for euer: yet was not his
fault so detestable as the fact of cruell Pe-
ro, which slue his own mother, and opened
his entrailles, to behold the place of his
conception. Behold yonder Richard, which
is both Tarquine and Pero: yea a tyrant
more than Pero, for he hath not onlie mur-
thered his nephue being his king and soue-
reigne lord, bastarded his noble bethzen,
and defamed the wombe of his vertuous
and womanlie mother; but also compassed
all the meanes and waies that he could in-
uent, how to defile and carnallie know his
owne nere, vnder the pretense of a cloked
matrimonie, which ladie I haue swozne
and promised to take to my make and wife,
as you all know and beleue.

If this cause be not iust, and this quatell
godlie; let God (the giuer of victorie) iudge
and determine. We haue (thanks be gi-
uen to Christ) escaped the secret treasons
in Britaine, and auoided the subtil snares
of our fraudulent enemies there, passed the
troublous seas in good and quiet safegard,
and without resistance haue ouergone the
ample region & large countrie of Wales,
and are now come to the place which we
so much desired: for long we haue sought
the furious boze, and now we haue found
him. Wherefore let vs not feare to enter
into the toile, where we may fuerlie sleie
him; for God knoweth that we haue liued
in the bales of miserie, tossing our ships in
dangerous stormes: let vs not now dread
to let bp our full sailes in faire weather,
hauing with vs both God and good for-
tune.

If we had come to conquer Wales and
had atchiued it, our praise had bene great,
and our gaine more: but if we win this
battell, the whole rich realme of England,
with the lords and rulers of the same, shall
be ours, the profit shall be ours, and the ho-
nour shall be ours. Therefore labour for
your gaine, & sweat for your right. While
we were in Britaine, we had small liuings
and little plentie of wealth or welfare; now
is the time come to get abundance of ri-
ches, and copie of profit; which is the re-
ward of your seruice, and merit of your
paines. And this remember with your
selues, that before vs be our enemies; and
on either side of vs be such, as I neither
fuerlie trust, nor greatlie beleue, backe-

ward we cannot flee: so that here we stand
like shepe in a fold, circumvented and com-
passed betwene our enemies and our doul-
full friends.

Therefore let all feare be set aside, and
like swozne bethzen let vs ioine in one: for
this daie shall be the end of our trauell, and
the gaine of our labour, either by honora-
ble death or famous victorie: and as I
trust, the battell shall not be so slowe, as
the profit shall be sweet. Remember that
victorie is not gotten with the multitudes
of men, but with the courages of hearts,
and baliante of minds. The smaller
that our number is, the more glorie is to
vs if we banquish: if we be overcome, yet
no laud is to be attributed to the victors,
considering that ten men fought against
one. And if we die so gloriois a death in
so good a quarell, neither fretting time, nor
cancarding obliuion, shall be able to dar-
ken or rase out of the booke of fame either
our names, or our godlie attempt. And
this one thing I assure you, that in so iust
and good a cause, and so notable a quarrell,
you shall find me this daie rather a dead
carrion vpon the cold ground, than a free
prisoner on a carpet in a ladies chamber.

Let vs therefore fight like inuincible gi-
ants, and let on our enemies like vtimo-
rous tigers, & banish all feare like rapp-
ing lions. And now aduance forward true
men against traitors, pitifull persons a-
gainst murtherers, true inheritors a-
gainst blurpers, the scourges of God a-
gainst tyrants. Displaine my banner with a
good courage, march forth like strong and
robustious champions, and begin the bat-
tell like hardie conquerors. The battell is
at hand, and the victorie appoeth; and if
we shamefullie recule, or cowardlie flee; we
and all our sequele be destroyed, and disho-
nored for euer. This is the daie of gaine,
and this is the time of losse; get this daie
victorie, and be conquerors: and lese this
daies battell, and be villaines. And there-
fore in the name of God and S. George, let
euerie man couragioullie aduance forth
his standard.

These cherefull words he set forth with such ge-
sture of his bodie, & smiling countenance, as though
alreadie he had vanquished his enemies, and gotten
the spoile. He had scantlie finished his saying, but the
one armie spied the other. And how hastilie the soldi-
ers buckled their healmes, how quicklie the archers
bent their bowes and thrust the feethers, how readi-
lie the bilmen shooke their billes, and proued their
scaues, readie to approach and toine, when the terrible
trumpet should sound the bloudie blast to victorie or
death! Betwixte both armies there was a great
marish then (but at this present, by reason of dikes
cast, it is growne to be firme ground) which the carle
of Richmond left on his right hand; for this intent,
that it should be on that side a defense for his part,
and in so doing he had the sunne at his backe, and in
the faces of his enemies. When king Richard saw
the earles compaignie was passed the marsh; he did
command with all hast to set vpon them. Then the
trumpets sounded, and the soldiers shouted, and the
kings

R. Richard
a notorious
tyrant.

Encourage-
ments to his
armie to plaie
the men in a
tuffe cause.

The carle o
of fofos
charge to hi
and of men

The carle o
of fofos
charge to hi
and of men

The carle of
Richmond
powereth to
conquer
Richard bo-
to bodie,
our william
Stanbon
aine.

The kings
armie durt.

The picture
of the carle

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The battle
between king
Richard and
king Henry
the seventh,
called the
Bosworth field.

The policy
of the earle.

The earle of
Orford
saw to his
hand of men.

The earle of
Orford
saw to his
hand of men.

The earle of
Richmond
saw to his
hand of men.

The king
was dirty.

kings archers couragiously let fite their arrowes. The earles bowmen stood not still, but paid them home againe.

The terrible shot once passed, the armies joined and came to hand-strokes, where neither sword nor bill was spared. At which encounter, the lord Stanleie joined with the earle. The earle of Orford in the meane season, fearing lest while his companie was fighting, they should be compassed and circumuented with the multitude of the enemies, gave commandement in euerie ranke, that no man should be so hardie, as to go about ten foot from the standard. Which commandement once knowen, they knit themselves together, and ceased a little from fighting. The aduersaries suddenly abashed at the matter, and mistrusting some fraud and deceit, began also to pause and lest striking; and not against the wills of manie, which had rather had the king destroyed, than saved, and therefore they fought verie familie, or stood still.

The earle of Orford, bringing all his hand together on the one part, set on his enemies freshlie againe. The aduersaries perceiving that, placed their men slender and thin before, but thicke and broad behind, beginning againe hardlie the battell. While the two fore-wards thus mortallie fought, each intending to vanquish and conuince the other; king Richard was admonished by his explorators and espials, that the earle of Richmond (accompanied with a small number of men of armes) was not far off. And as he approached and marched toward him, he perceived his personage by certaine demonstrations and tokens, which he had learned and knowen of others that were able to give him full information. Now being inflamed with ire, and vexed with outrageous malice, he put his spurs to his horse, and rode out of the side of the range of his battell, leaving the vant-gard fighting; and like a hungry lion ran with speare in rest toward him. The earle of Richmond perceived well the king furiously coming toward him, and because the whole hope of his wealth and purpose was to be determined by battell, he gladlie proffered to encounter with him bodie to bodie, and man to man.

King Richard set on so sharplie at the first bunt, that he overthrow the earles standard, and slew sir William Brandon his standard-bearer (which was father to sir Charles Brandon by king Henrie the eighth created duke of Suffolke) and matched hand to hand with sir John Cheine, a man of great force and strength, which would have resisted him: but the said John was by him manfully overthrowen. And so he making open passage by dint of sword as he went forward, the earle of Richmond withstood his violence, and kept him at the sword's point without advantage, longer than his companions either thought or indged: which being almost in despaire of victorie, were suddenly recomforted by sir William Stanleie, which came to his succors with three thousand tall men. At which verie instant, king Richards men were driven backe and fled, & he himselfe manfully fighting in the middle of his enemies, was slaine, and (as he worthilie had deserved) came to a bloudie death, as he had lead a bloudie life.

In the meane season, the earle of Orford with the aid of the lord Stanleie, after no long fight, discomfited the fore-ward of king Richard, whereof a great number were slaine in the chase and fight: but the greatest number which (compelled by feare of the king, and not of their more voluntarie motion) came to the field, gave neuer a stroke, and having no harme nor damage, safelie departed, which came not thither in hope to see the king prosper and preuaile, but to heare that he should be shamefullie confounded and brought to ruine. In this battell died few a

boue the number of a thousand persons: and of the nobilitie were slaine John duke of Suffolke, which was warned by diuerse to refraine from the field, in so much that the night before he should set forward toward the king, or wrote this time upon his gate: Jacke of Norfolke be not too bold,

For "Dikon thy maister is bought and sold."

* Richard.

Yet all this notwithstanding, he regarded more his oth, his honoz, and promise made to king Richard, like a gentleman; and as a faithfull subject to his prince, absented not himselfe from his maister; but as he faithfullie liued vnder him, so he manfully died with him, to his great fame and laud. And therefore, though his seruice was ill imployed in aid of a tyrant (whome it had bene more honorable to haue suppressed than supported) yet because he had upon his fealtie undertaken to fight in his quarell, he thought it lesse losse of life and liuing than of glorie & honour: so that he might haue said, in respect of his loialtie & promised truth testified with constancie to the death:

Est mihi supplicium causa fuisse pium.

Ouid.

There were slaine beside him, Walter lord Fferrers of Chartleie, sir Richard Radcliffe, and Robert Bakenberie lieutenant of the Tower, and not manie gentlemen more. Sir William Catesbie learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the chiefe counsellors to the late king, with diuerse other, were two daies after beheaded at Leicester. Amongst them that ran awate, were sir Francis bicount Lonell, and Humfreie Stafford, and Thomas Stafford his brother, which toke sanctuarie in saint Johns at Gloucester. Of captiues and prisoners there were a great number. For after the death of king Richard was knowen and published, euerie man in manner vnminding himselfe, & casting awate his abilliments of warre, meekelie submitted themselves to the obedience and rule of the earle of Richmond: of the which the more part had gladlie so done in the beginning, if they might haue conuenientlie escaped from king Richards espials, which hauing as cleere eyes as Lynx, and open eares as Aspidas, ranged & searched in euerie quarter.

Amongst these was Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, which (whether it was by the commandement of king Richard, putting diffidence in him; or he did it for the loue and fauour that he bare vnto the earle) stood still with a great companie, and intermitted not in the battell, which was incontinentlie receiued into fauour and made of the council. But Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, which submitted himselfe there, was not taken to grace; because his father was chiefe counsellor, and he greatlie familiar with king Richard, but committed to the Tower of London, where he long remained; and in conclusion deliuered, was for his truth and fidelitie after promoted to high honozs, offices and dignities. On the earle of Richmonds part were slaine scarce one hundred persons, among whom the principall was sir William Brandon his standard-bearer. This battell was fought at Bosworth in Leicestershire, the two and twentieth daie of August, in the yeare of our redemption 1485. The whole conflict indured little about two houres.

King Richard (as the same went) might haue escaped and gotten safegard by fleeing. For when the which were next about his person, saw and perceived at the first joining of the battell the soldiers faintlie and nothing couragiously to set on their enemies; and not onlie that, but also that some withdrew themselves priuillie out of the prease and departed; they began to suspect fraud and to smell treason; and not onelie exhorted, but determinatlie aduised him to saue himselfe by flight. And when the losse of the battell was imminent and apparant, they brought to him a swift

what persons
of name were
slaine on king
Richards side.

Earle of North-
umberland
was committed
to the Tower
notwithstanding
his submission.

How king
Richard
might haue
escaped.

swift and a light horse, to conueie him awaie. He which was not ignorant of the grudge and ill will that the common people bare toward him, casting awaie all hope of fortunate successe and happie chance to come, answered (as men saie) that on that daie he would make an end of all battels, or else there finish his life. Such a great audacitie and such a stomach reigned in his bodie.

For suerlie he knew that to be the daie, in the which it should be decided and determined whether he should peaceablie obtaine and enjoy his kingdome during his life, or else utterlie forgo and be deprived of the same. With which to much hardines he being overcome, hastily closed his helmet, and entered fiercelie into the hard battell, to the intent to obtaine that daie a quiet reigne and regimint; or else to finish there his vnquiet life, and vnforgotten gouernance. And so this miserie at the same verie point had like chance and fortune, as happeneth to such which in place of right iustice and honestie, following their sensuall appetite, loue, and vile to embrace mischief, tyrannie, and vnchastitie. Suerlie these be examples of more behemencie, than mans tong can expresse, to feare and astonish such euill persons, as will not liue one houre vacant from doing and exercising crueltie, mischief, or outragious liuing.

When the earle had thus obtained victorie, and slaine his mostall enimie, he kneeled downe and rendered to almightie God his hartie thanks, with deuout and goodlie orisons; beseeching his goodnesse to send him grace to aduance and defend the catholike faith; and to mainteine iustice and concord amongst his subiects and people, by God now to his gouernance committed & assigned. Which praier finished, he replenished with incomparable gloriouse ascended by to the top of a little mountaine, where he not onelie praised and lauded his valiant souldiers; but also gaue vnto them his hartie thanks, with promise of condigne recompense for their fidelitie and valiant facts, willing and commanding all the hurt and wounded persons to be cured, and the dead carcases to be deliuered to the sepulture. When the people rejoiced, and clapped their hands, crying by to heauen; King Henric, king Henric.

When the lord Stanleie saw the good will and gladnesse of the people, he tooke the crowne of king Richard which was found amongst the spoile in the field, and set it on the earles head; as though he had bene elected king by the voice of the people, as in ancient times past in diuerse realmes it hath bene accustomed: and this was the first signe and token of his good lucke and felicitie. ¶ I must put you here in remembrance, how that king Richard (putting some diffidence in the lord Stanleie) had with him as an hostage the lord Strange, his eldest sonne, which lord Stanleie (as ye haue heard before) ioined not at the first with his sonne in lawes armie, for feare the king would haue slaine the lord Strange his heire.

When king Richard was come to Bosworth, he sent a puruant to the lord Stanleie, commanding him to aduance forward with his companie, and to come to his presence; which thing if he refused to do, he swaie by Christs passion, that he would strike off his sonnes head before he dined. The lord Stanleie answered the puruant that if the king did so, he had more sonnes aliue; and as to come to him, he was not then so determined. When king Richard heard this answer, he commanded the lord Strange incontinent to be beheaded; which was at that verie same season, when both the armies had fight ech of other. But the counsellors of king Richard pondered the time and cause, knowing also the lord Strange to be innocent of his fathers offense, & perswaded the king that it was now time to fight, & no time to execute,

Besides that, they aduised him to keepe the lord Strange as prisoner till the battell were ended, and then at leisure his pleasure might be accomplished. So (as God would) king Richard brake his holie oth, and the lord was deliuered to the keepers of the kings tents, to be kept as prisoner. Which, when the field was done, and their maister slaine, and proclamation made to know where the child was, they submitted themselves as prisoners to the lord Strange, and he gentlie receiued them, and brought them to the new proclaimed king; where, of him and of his father he was receiued with great ioy. After this the whole campe remoued with bag and baggage.

The same night in the euening, king Henric with great pompe came to the towne of Leicester; where as well for the refreshing of his people & souldiers, as for preparing all things necessarie for his iourne toward London, he rested and reposed himselfe two daies. In the meane season the dead corps of king Richard was as shamefullie caried to the towne of Leicester, as he gorgeouslie (the day before) with pompe and pride departed out of the same towne. For his bodie was naked and despoiled to the skin, and nothing left about him, not so much as a clout to couer his priue members, and was trusted behind a puruant of arms, one Blanch Senglier, or White boze, like a hog or calfe, his head and armes hanging on the one side of the horse, and his legs on the other side, and all besprinkled with mire and blood he was brought to the grate friers church within the towne, and there late like a miserable spectacle.

But suerlie considering his mischievous acts and ingratiuous doings, men made wonder at such a cattife, who although he deserued no buriall place either in church or churchyard, chappell or chancel, but otherwise to haue bin bestowed: yet in the said church he was with no lesse finer all pompe & solemnitie interred, than he would to be done at the buriall of his innocent nephews, whome he caused cruellie to be murdered, and vnnaturallie killed. Now when his death was knowne, few lamented, and manie rejoiced. The proud bragging white boze (which was his badge) was violentlie rased & plucked downe from euerie signe and place where it might be espied: so ill was his life, that men wished the memoire of him to be buried with his carren corps. He reigned two yeers, two moneths, and one daie (so long by six and twentie moneths, and foure and twentie hours in most mens opinions, to whome his name and presence was as sweet and delectable, as his doings princelie, and his person antlike.)

As he was small and little of stature, so was he of bodie greatlie deformed; the one shoulder higher than the other; his face was small, but his countenance cruell, and such, that at the first aspect a man would iudge it to fauour and smell of malice, fraud, and deceit. When he stood musing, he would bite and chaw busilie his nether lip; as who said, that his fierce nature in his cruell bodie alwaies chased, stirred, and was euer vnquiet: beside that, the dagger which he wore, he would (when he stabled) with his hand plucke by & downe in the sheath to the midst, neuer drawing it fullie out: he was of a readie, pregnant, and quicke wit, wilie to feine, and apt to dissemble: he had a proud mind, and an arrogant stomach, the which accompanied him euen to his death, rather choosing to suffer the same by dint of sword, than being forsaken and left helpelesse of his vnfaitfull companions, to preserve by cowardlie flight such a fraille and vncertaine life, which by malice, sickness, or condigne punishment was like shortlie to come to confusion.

Thus ended this prince his mostall life with infamie and dishonour, which neuer preferred fame or honestie

The deuout behauiour of the earle of Richmond after the victorie.

The lord Stanleie setteth & crowne on king Henrics head.

The lord Stanleie both answer to King Richards puruant.

33. The same night in the euening, king Henric with great pompe came to the towne of Leicester; where as well for the refreshing of his people & souldiers, as for preparing all things necessarie for his iourne toward London, he rested and reposed himselfe two daies.

34. The same night in the euening, king Henric with great pompe came to the towne of Leicester; where as well for the refreshing of his people & souldiers, as for preparing all things necessarie for his iourne toward London, he rested and reposed himselfe two daies.

De pag. 690.

De pag. 699.

De pag. 703.

Ab. Flem. ex Guic. pag. 49. Monarchie of Richard Duke of Aquilan by comparison.

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ness before ambition, tyrannie and mischief. And if he had continued still protector, and suffered his nephews to have lived and reigned, no doubt but the realm had prospered; & he as much praised & loved as he is now had in hatred: But to God, which know his inward thoughts at the houre of his death, I remit the punishment of his offences committed in his life; which if the one be as manifold as the other, Gods iustice were not to be charged with cruelty. For by nature he is mercifull, slow to anger, and loth to smite: but yet euery sinne (in respect of his righteousness) being deadly (much more heinous and horrible) how can he but by iustice (which is an essentiall vertue in him) punish it severely? And if he did it with ten thousand torments, who shall be so hardie as to expostulate and reason why he do sooth?

But to leaue the tyrant as he died, you shall understand that H. Henrie the seventh caused a stone to be made and set by ouer the place where he was buried, in the church of the grate friers at Leicester, with a picture of alabaster representing his person, doing that honour to his enemie, vpon a princelie regard and pittifull zeale, which king Richard (moued of an hypocriticall shew of counterteit pittie) did to king Henrie the first, whom he had first cruelly murdered, and after in the second yeare of his blisped reigne, caused his corpes to be removed from Chertsey into Windsor, and there solemnly interred. And now to conclude with this cruell tyrant king Richard, we may consider in what sort the ambitious desire to rule and gouerne in the house of Poike, was punished by Gods iust prouidence.

For although that the right might seeme to remaine in the person of Richard duke of Poike,aine at Wakefield, yet maie there be a fault worthie reputed in him, so to seeke to prevent the time appointed him by authoritie of parlement to attaine to the crowne intayled to him and his issue, in whose also, and not onely in himselfe, that offence (as maie be thought) was duly punished. For although his eldest sonne Edward the fourth, being a prince right pudent and circumspect for the libertie of his owne estate and his children, in somuch that not content to cut off all his armed and apparant enemies, he also of a zealous feare, made a waite his brother the duke of Clarence, and so thought to make all sure: yet Gods vengeance might not be disappointed, for (as ye haue partly heard) he did but further thereby the destruction of his issue, in taking away him that onlie might haue staied the crueltye of his brother of Gloucester, who enraged for desire of the kingdom, bereft his innocent nephews of their liues & estates.

And as it thus well appeared, that the house of Poike shewed it selfe more bloudie in seeking to obteine the kingdom, than that of Lancaster in blurring it: so it came to passe, that the Lords vengeance appeared more heauie towards the same than towards the other, not ceassing till the whole issue male of the said Richard duke of Poike was extinguished. For such is Gods iustice, to leaue no vntrepentant wickednesse unpunished, as especiallie in this case Richard the third, not deserving so much as the name of a man, much lesse of a king, most manifestly appeareth. [At whom the will end with a comparison of the like practise in Lodowicke Sforza, aspiring to the dukedome of Milan, the name, armes and title wherof he took vpon him, hauing secretly plotted before, that he receiued them as appertaining to him by the inuestiture of the king of Romans.

It was published that the death of Calcas (his late predecessor) happened by immoderate cohabita-

tion, but the vniuersall iudgment of Italie was, that he died not of infirmities naturall, nor by incontinencie, but by poison and violent compulsion. Whereof Theodor de Paula, one of the physicians, assisting when the king visited him, assured the king to see most apparant and manifest signes: and if he were dispatched by poison, there was none that doubted that his uncle was innocent, either directlie or indirectlie; as he, who not content with an absolute power to be gouernor of the state, but aspiring according to the common desires of great men, to make himselfe glorious with titles and honours; and especially he iudged, that both for his proper merit and the succession of his children, the death of the lawfull prince was necessarie, and therefore thought to establish in himselfe the power and name of duke. Wherein ambition and couetousnesse preuailed about conscience and law of nature, and the zealous desire of dominion informed his disposition (other wise abhorring bloud) to that vile action.

But to end with king Richard sometimes duke of Gloucester, a title of dignitie ioined with misfortune and unluckinesse (as is noted before). So that for infelicities it might well be compared vnto the name of Ione, a name unhappie and much accursed for the kingdom of Naples. As for king Richard, better had it bene for him to haue contented his heart with the protectorship, than to haue cast by his snout, or lifted by his hornes of ambition so high, that with a settled intent as to hacke and hew downe by violent blowes all likelie impediments betwixt him and home. Better (I say) had it bene for him to haue dwelt vpon his first honor, than to haue wandered in princeliesse; and better had it bene for him neuer to haue inioied the flattering prosperitie of a king, than afterwards to fall, and neuer to recover losse or ruine, as is noted by the poet, saying:

*Est melius nunquam felicia tempora nosse,
Quam post blanditias fortuna, fata maligna
Nec reparanda pati infortunia sortis iniqua.*

[In this yeare 1483 died William Dumble who (by the translation of Laurence Both bishop of Durham and chancellor of England from the see of Durham to the citie of Poike) was made bishop of Durham (in place of the said Laurence), by the popes bulles. For by vertue thereof, Edward the fourth in the sixteenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of Christ 1476, directed his letters patents to the knights and other free men of that bishopricke, with all solemnities to install the said William Dumble (borne of the honorable house of the lords Dumblets) in the said bishopricke of Durham, and to deliuer him quiet possession thereof, who was consecrated thereunto in the yeare of Christ 1477, in which he worthily gouerned six yeares, and died in this yeare, as before.]

Now of learned men that liued, and wrote in the daies of this blurper and his nephew king Edward the first, these we find recorded by Iohn Bale. First, John Denke, an Augustine frier of Warrington in Lancashire, a right subtil fellow in disputation, following the footsteps of his master John Duns, whom he chiefly studied, he wrote diuers treatises, and made that infamous sermon at Baules crasse, in fauour of the duke of Gloucester then protector, for the disheriting of Edward the first, his lawfull king and gouernor; John Bent, or Baile, borne in South Wales; George Ripley, first a canon of Wyke, and after a Carmelite frier in Woolston, a great mathematician, rhetorician, and poet; John Heyne a Carmelite frier of Wyke, that proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Cambridge; and such like.

Thus farre Richard the usurper, vnnatural vncle to Edward the first
and Richard duke of Yorke, brethren.

C e e f.

Henrie

See page 627.

Guic. pag. 12.

T. W. in 15th
Quer. 7.

St. Thon.
The death of
of William
Dumble, bis
shop of Dur
ham, descen
ded of the ho
norable house
of the Dumb
leics.

See page 627.

See page 627.

See page 703.

See page 49.
See page 49.
See page 49.
See page 49.



Henrie the seauenth, sonne to Ed- mund earle of Richmond, which Edmund was brother by the moother's side to Henrie the sixt.

Anno Reg. 1.

Edward
Plantagenet
earle of War-
wike sonne
and heire to
George duke
of Clarence
committed to
the Tower.

King Henrie
commeth to
London.

King Henrie hauing thus
got the victorie at Bosworth,
and slaine his mostall enimie
there in the field, did send be-
fore his departure from Lanchester, Sir Robert Willoughby
knight, to the manour of
Sheriffhutton in the countie
of Yorke, for Edward Plantagenet earle of War-
wike, sonne and heire to George duke of Clarence
then being of the age of fiftene yeares; whome king
Richard had kept there as prisoner during the time
of his usurped reigne. Sir Robert Willoughby re-
ceiuing the young earle of the constable of that castell
conueied him to London, where he was shut up in
the Tower, for doubt lest some vniquiet and euill
disposed persons might inuent some occasion of new
trouble by this young gentleman: and therefore king
Henrie thought good to haue him sure.

There was beside him in the castell of Sheriff-
hutton the ladie Elizabeth eldest daughter to king
Edward the fourth, whome king Richard (as ye haue
heard) meant to haue married: but God otherwise
ordained for hir, and preserved hir from that vnlaw-
full copulation and incestuous bed. Shortly after, she
being accompanied with a great number as well of
noblemen, as honourable matrons, was with good
speed conueied to London, and brought to hir mo-
ther. In the meane season king Henrie remoued for-
ward by soft iournies towards London, the people
comming in from all sides to behold him, and exce-
dingly reioicing at his presence, as by their voices
and gestures it well appeared.

At his approaching nere to the citie, the maior and
his brethren, with other worshipfull citizens, being
clothed in violet, met him at Shordich, and reuerent-
lie saluted him: and so with great pompe and tri-
umphe rode thorough the citie to the cathedrall
church of S. Paule, where he offered three standards.
In the one was the image of saint George, in an o-
ther was a red fierie dragon beaten upon white and
graine saueren, and in the third was painted a burn-
ing colde upon yellow tarterne. After his prayers said,
and the Deum song, he departed to the bishops palace,
and there continued a season. Anon after, he as-
sembled together the sage counsellors of the realme,
in which counsell like a prince of iust faith, and true
of promise, to auoid all ciuill discord, he appointed a
daie to come in marriage with the ladie Elizabeth,
heire of the house of Yorke, with his noble perso-
nage, heire to the line of Lancaster. Which thing not
onely reioiced the hearts of the nobles and gentle-
men of the realme, but also gained the fauours and
good wils of all the commons.

After this, with great pompe he rowed vnto West-
minster, & there the thirtieth daie of October he was
with all ceremonies accustomed, annointed, & crow-
ned king, by the whole assent as well of the com-
mons as of the nobilitie, and called Henrie the sea-
uenth of that name: which was in the yeare of the
world 5452, and after the birth of our Lord 1485, in
the fourth and first yeare of Frederike the third then
emperor of Almaine, Maximilian his sonne being
newlie elected king of the Romans, in the second
yeare of Charles the eight then king of France, and
in the five and twentieth of king James then ruling
the realme of Scotland. For the establishing of all
things, as well touching the preservation of his
owne estate, as the commendable administration
of iustice and preferment of the common wealth
of his realme, he called his high court of parlement
at Westminster the seauenth daie of November,
wherein was atteinted Richard late duke of Glo-
cester, calling and naming himselfe by usurpation,
king Richard the third.

Likevise there was atteinted as chiefe aiders
and assistants to him in the battell at Bosworth, ad-
uanced against the present king, John late duke of
Buckingham, Thomas earle of Surrie, Francis Lovell
knight vicount Louth, Walter Deuereux knight
late lord Ferrers, John lord Zouch, Robert Har-
rington, Richard Charlton, Richard Ratcliffe,
William Berkeley of Wilete, Robert Spaldeton,
James Harrington, Robert Blakenberge, Thomas
Wilmington, Walter Hopton, William Catesbie,
Roger Wake, William Saprote of the countie of
Huntington, Humfre Stafford, William Clerke
of Wlenlocke, Gertie saint Germaine, Richard
Watkins herald of armes, Richard Keuell of Der-
byshe, Thomas Pulter of the countie of Kent, John
Wells otherwise called Hastings, John Herdall
late secretaire to the said Richard late duke of Glo-
cester, John Bucke, Andrew Kat, and William
Hampton of Burford.

In which atteintment neuertheless there were di-
uerse clauses and promises for the benefit of their wi-
ues and other persons, that had or might claime any
right, title, or interest lawfull vnto any castles,
manours, lordships, townes, towneships, honours,
lands, tenements, rents, seruices, fe farmes, an-
nuities, knights fees, advowsons, reuerfions, remain-
ders, and other hereditaments; whereof the said per-
sons atteinted were possessed or seized to the viles of
such other persons: with a speciall promise also, that
the said atteintment should not be prejudiciall to John
Catesbie knight, Thomas Keuell, and William
Ashbie esquiers, in, of, & upon the manour of Kirke-
bie vpon Wrettshe in the countie of Leicesters, nor in

Henrie the se-
uenth crow-
ned king.

1485

A parliament
at Westmin-
ster, wherein
was atteinted
a pardon ge-
ntill.

The king ad-
uanced his
friends.

The king re-
uenced his
adversaries.

in, of, and vpon anie other lands and tenements in
shire as aforesaid, Melton, Somerbie, Throppeleghe
field, and Coderbie, which they had of the gift & scoffe-
ment of Thomas Dauers, & John Lie. And further,
notwithstanding this atteindoz, diuerse of the said
persons afterwards were not onelie by the king par-
doned, but also restored to their lands and livings.

Moreover, in this present parlement, he caused
proclamation to be made, that all men were par-
doned and acquitted of their offenses, which would sub-
mit themselves to his mercie, and receiue an oth to
be true and faithfull vnto him: whereupon manie
that came out of sanctuaries and other places were
receiued to grace, and admitted for his subiects. Af-
ter this, he began to remember his speciall friends,
of whome some he aduanced to honour and dignitie,
and some he enriched with goods and possessions, eu-
erie man according to his deserts and merits. And to
begin, his vnckle Jasper earle of Penbrooke, he crea-
ted duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanleie was
created earle of Derby; and the lord Chendely of
Britaine his speciall friend, he made earle of Bath;
sir Giles Daubeneie was made lord Daubeneie; sir
Robert Willoughbie was made lord Willoughbie. And
Edward Stafford eldest sonne to Henrie late duke
of Buckingham, he restored to his name, dignitie,
& possessions, which by king Richard were confiscat
and atteind. Beside this, in this parlement was
this notable act assented to and concluded as fol-
loweth; to the pleasure of almighty God, wealth,
prosperitie, and suertie of this realme of England,
and to the singular comfort of all the kings subiects
of the same, in auoiding all ambiguities and que-
stions.

An act for the establishing of the
croune in the line of Henrie
the seuenth.

BE it ordeined, established, and en-
acted by this present parlement,
that the inheritance of the croun
of this realme of England, & also
of France, with all the preheminance, and
dignitie roiall to the same appertaining,
all other seignories to the king belonging
beyond the sea, with the appurtenances
thereto in anie wise due or appertaining,
shall rest, remaine, and abide, in the most
roiall person of our now souereigne lord
king Henrie the seuenth, and in the heires
of his bodie lawfullie comming, perpetual-
lie, with the grace of God so to indure, and
in none other.

Beside this act, all atteindozs of this king enacted
by king Edward and king Richard were adnihilat-
ed, and the record of the same iudged to be defaced;
and all persons atteinted for his cause and occasion
were restored to their goods, lands, and possessions.
Diuerse acts also made in the time of king Edward
and king Richard were reuoked, and other adnjudged
more expedient for the common wealth were put in
their places and concluded. After the dissolution of
this parlement, the king remembering his friends
left in hostage beyond the seas, that is to wit, the
marquess Dorsset, & sir John Bourchier, he with all
conuenient speed redeemed them, and sent also into
flanders for John Hopton bishop of Elic. These
acts performed, he chose to be of his councill a con-
uenient number of right grane and wise counsell-
ers.

¶ This did he, that he might the more roiallie go-
uerne his kingdome, which he obtained and inioied
as a thing by God elected and provided, and by his es-
peciall fauour and gracious aspect compassed and at-
chined: Insomuch that men commonlie report that
seauen hundred ninte & seauen yeres passed, it was
by a heauenlie voice reuealed to Cadwalader last
king of Britains, that his stocke & pogramme should
reigne in this land & beare dominion againe. Where-
upon most men were perswaded in their owne opini-
on, that by this heauenlie voice he was provided & or-
deined long before to inioy & obtaine this kingdome.
Which thing k. Henrie the first did also shew before,
as it were by propheticall inspiration, at such time as
the earle of Penbrooke presented the said Henrie (at
that time a proper child) vnto Henrie the first, whome
after he had beheld, and a good while viewed the come-
linesse of his countenance, and orberlie lineaments
of his bodie, he said to such yeres as stood about him:
Lo, suertie this is he, to whome both we and our ad-
uerfaries, leauing the possession of all things, shall
hereafter giue roine and place: & so it came to passe
by the appointment of God, to whose gouernement,
gift, and disposing, all realmes and all dominions
are subiect, as king David confesseth, saing:
Omnia sunt regno subdita regna Dei.

Now although by this meanes all things seemed
to be brought in god and perfect order, yet there lac-
ked a wrett to the harpe, to set all the strings in a
monocord and perfect tune, which was the matrimo-
nie to be finished betwene the king and the late E-
lizabech, daughter to king Edward. Which like a god
prince, according to his oth, & promise, he did both so-
lemnize & consummate shortly after, that is to saie,
on the eighteenth daie of Januarie. By reason of
which marriage, peace was thought to descend out
of heauen into England, considering that the lines
of Lancaster and York were now brought into one
knot, and connered together, of whose two bodies one
heire might succeed to rule and inioie the whole mo-
narchie and realme of England, which before was
rent and diuided into factions & partakings, where-
by manie a mans life was lost, great spoiles made
of peoples goods, wast of wealth, worship, and honor,
all which ended in this blessed and gracious conue-
nion, authorized by God, as our *Anglorum prelia satis:*
Hoc Deus omnipotens pacis consecrat auctor,
Ciuillisque habuit tandem contentio finem.

Shortly after, for the better preservation of his
roiall person, he constituted and ordeined a certeine
number, as well of archers, as of diuerse other per-
sons, hardie, strong, and active to giue daillie atten-
dance on his person, whom he named yeomen of his
gard, which present men thought that he learned of
the French king when he was in France. For it is
not remembered, that anie king of England before
that daie used anie such furniture of daillie souldiers.
¶ In this same yere a new kind of sickenes invaded
suddenlie the people of this land, passing through the
same from the one end to the other. It began about
the one and twentieth of September, and continued
vntill the latter end of October, being so sharpe and
deadlie, that the like was neuer heard of to anie
mans remembrance before that time.

For suddenlie a deadlie burning sweat so assai-
led their bodies, and dissempered their blood with
a most ardent heat, that scarce one amongst an hun-
dred that sickened did escape with life: for all in ma-
ner as soone as the sweat took them, or within a
short time after, yelded the ghost. Beside the great
number which decaied within the citie of London,
two maiors successiuelie died within eight daies and
six aldermen. At length, by the diligent obseruation
of those that escaped (which marking what things had
done

Abr. Flem. ex
suisquntib.
See the histo-
rie of Englad
pag. 124.
See also D.
Powels histo-
rie of Wales;
pag. 2, and 376,
377, &c.

See before in
Edward the
fourth, pag.
678.

Gr. Ha. in psal.
103.

King Henrie
the seuenth tak-
eth to wife
Elizabeth el-
dest daughter
of Edward
the fourth.
1486

In Hen. 7.

Yeomen of the
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Henrie the se-
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1485

A parliament
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The king re-
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A remedie for
the sweating
sickenesse.

done them good, and holpen to their deliuerance, bled the like againe. When they fell into the same disease, the second or thirde time, as to diuerse it chanced, a remedie was found for that mortall maladie, which was this. If a man on the day time were taken with the sweat, then should he straight lie downe with all his clothes and garments, and continue in his sweat foure and twentie houres, after so moderate a sort as might be.

When the night he chanced to be taken, then should he not rise out of his bed for the space of foure and twentie houres, so casting the clothes that he might in no wise prouoke the sweat, but lie so temperatlie, that the water might distill out softe of the owne accord, and to abstaine from all meat if he might so long suffer hunger, and to take no more drinke neither hot nor cold, than would moderatlie quench and asswage his thirstie appetite. Thus with lukewarme drinke, temperate heate, and measurable cloaths manie escaped: few which used this order (after it was found out) died of that sweat. Marie one point diligentlie about all other in this cure is to be obserued, that he neuer did put his hand or feet out of the bed to refresh or coole himselfe, which to doe is no lesse teopardie than short and present death. Thus this disease comming in the first yeare of king Henries reigne, was iudged (of some) to be a token and signe of a troublous reigne of the same king, as the profe partlie afterwards shewed it selfe.

The king re-
quested a prest
of six thousand
marks.

The king standing in need of monie to discharge such debts, and to mainteine such port as was be- housefull, sent the lord treasurer with maister Reginald Bzaie, and others, unto the lord maior of London, requiring of the citie a prest of six thousand marks. Whereupon the said lord maior and his brethren, with the commons of the citie, granted a prest of two thousand pounds, which was leuied of the companies, and not of the wards: and in the yeare next ensuing, it was well and trulie againe repaid euerie pence, to the good contentation and satisfieng of them that disbursed it. The king considering that the suretie of his totall estate and defense of the realme consisted chafelie in god lawes and ordinances to be had and obserued among his people, summoned effectones his high court of parlement, therein to deuise and establish some profitable acts and statutes, for the wealth and commoditie of his people.

A parliament
summoned &
new lawes
for the com-
monwealth
enacted.

The king go-
eth into the
North.

After this, hauing set things in quiet about London, he toke his iourne into the North parts, there to purge all the degrees of malicious treason that might rest in the hearts of vnquiet persons, and namelie in Northeshire, where the people bare more fauour unto king Richard in his life time, than those of anie other part of the realme had commonlie done. He kept the feast of Easter at Lincoln; where he was certified that the lord Louell and Humfreie Stafford, and Thomas Stafford, his brother, were departed out of the sanctuarie at Colchester, to what place or whither, no man as yet could tell. The king little regarding the matter, kept on his iourne, and came to York, where as soon as he was once settled, it was openlie shewed and declared for a truth to the king himselfe, that Francis lord Louell was at hand with a strong and mightie power of men, and would with all diligence invade the citie.

A rebellion
made by the
lord Louell
and others.

Humfreie
Stafford.
Thomas
Stafford.

It was also told him, that the forenamed Staffords were in Worcester-shire, and had raised a great band of the countrie people and commons there, and had cast lots what part should assault the gates, what men should scale the walls of the citie of Worcester, and who should let the passages for letting of rescues and aiders. The king could not beleue this report to be true at the first, but after that, by letters of credence sent from his friends, he was fullie persuaded

that it was so true, he was put in no small feare, and not without great cause. For he wiselie considered, that he neither had anie competent armie ready, nor convenient furniture to arme them that were present; and also he was in such place, where he could not assemble anie power, but of those whom he soze mistrusted, as friends to them that were most his enemies; the memorie of king Richard as yet being not amongst them forgotten nor woyn out of mind.

But because the matter required quicke expedition, he appointed the duke of Bedford with three thousand men not altogether the best armed (for their best plates for the most part were of tanned leather) to march forth against the lord Louell, and to set upon him without anie lingering of time. The duke having forwarde, approached to the campe of his enemies, & before he would assaile them, he caused the heralds to make proclamation, that all those that would depart from their armour, and submit themselves as subiects unto their naturall prince and soveraigne lord, should be pardoned of all former offenses. The lord Louell upon this proclamation, either putting mistrust in his souldiers, or fearing himselfe in his owne behalfe, fled priuilie in a night from his companie, and left them as a flocke of sheepe without a shepheard.

The duke of
Bedford
against the
lord Louell
in arms.

Which departure of the lord when his armie understood, it put the souldiours in such despair of attacking anie further enterpryse, that they immediatlie put off their armour, and came directlie unto the duke, euerie man humbly submitting himselfe, and desiring pardon of his offenses. So in this wise was that dangerous storme and cruell rage of those furious rebels appeased, which was doubted would haue growne to the destruction of manie a man. The lord Louell the procurer of this businesse, escaping awaie got him into Lancashire, and there for a certeine space lay lurking in secret with sir Thomas Blount knight, which in those parties was a man of no small authoritie and power.

The lord
Louell
escaped.

Sir Humfreie Stafford also, hearing what had happened to the lord Louell, in great displeasure and sorrowe, and for feare lest his enterpryse, and in like manner fled, and toke sanctuarie at Colham, a village not past two miles from Abindon. But because that sanctuarie was not a sufficient defense (as was proued before the iustices of the kings Bench) for traitours, he was taken from that place, & brought to the Tower, & after put to execution at Abborne: but his brother Thomas that was with him, was pardoned, because he was thought not to haue attempted anie thing of himselfe other wise than by the euill counsell and persuation of his elder brother. After that the king had quieted all these commotions and tumults, and reformed the rude and babling people of the North parts, he returned to London.

Sir Humfreie
Stafford
sent out of
Colham
sanctuarie,
and executed.

In this yeare John Persuall, one of the mayo of Londons officers, and his caruer, was chosen one of the shiriffes of London. For when the mayo (as the custome of London is) doth elect one of the shiriffes of London for the yeare ensuing, by taking and drinkeing a cup of wine to such a one as he list to name shiriffe; the mayo for the time being, whose name was sir Henrie Collet, toke the cup of wine, and dranke unto the aforesaid John Persuall his caruer standing bareheaded before him, and waiting upon his bowd, and called him shiriffe of London for the yeare ensuing: and forthwith the said mayo caused the same Persuall to sit downe at his owne table, and to couer his head. And the same Persuall toke upon him the office of shiriffalitie, and after was mayo of London, and was made knight.

Anno Reg.

In this meane time, of a small matter, and the same

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Sir Richard
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same altogether false and fained, there was an open path made and beaten forth, for a greater inconvenience to insue. The which matter might seeme verie strange, how such trouble and mischefe should grow thereof, if the time were not considered, in which it happened. For in those daies manie persons, either borne in the wombe of continuall dissention, or nourished with the milke of ciuill sedition, could not forbear their vsuall custome of mouing strife, and following debate, ever glad to haue anie occasion, though neuer so small, to stirre byroz of warre, and slaughter of people. Which men if they knew (a matter of weightie conceipt) the hurts thereof, they would be as earnest in seeking after peace as they are greedy in pursuit of warre, speciallie ciuill warre: but the cause whie they are defectiue therein, is the want of meekenesse and humilitie, as the wiseman saith:

Mite cor horribili seditione vacat.

Amongst other such monsters and limmes of the diuell, there was one sir Richard Simond prest, a man of base birth, and yet well learned, but not so learned as willie, nor so willie as vngacious, delighting in fraud & deceit, even from his youth. He had a scholer called Lambert Simenell, one of a gentle nature and pregnant wit, to be the organe and cheefe instrument, by the which he might conueie and bring to passe his mischeuous attempt. The diuell cheefe master of such practises, put in the venemous braine of this dissuall and traitorous prest, to deuise how he might make his scholer the foresaid Lambert to be reputed as right inheritor to the crowne of this realme: namelie, for that the same went that king Edwards chylzen were not dead, but fled secretlie into some strange place, and there to be liuing: and that Edward earle of Marwike, sonne and heire to the duke of Clarence, either was, or shortly should be put to death.

These rumors though they seemed not to be grounded of anie likelihood to the wiser sort of men, yet incouraged this pcurly prest to thinke the time come, that his scholer Lambert might take vpon him the person and name of one of king Edwards chylzen. And therevpon at Wyke, where their abiding was, the said prest instructed his pupill both with princelie behaviour, ciuill maners, and good literature, declaring to him of what lineage he should asseme himselfe to be descended, and omitted nothing that might serue for his purpose. Some after, the rumor was blowne abroad, that the earle of Marwike was broken out of prison. And when the prest sir Richard Simond heard of this, he straight intended now by that occasion to bring his inuented purpose to passe, and changing the childes name of baptisme, called him Edward, after the name of the young earle of Marwike, the which were both of like yeares, and of like stature.

Then he with his scholer sailed into Ireland, where he so set forth the matter vnto the nobilitie of that countrie, that not onelie the lord Thomas Cere, diocane chancelor of that land deceived through his craftie tale, receiued the counterfeite earle into his castell with all honour and reuerence; but also manie other noble men determined to aid him (with all their powers) as one descended of the blood rosall, and lineallie come of the house of Yorke, which the Irish people euermore highly fauoured, honoured, and loued above all other. By this meanes euerie man throughout all Ireland was willing and ready to take his part, and to submit themselves to him; already reputing and calling him of all hands king. So that now they of this sea (by the aduise of the prest) sent into England certaine priuie messengers to get friends here.

Also they sent into Flanders to the ladie Margaret

sister to king Edward, & late wife to Charles duke of Burgonie, to purchase aid and helpe at hir hands. This ladie Margaret bare no small rule in the low countries, and in verie deed sore grudged in hir heart, that king Henrie (being descended of the house of Lancaster) should reigne and gouerne the realme of England: and therefore, though she well vnderstood that this was but a coloured matter; yet to worke hir malicious intention against king Henrie, she was glad to haue so fit an occasion: and therefore promised the messengers all the aid that she should be able to make in furtherance of the quarrell; and also to procure all the friends she could in other places, to be aiders and partakers of the same conspiracie.

King Henrie aduertised of all these doings, was greatly bered therewith: and therefore to haue god aduise in the matter, he called together his counsell at the Charterhouse beside his manor of Richmond, and there consulted with them, by which means best this begun conspiracie might be appeased and disappointed without more disturbance. It was therefore determined, that a generall pardon should be published to all offenders that were content to receive the same. This pardon was so freely granted, that no offense was excepted, no not so much as high treason committed against the kings roiall person. It was further agreed in the same counsell for the time then present, that the earle of Marwike should personally lie he shewed abroad in the cite, and other publicke places: whereby the vntreue report falselie spread abroad, that he should be in Ireland, might be among the communalitie proued and knowne for a vaine imagined lie.

In this solemnne counsell, diuerse & manie things for the wealth of the realme were debated and concluded. And among other it was determined, that the ladie Elizabeth wife to king Edward the fourth, should lose and forfeit all hir lands and possessions, because she had voluntarilie submitted hir selfe and hir daughters wholie to the hands of king Richard, contrary to hir promise made to the lords and nobles of this realme in the beginning of the conspiracie made against king Richard, whereby she did inough to haue quailed all the purpose of them that joined with hir in that matter. But though hir fault was grieuous, yet was it iudged by some men that she deserved not by quitte of iustice so great a losse and punishment. Howbeit, this iudgement was altogether affectionate and parciall in hir behalfe; besides that it was reasonable in great measure (all circumstances considered) for she was not lightlie induced to do as she did, neither stood it with the frailtie of a woman to withstand the temptations of a mightie man, or rather a reaching tyrant.

But such was hir chance by hir lightnesse and inconstancie, that she wan the displeasure of manie men, and for that cause liued after in the abbete of Bermondsey beside Southwarke a wretched and a miserable life, where not manie yeares after she deceased, and is buried with hir husband at Windsor. Though fortune thus ruleth manie things at hir pleasure, yet one worke that this queene accomplished cannot be forgotten: for in the life time of hir husband king Edward the fourth, she founded and erected a notable colledge in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, for the feeding of scholers and students of the same vniuersitie, and endowed it with sufficient possessions for the long maintenance of the same, which at this daie is called the Quenes colledge.

When all things in this counsell were sagelie concluded and agreed to the kings mind, he returned to London; giuing in commandement, that the next sundae insuing, Edward the young earle of Marwike

Margaret duchesse of Burgonie sister to king Edward the fourth, her malicious mind to Lancaster house,

A generall pardon excepting no offense,

Order taken that the young earle of Marwike should be shewed abroad,

Ladie Elizabeth wife to king Edward the fourth, abiding to forfeit all hir lands, for promise breaking.

Quenes colledge in Cambridge founded by the ladie Elizabeth king Edward the fourths wife.

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Richard
Simond a
fraudulent
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Lambert
Simenell the
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earle of Marwike,

he lord
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so Reg. 4

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Thomas Cere
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cil of the
duke of
Gloucester.

Edward the
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Warwike
threwed open-
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sion.

whiche should be brought from the Tower through the most publicke streets in all London, to the cathedraall church of saint Paule, where he went openlie in procession, that euerie man might see him, hauing communication with manie noble men, and with them especially that were suspected to be partakers of the late begun conspiracie; that they might perceiue how the Irishmen vpon a vaine shadowe moued warre against the king and his realme. But this medicine little auailed euill disposed persons. For the earle of Lincolne sonne to John de la Pole duke of Suffolke, and Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth, thought it not meet to neglect and omit so ready an occasion of new trouble.

Wherefore they determined to vphold the enterprise of the Irishmen, and other complices of this conspiracie: so that consulting with sir Thomas Broughton, and certeine other of his most trustie friends, he purposed to saile into Flanders to his aunt the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, trusting by hir helpe to make a puissant armie, and to iointe with the companions of the new raised sedition. Therefore after the dissolution of the parlement which then was holden, he fled secretlie into Flanders vnto the said ladie Margaret; where Francis lord Louell landed certeine daies before. Where after long consultation had how to proceed in their business, it was agreed, that the earle of Lincolne, and the lord Louell should go into Ireland; and there to attend vpon the duchesse hir counterfeitt nephew, and to honoꝝ him as a king, and with the power of the Irishmen to bring him into England.

Now they concluded, that if their doings had successe, then the foresaid Lambert (misnamed the earle of Marwike) should by consent of the counsell be deposed, and Edward the true earle of Marwike deliuered out of prison and annointed king. King Henrie supposing that no man would haue bene so mad as to haue attempted anie further enterprise in the name of that new found & counterfeitt earle, he onelie studied how to subdue the seditious conspiracie of the Irishmen. But hearing that the earle of Lincolne was fled into Flanders, he was somewhat moued therewith, and caused soldiors to be put in a readinesse out of euerie part of his realme, and to bring them into one place assigned, that when his aduersaries should appeare, he might suddenlie set vpon them, vanquish and overcome them.

Thus disposing things for his sauetie, he went towards St. Edmunds burie, and being certified that the marquesse Dorset was comming towards his maiestie, to excuse himselfe of things that he was suspected to haue done when he was in France, he sent the earle of Oxford to arrest the said marquesse by the waie, and to conueie him to the Tower of London, there to remaine till his truth might be tried. From thence the R. went south to Poꝝwich, and tarrying there Christmasse daie, he departed after to Walsingham, where he offered to the image of our ladie, and then by Cambridge he shortly returned to London. In which meane time, the earle of Lincolne had gotten together by the aid of the ladie Margaret about two thousand Almaines, with one Martine Sward, a valiant and noble capteine to lead them.

With this power the earle of Lincolne sailed into Ireland, and at the citie of Duelin caused young Lambert to be proclaimed and named king of England, after the most solemne fashion, as though he were the verie heire of the blood roiall lineallie borne and descended. And so with a great multitude of beggerlie Irishmen, almost all naked and vnarmed, sauing skins and mantels, of whome the lord Thomas Gerartine was capteine and conductor,

they sailed into England with this new found king, and landed for a purpose at the pille of Fowlsheie, within a litle of Lancaster, trusting there to find aid by the means of sir Thomas Broughton, one of the chiefe companions of the conspiracie.

The king had knowledge of the enemies intent before their arrivall, and therefore hauing assembled a great armie (ouer the which the duke of Bedford, and the earle of Orenford were chiefe capteins) he went to Conventrie, where he was aduertised, that the earle of Lincolne was landed at Lancaster with his new king. Where he took aduise of his counsellors what was best to be done, whether to set on the enemies without further delaie, or to protract time a while. But at length it was thought best to delaie no time, but to giue them battell, before they should increase their power, and therevpon he remoued to Nottingham, & there by a litle wood called Bosworth, he pitched his field.

Shortly after this came to him the lord George Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, the lord Strange, sir John Cheine, right valiant capteins, with manie other noble and expert men of warre, namelie of the countries neere adioining; so that the kings armie was wonderfullie increased. In this space the earle of Lincolne being entered into Poꝝkestre, passed tollie on his iournie without spoiling or hurting of anie man, trusting thereby to haue some companie of people resorted vnto him. But after he perceived few or none to follow him, and that it was too late now to returne backe, he determined to trie the matter by dint of sword, and herevpon directed his waie from Poꝝke to Melwarke vpon Trent.

But before he came there, king Henrie knowing all his enemies purposes, came the night before the daie of the battell to Melwarke; and tarrying there a litle, went thre miles further, and pitching his field, lodged there that night. The earle of Lincolne certified of his comming, was nothing abashed, but kept still on his iournie; and at a litle bilage called Stoke, nigh to the king and his armie, set downe his campe. The next daie the king diuided his whole power into three battels, and after in good arraie approached nigh to the towne of Stoke. The earle likewise set forth his armie, and encountering with the kings people in a faire plaine there, met for the trial of such a conflict, set vpon them with a manlie courage, desiring his soldiors to remember his honour and their owne liues.

Then both the armies joined and fought verie earnestlie, in so much that the Almaines, being tried and expert men of warre, were in all things, as well in strength as policie, equals and matches to the Englishmen. But as for Martine Sward their coronell, few of the Englishmen, either in valiant courage, or strength, and nimbleness of bodie was to him comparable. On the other side, the Irishmen, although they fought manfullie, and stucke to it valiantlie; yet because they were (after the maner of their countrie) almost naked, without anie conuenient furniture of armour, they were striken downe and slaine like dull & brute beasts, which was a great discouragement to the residue of the companie. Thus they fought for a space so long and so egerlie on both parts, that no man could well iudge to whome the victorie was like to incline.

But at length the kings foreward being full of people, and well fortified with wings, which onke both began and continued the fight, set vpon the aduersaries with such force and violence, that first they oppressed and killed such capteins, one by one, as refused their might and puissance: and after that, put all the other to flight, the which were either apprehended as prisoners in their running awaie, or else slaine.

In all matter
followed to
the pꝛoc.

The earle of
Lincolnes
flight into
Flanders
doubted of
king Henrie.

The mar-
quess Dorset
committed to
the Tower.

1487

Martine
Sward a val-
iant capteine
of Almaines,
assistant to the
earle of Lin-
colne.

The count-
ess of
Warwike
with all
her adherents
landed in
England.

All the
princes
gathered
against
king R.

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against
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Lamb-
ert was
slaine.

The earle of
Lincolne
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The battell
of Stoke.

Ab. H.
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The armie
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Aggrine
Sward a
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The kings
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An. Reg. 23.

Dom. 1487.

The countie
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laine and brought into confusion in a small mo-
ment. Now when this battell was ended, and fought
out to the extremitie, then it well appeared, what high
prowesse, what manfull stomachs, what hardie and
courageous hearts rested in the kings aduerfaries.
For there the chiefe captaine, the earle of Lincolne,
and the lord Louell, sir Thomas Broughton, Mar-
tine Sward, and the lord Gerardine captaine of the
Irishmen were laine, and found dead in the verie
places which they had chosen alieue to fight in, not gi-
uing one foot of ground to their aduerfaries.

Howbeit some affirme, that the lord Louell toke
his horse, and would haue fled ouer Trent, but was
not able to recouer the further side for the highnesse
of the bankes, and so was drowned in the riuer. There
were killed at that battell, with their fiue captaine
before rehersed, of that partie about foure thousand.
Of the kings part there were not halfe of them which
fought in the fore-ward, and gaue the onset laine or
hurt. Then was Lambert the youngling, which was
falslie reported to be the sonne of the duke of Cla-
rence, and his maister sir Richard Simond priest
both taken, but neither of them put to death; because
that Lambert was but an innocent, and of yeares
insufficient of himselfe to do any such enterpryse; and
the other was pardoned of life, because he was a
priest, and annointed man; but yet was committed
to perpetuall prison.

Lambert was at length made one of the kings
falcons, after that he had bene a turnebroch for a
space in the kings kitchen. This battell was fought
on a saturday being the sixteenth daie of June, in
this second yere of his reigne. In this yere died
Thomas Bourchier archbishop of Canturburie: and
John Poxton bishop of Cle, a man of excellent lear-
ning, vertue and pollicie, succeeded in his place, whom
Alexander pope of Rome, the first of that name, crea-
ted a cardinall, and the king created him also chan-
celloz of England. Of which pope (hauing so conue-
nient a place to speake) it were a fault to omit the
ambition, accompanied with other disorders vnbecom-
ing a successor of Peter (but neither personallie
nor localle) as all the brood of them brag of them-
selues, & will be intituled with a pismasse, vsurped.

This Alexander the first pope of that name, was
sometime an ancient cardinall, and one of the grea-
test in all the court of Rome. One meane that raised
him to the seat of the pope, was the difference be-
twene the cardinals Alcanius Sforze, and Julian
S. Petri ad Vincula: but the chiefe thing that ac-
complished his election, was, that with a new exam-
ple for that time, he bought by the consent and know-
ledge of euerie one, partlie for monie, and partlie
with promises of offices and great dignities, manie
voices of the cardinals, who reiecting the instruction
of the gospell, were not ashamed to passe to him by
sale, an authoritie and potver to make merchandize
of the holie treasures, & that with the name of the cele-
stiall authoritie in the most high part of the temple.

So which abhominable & too too prophane negotia-
tion manie of them were induced by the cardinall
Alcanius, but that was not more with persuasions
and lutes, than with his example: for that being cor-
rupted with the infinit desire of riches, he made the
pope promise him for his hire and recompense of so
great wickednesse, the office of vicechancellozship
(the principallest place in the court of Rome) togi-
ther with benefices, castles, and his palace of Rome
full of moveables of great valour. But the pope for
all this could not auoid; neither for the time to come,
the iudgment and iustice of God; nor for the present,
the infamie and iust hate of men, in whom for this e-
lection was no small impressions of astonishment
and horrour, not onelie for that it was intangled with

meanes dishonest, but also because the natures and
conditions of the man chosen, were (for the greatest
part) knowen to manie.

Manie sentences and coniectures were made of
his successe. And amongst other, Ferdinand king of
Naples, dissembling openlie the griefe he had of that
election, signified to the quene his wife with teares
(which he was wont to forbear even in the death of
his children) that there was created a pope who would
be most hurtfull to Italie, and the whole common
weale of christendome. A iudgement not vnworthy
of the wisdom of such a prince: for that in Alexan-
der the first (for so would his new pope be called) was
a subtiltie, sharpenesse, and expedition of wit most
singular, a counsell excellent, a wonderfull efficacie
in persuasion, and in all great affaires a iudgement
and care incredible. But these vertues were maruel-
louslie defaced by his vices, for touching his manners
and customes, they were verie dishonest, in his admi-
nistrations he expelled little sinceritie, in his coun-
tenance no shame, in his words small truth, in his
heart little faith, and in his opinion lesse religion. Of
the contrarie, all his actions were defiled with an in-
satiable couetousnesse, and immoderate ambition, a
barbarous crueltie, and a burning desire to raise and
make great (by what meanes soeuer) his children, who
were manie in number; and amongst others, one no
lesse detestable than the father, to whose cursed coun-
sels he became a wicked instrument. Thus much (by
waie of digression) of Alexander, a pope (as you
heare) well qualified, and therefore forward enough
to creat cardinals both in England and elsewhere of
like disposition. But to returne to the storie.]

After that the king had got the upper hand of his
enimies, he removed to Lincolne, and there staid
thre daies, causing euerie of the same daies solempne
processions to be made in rendering thanks to God
for his fortunate victorie. Then caused he execution
to be done, of such rebels & traitors as were taken
in the field, either at the battell, or in the chase. And
shortlie after he went into Woxshire, & there coasted
the countie ouerthwart, searching out such as had
aided his enimies, and were thought to be seditious
persons, whom he punished, some by imprisonment,
some by fines, and some by death: according to the
qualitie of their offenses, and as was thought most
expedient [not by extremitie of rigor inclining to ty-
rannie, but by due moderation of iustice tempering
execution with clemencie; according to the good
rule of iustice prescribed by the wise man, saieing:

*Solus commissum plectat clementia crimen,
Parua negat poenam culpa subire grauem.*

About the middelt of August entering into the
third yere of his reigne, he came to Newcastell upon
Tyne, and from thence sent in ambassage into Scot-
land Richard For, latelie before made bishop of Ex-
cester, and with him Richard Cogecombe knight,
controller of his house, to conclude some peace or
truce with king James of Scotland. The English
ambassadors were honorablie receiued, and longlie
intertained of the said king, who gladlie would haue
concluded a perpetuall peace with the king of Eng-
land, if he might haue bene licenced so to haue done;
but his people being stedfast in their old accustomed
bidge, would not agree to ante peace, but yet were
contented to gratifie their king, that he should take
truce with England for the tearme of seuen yeares,
which was concluded.

Then was secret promise made by king James,
that he would not onlie obserue peace, & continue in
perfect amitie with the king of England during his
life, but also would renew againe this truce new ta-
ken for other seuen yers, before the first seuen yers
were fullie expired. The king of Scots indeed was

Pope Alexan-
der the first
corrupted
with manie
vices,

Thanks gi-
uen to God
after victorie.

Execution
upon the oth-
er seditious.

Gu. Ha. in ec-
cle. cap. 10.
Anno. Reg. 34.

For bishop of
Excester sent
ambassador in-
to Scotland.

A truce with
Scotland for
seuen yeares.

as desirous of the king of Englands friendship, as the king of England was of his: because that his subjects bare him much euill will, mistaking with all things that either he could do or saie. [So that his regiment was no longer liked, than they were in a good mood, which was when they were well minded; and that was neuer: for that if by gentleness he allured them, they esteemed him a flatterer; if by severity, a tyrant. And therefore it stood him vpon to strengthen himselfe against such a people, of whose pleasure & displeasure depended his estate.]

King Henrie
returneth out
of the north
countrie,

The French
kings request
for aid against
Francis duke
of Britaine.

10 King Henrie after the returne of his ambassadoys out of Scotland, came from Newcastle to Yorke, and so toward London, and in the way being at Leicester, there came to him ambassadoys from Charles the French king, which declared both the recovery of certeine towne out of the hands of Maximilian king of Romans, which he had wrongfullie detained from the crowne of France before that time; and also that their maiesty king Charles had now wars in hand against Francis duke of Britaine, because that he succoured and mainteined diuers noble men, as the duke of Orleans and others, that were rebels and traitors, against him and the realme of France. Wherefore his request was, that for the old familiaritie that had bene betwixt them, he would either assist and helpe him, or else stand neuter betwixt them, neither helping nor yet hurting the one nor the other.

Upon good and deliberate aduise taken in this matter, because it was iudged weightie, the king for answer told the French ambassadoys, that he would neither spare paine nor cost, to set some reasonable state betwixt their soueraigne lord king Charles, and the duke of Britaine: so that a small end and some perfect conclusion of friendship might be had betwixt them. And so as some as the French ambassadoys were returned home, the king sent his chapleine Christopher Urswike over into France to king Charles, as well to shew that he was glad of the victorie which he had against Maximilian; as to declare that a tempestuous storme of ciuill rebellion himselfe had escaped & overcome here in England.

King Henries
offer to make
an attowment
betwixt the
French king
and the duke.

Christopher
Urswike.

The marques
Dorset deliue-
red out of the
Tower.

The kings
loue to his
wife queene
Elizabeth.

But the chiefest point of Urswikes errand consisted in this, that he should intimate to the French king, how his maiesty king Henrie offered himselfe as a mediator betwixt him and the duke of Britaine, to make them friends: and if he perceived that the French king gave eare hereunto, then should he go into Britaine, to moue the duke there to be contented, that some reasonable order might be taken for a quietnesse to be had betwixt the French king and him. Whilst Urswike was travelling in this matter (according to his commission) the king came backe againe to London, where he was receiued of the citizens with great ioy and triumph, they being heartilie glad and greatlie reioysing that he with such good successe had subdued his enemies.

60 Shortlie after, he deliuered the lord Thomas Marques Dorset out of the Tower, receiuing him againe to his former fauor and old familiaritie: because his truth and loialtie by diuers assaies and sundrie arguments had bene throughlie tried, and sufficientlie proued. In which meane time, the king for the great loue that he bare to his wife queene Elizabeth, caused her to be crowned and anointed queene on saint Matharins day in Nouember, with all solemnitie, as in such cases appertineth. In the meane season Christopher Urswike (according to his commission) travelled betwixt the French king and the duke of Britaine in the king of Englands name, to make them friends. But although the French king seemed willing enough to haue peace, yet meant he nothing lesse. For he had as manie subtilties in his heart, as there be faces in the world, according to the poet:

Pectoribus fraudes tot sunt quot in orbe figure.

For whilst he went about with faire words, courteous letters, and sweet promises to beare the king of England in hand to labour a peace betwixt him and the Britains, he enforced his whole puissance to subdue them, and besieged the citie of Paris. And on the other part, the duke of Orleans being with drawne to the duke of Britaine, and one that ruled most about him, had no liking to heare of peace, but did what he could to hinder it. The English ambassadoys Christopher Urswike (having thus passed from the French king to the duke of Britaine, and backe againe to the French king) returned shortly after into England, and shewed vnto king Henrie what he had done betwixt them.

20 Immediatlie after came to the French king the lord Bernard Daubenete a Scot borne, which on the French kings behalfe required King Henrie to make some maner of end of those Brittainish warres, whatsoeuer it were. King Henrie being desirous of the same, sent ouer againe into France, John the abbat of Abingdon, sir Richard Edgecombe knight, and the forenamed Christopher Urswike, with full and perfect commission & long instructions how to proceed, in obtaining of some agreement betwixt the French men and the Britons. These orators (according as they had in commandement) first went vnto the French king, and after they had communed with him, sir Richard Edgecombe, and Christopher Urswike departed straight to the duke of Britaine, in full hope to conclude a peace, vpon such offers and articles as they had to propound vnto him.

30 But all their hope was vaine, for the duke refused to agree vpon any such articles and conditions as they offered; and so without concluding any thing with the duke, they returned backe into France; and from thence signified to the king of England by letters all that they knew, or had done. But in the meane time, Edward lord Mowbray, uncle to the queene, sued to king Henrie that he might haue a power of men appointed to him, with the which he would scale pituillie ouer without licence or passport, so that euery man should thinke that he was fled the realme, without knowledge of the king, for that no warre should arise by his meanes betwixt the realmes of France and England, and yet should the duke of Britaine be aided against the power of the Frenchmen, which sought to vanquish him, that they might leine his countrie vnto the dominion of France: which in no wise ought to be suffered, considering what annoyance & hurt the same might bring to the realme of England in time to come.

40 Although this request was bitterlie denied, and that the lord Mowbray was straightlie commanded by the king to make no such attempt; yet could not all that staie him, but that withdrawing him into the Ile of Wight, whereof he was made ruler and capitaine, he there gathered together a cruoe of tall & hardie personages, to the number of 400, & with prosperous wind & weather arrived in Britaine, and joined himselfe with the Britons against the Frenchmen. The French king aduertised herof, was not well pleased in his mind towards the king of England; till King Henrie by new messengers informed him how guiltlesse he was in the matter, and that by plain and euident proofes: With the which erule the French king seemed to be the better pacified, and was content to differre the matter.

50 Then the English ambassadoys, renewing the league and amitie betwixt king Henrie & the French king, for the space of twelue moneths, they returned into England; and shewed the king all things that they had either heard or seen: so that he perceived that the French king dealt craftilie in this matter of Britaine,

The king calls
for a parlie-
ment.

The duke of
Orleans
takes with
the duke of
Britaine.

perempto-
re ambassage
into Eng-
land into
France.

The battell of
Marston
betweene the
duke of Brit-
taine and the
French king.

Lord Mow-
bray slaine.

Edward lord
Mowbray
with the duke
of Britaine
sought the
king's consent.

King Henrie
understandeth
the amitie as
betwixt the
French.

When the
French be
inconuenient.

Francis duke
of Britaine
died.

The league
renewed be-
tweene Eng-
land and
France.

Britaine, still motioning peace when he meant nothing else but warre. He therefore called his high court of parlement, in the which it was not onelie determined that the duke of Britaine should be aided with a power of men against the worisfull inuasions of the Frenchmen, but also there were diuerse summes of monie granted to the furnishing forth and maintenance of the same. And immediatlie herupon, the king sent his ambassadozs into France to certifie the French king what the estates assembled in parlement here in England had decreed.

Wherefore he required him either to surceale the warres which he had in hand against the Britons, or else not to be grieved though he condescended to the iudgement and determination of the lords both spiritual and temporal, and commons of his realme, in taking vpon him the defense of the duke of Britaine; promising neuertheless that the English armie should onelie take land within the duchie of Britaine, and seeke to defend the same against all those that did inuade it, and not to make any warre within the French dominions. This message was nothing regarded of the French king, in so much that the French armie proceeded in oppressing the Britons, destroying the countrie, and besieging townes.

At length on the seuen and twentieth, (as the chronicles of Anton haue) the eight and twentieth daie of Julie, the duke of Britains armie gaue battell to the French host nere to a towne called Saint Aubin, hauing apparelled a thousand and seuen hundred of the Britons in coates with red crosses, after the English fashion, to make the Frenchmen beleue that they had a great number of Englishmen, although they had but foure hundred onelie with the lord Moulle. The victorie in this battell fell to the Frenchmen, so that almost all the Englishmen were slaine with the lord Moulle, beside six thousand Britons. The duke of Cleuance and the prince of Daings were taken prisoners, which were there on the Britons part. The Frenchmen lost twelue hundred men, and amongst other, that balliant Italian capteine James Galeot.

These newes being brought into England, caused king Henrie to make hast in sending forth his armie, and therefore was the lord Woke, with sir John Cheine, sir John Dibleton, sir Rafe Hilton, sir Richard Cobbet, sir Thomas Leighton, sir Richard Laton, and sir Edmund Cornetwall sent ouer into Britaine with all conuenient speed, hauing with them an eight thousand men, well armed and furnished in warlike wise, to aid the duke of Britaine against the Frenchmen. These lustie capteins being arrived in Britaine, after they had a little refreshed them, marched forward, and coming nere to their enemies, pitched downe their field, not farre from the Frenchmens campe.

The Frenchmen by experience knowing the Englishmen (so long as they be fresh and lustie) in manner to be inuincible, thought not good to match with them in open battell, till they were somewhat wearied with long and lingering abroad in the field. And therefore at the first they sought to wearie them with light skirmishes, appointing their horsemen to giue them alarmes, & some skirmishes; in the which the Frenchmen, by reason of the English archers (which galled both men and horses) were euer put to the worse. But behold the mutabilitie of worldlie chancas! While this warre was thus set forward, Francis duke of Britaine departed this life, & then the chiefe rulers of Britain, falling at dissention among themselves, tendered not the defense of their countrie, but rather minded the destruction thereof.

Herupon the Englishmen, perceiving in what danger they were, and considering that it was in the middest of winter, a time not meet for men of warre

to lie in the cold and frostie fields, they returned into England, within five monethes after their first setting forth. So that finally the French king got the upper hand of the Britons, and did incorporate that duchie to his realme and crowne of France, as in the historie of France it may appere at large. ¶ In Julie this yere was a pest leued for the king in the cite of London, of foure thousand pounds, which was repaid the yere next following. In September, the queene was deliuered at Winchester of hir first sonne, named prince Arthur; and the five and twentieth of Nouember (next ensuing) she was crowned at Westminster with all due solemnitie.

¶ We haue heard, how there was in the last parlement monie granted for the furnishing forth of the armie into Britaine; that is to wit, it was agreed, that euerie man should be taxed after the rate of his substance, to paie the tenth partie of his goods. Which monie the most part of them that dwelled in the bishopricke of Durham, and in the parties of Dorsetshire refused utterlie to paie: either for that they thought themselves ouercharged with the same; or were procured to shew themselves disobedient, thorough the euill counsell of some seditious persons, which conspired against the king, to put him to new trouble. Therefore such as were appointed collectors, after that they could not get the monie, according to their extract deliuered to them by the commissioners, they made their complaint priuillie to Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, chiefe ruler of the North parts.

The earle forthwith signified to the king all that matter, and the king not willing to pardon them of any one partie (least the example might do hurt by encouraging others to shew the like stubbornnes in other parts of the realme) commanded the earle either by distresse or otherwise, to leuie the monie as he should thinke most meet. The rude and headlie people hearing of this answer from the king, by and by with great violence set vpon the earle by the exciting of a simple fellow named John a Chamber, whome the earle with faire words sought to appease. But they like vnreasonable villaines, alledging all the fault to be in him, as chiefe author of the tax, furiously and cruelly murdered both him and diuerse of his household seruants. Diuerse affirme that the Northerne men bare against this earle continuall grudge euer since the death of king Richard, whome they entircly fauoured.

Although this offense was great and heinous; yet there succeeded a more mischief: for incontinentlie (to cloke this presumptuous murder) the Northerne men got them to armour, and assembling together, chose them a capteine, no lesse seditious than desirous of trouble, called sir John Egremond knight; and passing by the countries, they published and declared that they would bid the king battell onelie in defense of their libertie & common freedom, of the which he went about to bareau them. But when the matter should come to be tried with blowes, their hearts so fainted that they scattered away, euerie man seeking to saue himselfe by flight: but that little auailed them.

For the king hearing of this business, sent forth Thomas earle of Surreie (whome not long before he had deliuered out of the Tower, and receiued to his special fauour) with a cruoe of men, to chastise those rebels of the north parts, who skirmished with a certeine companie of them, and them discomfited, and tooke alius John a Chamber, the first beginner of this rebellion. The king himselfe rood after into Dorsetshire, of whose committing the surdie rebels were so abashed and afraid, that they fled more and lesse: which afterward were apprehended, and punished.

The duchie of Britaine incorporated to the realme of France.

John Scow.
The birth of prince Arthur.

Anno Reg. 4.

The collectors of the subsidie complained to the earle of Northumberland that they could not get in the tax monie.

1489

The earle of Northumberland murdered by the Northerne rebels at the instigation and setting on of John a Chamber.

A rebellion in the north for a tax granted by parlement.

Sir John Egremond capteine rebell.

Thomas earle of Surreie sent with a power against the north rebels.

The duke of Cleuance par-
taker with
the duke of
Britaine.

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1488
Edward top
wobulle an-
deth the duke
of Britaine
without the
kings consent.

King Henrie
immediately
hastened
against the
French.

Lord wob-
ulle gathered
a power in the
Zie of wight.

When the
French be-
came able.

Francis duke
of Britaine
died.

The league
renewed be-
tweene Eng-
land and
France.

John a Chamber
was hanged
like an arch-
traitor.

Sir John
Gremond fled
into
Flanders.

The king bo-
roweth a gre-
t summe of mo-
ne of the chā-
ber of London.

Ch. Ha. in Ec-
cles. ap. 3.

A rebellion in
Flanders.

Maximilian
king of Ro-
mans impris-
oned at Bru-
ges by the
townsmen.

The lord
Cozdes ma-
keth aduan-
tage of occa-
sion.

shed according to their demerits. Yet the king of his clemencie pardoned the innocent people, and executed the chiefe procurers. For John a Chamber was hanged at Yorke on a gibbet set vpon a square paire of galloves like an archtraitor, and his complices and lowd disciples were hanged on the lower galloves round about their maister, to the terrible example of other.

But sir John Gremond fled into Flanders to the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, that euer enuied the prosperitie of king Henrie. After this the king returned to London, leauing the earle of Surrie to rule the north parts, and appointed sir Richard Tunsfall, a man of great wit and policie, to gather the subsidie to him due of the people. This yere the king bozrowed of cuerie alderman of London two hundred pounds, and of the Chamber nine thousand eightie two pounds seuentene shillings foure pence; which he repaid againe to the bittermost, with great equitie and thankfulness. [A vertue verie laudable in this god king, and so much the more notable as it is rare; speciallie in mightie men and great estates of the world, that count what soeuer they can catch their owne, as though the purses of the people were theirs to possesse at pleasure & vse at last, without conscience or care of restitution. Which foule fault Ecclesiasticus noteth (affirming that all is lost that is lent them) in expresse words, saying:

*Reddere magnates nolunt, quæ mutuas sumunt,
Mutua quæ trades interisse scias.*

In this season, the emperor Frederike made warre against the Flemings, namelie against Bruges and certeine townes of Flanders, which had rebelled against his sonne Maximilian king of Romans, their liege and souereigne lord; in so much that they of Bruges had not onelie slaine his officers but imprisoned him within their towne, till they had caused him to pardon all their offenses, and also to sweare neuer to remember, nor reuenge the same in time to come. But his father Frederike the emperor could not suffer such a reproch & dishonour done to his sonne (whose fame & princelie estate as he tendered and had in gelosie; so was it his hart greefe and immoderat veration that he should be abused of open contemners, in such villanous sort as tended highlie to the indignitie of his person, and the aggravating of their offense and punishment) to passe unreuenged, & therefore scourged the countrie of Flanders with sharpe and cruell warre.

The lord of Kaenstaine being vsuen to take the same oath, that his maister Maximilian toke at Bruges, to shew that the warre was not begun with his assent, forsake Maximilian his lord, and toke the townes of Ypre and Sluis, with both the castels of the same hauein, and further did not onelie stir the Cantois, Brugeans, and other townes of Flanders, to rebell against their souereigne lord; but also sent to the French kings lieutenant in Picardie, the lord Cozdes, to aid him to conquer such townes of Flanders, as were not of his opinion. The lord Cozdes, otherwile called monsieur de Querdes, was glad to haue so good occasion to set foot in Flanders, as he that had sufficient instructions of his maister the French king, vpon anie such offered occasion so to do, sent forthwith to the aid of the Flemings eight thousand Frenchmen, commanding them to conquer such townes, as were in the waie betwixt France and Bruges.

The capitaine, according to his denisse, besieged a litle walled towne called Dirmeto, to whome came foure thousand Flemings with bittels and artillerie, sent from the lord of Kaenstaine. They laid siege on the north side of the towne, in a marish ground then being drie, and so deepele ditched and rampired their

campe about (on which rampire they laid their ordnance) that it was in maner impossible to enter their campe, or do them anie displeasure or damage. The king of England was daile aduertised of these doings, which nothing lesse desired than to haue the English pale inuironed with French fortresses. Wherefore to prevent that mischiefe in time, with all expedition he sent ouer to the lord Daubeneie, then his deputie of Calis, the lord Hozeleie, with a cruue of valiant archers & souldiers, to the number of a thousand men, with priuite instructions what they should do.

At their coming ouer it was bzuted abroad, that they were sent onelie to defend the English pale, against all attempts that might vpon the sudden in anie wise be made by the Frenchmen, or Flemings; but their enterprise was all otherwile. For on a tuesdaie at the shutting of the gates at night, the lord Daubeneie chieftaine of the armie, the lord Hozeleie, sir James Tirrell capteine of Guisnes, sir Henrie Willoughbie, sir Gilbert Talbot, and sir Humfreie Talbot marshall of Calis, with diuerse other knights, and esquieres, and other of the garisons of Hammes, Guisnes, and Calis, to the number of two thousand men or thereabouts, issued priuile out of Calis, & passed the water of Craueling in the morning betimes; and left there for a scale, and to keepe the passage, sir Humfreie Talbot, with sir score archers, and came to Zetwport, where they found the souereigne of Flanders with sir hundred Almaines, and there they staid that night.

On the next daie they went toward Dirmeto, and by the guiding of a prisoner, that should haue bene hanged on the next morning, they issued out of the southgate of the towne of Dirmeto, and were conueied by their said guide by an high banke set with willowes; so that the Cantois could not well espie them, and so secretlie gat to the end of their enemies campe, and there paused. The lord Daubeneie commanded all men to send their hostes and wagons backe, but the lord Hozeleie said he would ride till he came to hand strokes. Thus they marched forth till they came to a low banke, and no deepe ditch, where the ordinance laie; and there the archers shot altogether, euerie man an arrow, and so fell prostrate to the ground. The enemies here with discharged their ordinance, and ouerthot them.

The Almaines lept ouer the ditch with their morrice pikes. The Englishmen in the fore-front waded the ditch, and were holpen by by the Almaines, and set on their enemies, and toke manie prisoners. The other Englishmen passed by the cause to enter in at the north gate of the campe, where the lord Hozeleie being on horsebacke in a rich coate, was slaine with a gun. When his death was knowne, euerie man killed his prisoner, and slue all such as did withstand them, to the number of eight thousand men; in so much that of two thousand that came out of Bruges (as the Flemish chronicle reporteth) there came not home one hundred. On the English part was slaine the lord Hozeleie, and not an hundred more.

The Englishmen toke their ordinance and sent it to Zetwport, with all the spoile and great hostes. And by the waie hearing certeine Frenchmen to be at Dikend, they made thitherward: but the Frenchmen fled, and so they burned part of the towne, and came againe to Zetwport, where the lord Daubeneie left all the Englishmen that were hurt and returned to Calis, where he buried the bodie of the lord Hozeleie. The Englishmen got great riches at this field, for they that went forth in cloth, came home in silke, and those that went out on foot, came home on great hostes. The lord Cozdes being at Ypre with twentie thousand men, was sore displeased with this overthrow; & therefore thinking to be reuenged, besieged the

An. R.
English
archers.

English
archers.

The malice
of the
king of
France.

James king
of Scots
came by his
owne subiects.

The good
vice of a
superior
should be
bene taught.

William
made
shop of
Bath,
and af-
ter of
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and welles.

1490
Anno Reg. 6.
Ambassadors
from
Franch
king to the
king of Eng-
land.

Henry is
so that the
French king
and marie
the duchesse
of Britaine.

An. Reg. 5. 6.

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take of Petport right strongly, and shot baslie at the wals, breaking them in many places.

But the Englishmen that were hurt at Dimeswels before, and might either stand or draw bowes, neuer came from the wals. On a date the Frenchmen gave a great assault to a tower, and perforce entered it, and set up the banner of the lord Cordes. But the chance! During the time of the assault, there arrived a barker with foure scoze fresh English archers, which came streight to the tower, and did so much, that what with the helpe of such as before were wounded and hurtmen, and of the contragious harts of the new come archers encouraged greatly by the women of the towne, crying; Shot Englishmen, shot: the tower was regained out of the Frenchmens hands, and the banner of the lord Cordes rent in peeces, and in place thereof the pennon of saint George set up. When the Frenchmen, supposing a great aid of Englishmen to have bene come to the towne by sea, left the assault.

And the night following, the envious lord Cordes (which so longed for Calis, that he would commonlie saie, that he could be content to lie seven yeares in hell, so that Calis were in possession of the Frenchmen) byake up his siege, and returned to Helbing with shame. And the Englishmen glad of this victorie returned to Calis. This yeare James the third of that name king of Scots was slaine by his owne subiects, after they had vanquished him in a pight field. About the same time one Adrian an Italian was sent in ambassage from pope Innocent the eight into Scotland, to haue taken up the variance betwixt the king there and his people. But being arrived here in England, he was informed that king James was slaine, and therfore taried here certeine moethes.

And for that he was a man of excellent learning, vertue, and humanitie, the archbishop of Canturburie John Hoxton so commended him to the king, that he made him first bishop of Hereford, and shortly after, that resigned and given ouer, he promoted him to the bishopricke of Bath and Welles. And after that with these honors he was returned to Rome, he was aduanced by all the degrees of spiritual dignities into the college of the cardinals. And worthy sure he was of great preferment, for by his meanes, learned men were moued to take out the vse of eloquent writing and speaking in the Latine tongue, he being the first in the time of our fathers that taught the trade to chose and ble apt words and fit termes.

In the first yeare of king Henries reignt there came ambassadors to him from the French king the lord Francis of Lutzenburgh, Charles Martignane, and Robert Caguine minister of the Bonnehommes of the trinitie. The effect of their coming was to haue concluded a peace with king Henrie, and that with god will the French king might dispose of the mariage of the young duchesse of Britaine, as he should thinke good; and to make void the contract and former mariage, which by pforce the deuisie of Parmillan king of Romanis had before time contracted & made with hir. But thereto would not king Henrie give his consent, ever harping on this string, that the maiden being once lawfullie combined in matrimonie with Parmillan, ought not to be compelled against hir will and promise (yes and contrarie to all law, right and equitie) to take anie other person than him to his spouse and husband.

In deed king Henrie was loth that the French king should marrie the duchesse of Britaine himselfe (as he perceived his meaning was) and so to some the duchesse of Britaine to the crowne of France; and therefore he did what he could to hinder that bar-

gaine. Yet at length it was agreed that a forme of a league should be drawn with conditions, clauses, and covenants. And for full concluding of the same, it was thought expedient, that the king of England should send ambassadors to the French king to finish all matters betwixt them. Whereupon the French ambassadors being dismissed with great rewards, straightwaies Thomas erle of Dymond, and Thomas Goldenfon pilot of Chilles church in Canturburie, were appointed by the king to followe them into France, instructed fullie in althings that he would haue on his behalfe either moued or determined.

In this meane space, Lionell the bishop of Concordia was sent as our from pope Alexander the first to the French king for certeine matters; and amongst other things, he had in charge to conclude a peate and trillie betwixt the French king and the king of England. He mousing this matter to the French king, found him nothing strange, to incline to his motion. Whereupon the bishop of Concordia conceiuing god hope, and therewith desirous (as became him best bearing that title) to set an atfement betwixt those two kings, took his iourne towards England, to the intent he might moue king Henrie to be agreeable thereto, and so coming to Calis, found the English ambassadors there, being so farre on their waie towards the French king; and being honorablie receiued of them into that towne, after they had communed together, the bishop took the sea, and was transported ouer into England, and the ambassadors departed towards the French king.

After the bishop of Concordia had talked with king Henrie, and perceived that (upon reasonable conditions) he could be content to conclude a peace with all christian princes, and to live in rest after so manie troubles afore time sustained, the said bishop returned backe into France to sollicit this purpose to some perfect conclusion. But the Frenchmen so handled the matter, that whilst they outwardlie shewed how they desired nothing but friendship and amitie, they allured the young dutchesse of Britaine to submit herselfe wholly to their discretion, so that shortly after she was married to king Charles. Now the English ambassadors, after they perceived which waie the wind would blowe, returned againe to their countrie, and nothing done, agreed upon in their matters.

King Henrie for troubled in his mind therewith, determining wth those with peaceable messages, but with open waite to determine all controuersies betwixt him and the French king, called his high court of parlement; and thereto declared the cause why he was iustlie provoked to make waite against the Frenchmen; and therewith desired them of their benivolent aid of might and manie towards the maintenance therof. The cause was so iust, that neuer man allowed it; and to the setting forth of the waie taken in hand for so necessarie occasion, euerie man promised his helping hand. The king commended them for their true and faithfull hearts. And to the intent that he might spare the power lost of the commonwealth (whome he ever desired to keepe in fauor) he thought good first to exact minie of the richest lost by waie of a benivolence.

Which kind of lending minie was first devised by king Edward the fourth, as it appeareth before in his history. King Henrie following the like example, published abroad, that by their open gifts he would measure and search their benivolent hearts and good minies toward him; so that he that gaue most, should be iudged to be his most loving friend; and he that gaue little, to be esteemed according to his gift. By this it appeareth, that whatsoever is practised for the prince

Lionell bishop of Concordia sent from the pope to the French king.

The dutchess of Britaine married to Charles.

Parlement wherein king Henrie opened the cause of making warres against France.

whome he desired the exaction of minie called a benivolence. See pag. 694.

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1490

An. Reg. 6.

Ambassadors

from France

to the king of England.

The number

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The lord

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The English

ambassadors

in France

The French

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princes profit, and brought to a president by matter of record; maie be turned to the great prejudice of the people, if rulers in authoritie will so adiudge and determine it. But by this means king Henrie got innumerable great summes of monie, with some grudge of the people, for the extremitie shewed by the commissioners in diuers places.

1491.

We haue heard before, how the lord of Hauenstein, by the aid of Buges & Cant, had taken the towne and two castles of Sluis, which he kept against his souereigne lord Maximilian, and getting into the haven certaine ships and barks, robbed, spoiled, & took prisoners the ships and vessels of all nations that passed alongest by that coast, towards the mart at Antwerpe, or into anie part of Babant, Zeland, or Friesland, and was ever sufficientlie vittelled out of France and Picardie. There was a little towne also two miles from Buges towards the sea, called Dam, which was a bulworke to Buges, and an helpe to Sluis. The king of Romans had attempted the taking of this towne diuers times, but misse his purpose; till at length Albert duke of Saronie, a great friend to the king of Romans, by pollicie found means to get it.

Albert the duke of Saronie pollicie to get the towne of Dam.

This duke feining himselfe as a neuter betwixt the king of Romans, and the rebels of Flanders, required of the lords of Buges, that he might enter peaceable into their towne according to his estate, with a certaine number of men of armes, to communicate with them diuerse matters of great weight, and sent before his carriages and herbengers to make provision. They of Buges were in no doubt of him, so that his men of warre entered into the citie in good order, and he followed. They that went before, inquired for innes and lodgings, as though they would haue rested there all the night, and so went forth still in order asking after lodgings, till they came at the gate that leapech directly towards Dam, distant from Buges a Flemish mile, which is called the bulworke of Buges.

The duke of Saronie sent forth for aid to king Henrie to win Sluis.

The captains and inhabitants of Dam suspecting no harme to come out of Buges, thought their friends (knowing some danger towards) had sent them aid, and so nothing mistrusting those that approached their towne, suffered them to enter, and so was the towne of Dam taken by sleight, which could not be wonne by open force. This chance sore displeased them of Buges, for now could they haue no recourse to the sea, so that they must needs fall into ruine and decay. The duke of Saronie thus hauing wonne the towne of Dam, sent to the king of England, that if it would please him to aduise anie aid by sea, he would besiege Sluis by land. Whereupon the king of England, upon due consideration of the dukes motion (as he was wise enough in all his enterprizes; and no lesse fortunate in the issue of the same) would conclude nothing upon the sudden, but (as he did alwaies) ruled his affaires by good counsell, like to the wise man commended in the holie scripture:

The duke of Saronie sent forth for aid to king Henrie to win Sluis.

Gu. Ha. in Tob. 4.

Sir Edward Poynings a valiant captain sent into Flanders with an armie

At last he well remembering that Sluis was a troulesome, and a verie den of thieues to them that trauesed the seas towards the east parts, incontinentlie dispatched sir Edward Poynings a right valiant knight and hardie captaine, with twelve ships well furnished with bold soldiers, and sufficient artillery. Which sir Edward sailed into the haven, and kept the lord of Hauenstein from trafficking by sea. The Duke of Saronie besieged one of the castles, lying in a church over against it; and the Englishmen assaulted the lesse castell, and shewed out of their ships at the ebbe, neuer suffering their enemies to rest, in quiet one day together, for the space of twentie days, and euerie day slue some of their aduersaries; and on

the English part were slaine one there; brother to the earle of Oxford, and fiftie more.

The lord of Hauenstein had made a bridge of botes betwene both the castles, to passe from the one to the other; which bridge one night the English men did set on fire. When he, perceiving that he must lose his castles by force, and that the Flemings could not aid him, yielded the castles to sir Edward Poynings, and the towne to the duke of Saronie, upon certaine conditions. Sir Edward Poynings kept the castles a while, of whom the Almains demanded their waages, because the duke had nothing to paie. Then these two captains so handled them of Buges, that they not onelie submitted themselves to their lord Maximilian; but also were contented to paie and dispatch the Almains. And so sir Edward Poynings taried there a long space, and at length returned to the king before Bullogne.

The first day of Aprill this present yeare, the nobles of the realme assembled in the cathedrall church of St. Paule in London, where the maior of the same citie, his brethren the aldermen, and the craftemen in their liveryes also assembled: to whom doctor Bolton chancelor made an oration, declaring how the king of Spaine had wonne the great and rich citie & countrey of Granada from the Turks: for soe whereof *Te Deum* was sung with great solemnitie. But because it is requisite and necessarie in this ample volume, to set downe the report of accidents as they are to be found at large in our owne English writers: you shall heare for the furtherance of your knowledge in this matter concerning Granada, what Ed. Hall hath left noted in his chronicle. Which although it containe diuerse actions of superstition, and popish trumperie: yet should it not offend the reader, considering that a people estranged from the true knowledge of God and sincere religion put the same in practise, as supposing principall holinesse to consist in that blind deuotion.

On the first of Aprill (saith he) this yeere, the king commanded all the nobilitie of his realme to assemble at the cathedrall church of St. Paule in London, where (after *Te Deum* solemnlye sung) the cardinal of Cantuarbie, standing on the steps before the quier doore, declared to the people, how the famous citie of Granada, which manie yeares had bene possessed of the Moors or Mauritanie nation, being infidels & unchristened people, was now of late besieged a great time by Don Ferdinand and Elisabeth his wife, king and queene of Spaine, Arragon, and Castile. And the said infidels, by reason of siege brought to great penurie and miserie, for lacke of vittels & necessarie viands, perceiving that all succours were clerelie stopped and excluded from them, and so brought into bitter despaire of aid, or comfort, after long consultation had amongst them, determined to render themselves and their citie to the said king upon diuerse covenants and conditions, and thereupon sent to him diuerse senators of the citie fullie instructed of their mind and purpose.

The king of Spaine and his counsell, considering and sagelie pondering that winter approached & was at hand, and that the christian host had long lien in the fieldes in soe tempests and grauous stormes (which they gladlie suffered for Christes sake, in whose cause and quarell they made that present waere) remembering also that the citie was of such riches, fame, and estimation, that it contained an hundred and fiftie thousand houses of name, beside other small houses and cotages; & that it was replenished with people innumerable, and furnished with three score thousand good fighting men; and finally, perceiving that he might in soe soon the possession of the same, without assault or effusion of christian blood,

Admiral Bolton made an oration to the king of Spain.

The duke of Saronie sent forth for aid to king Henrie to win Sluis.

The duke of Saronie sent forth for aid to king Henrie to win Sluis.

The duke of Saronie sent forth for aid to king Henrie to win Sluis.

1491.

Don Alu-
ar was
borne to the
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2nd flane.

An. Reg. 6.

bloud by the aduise of his counsell, he accepted, ac-
corded, and agreed to their offers the twentie and fift
of Nouember, in the yere of Christs incarnation
1491, then being the daie of saint Katharine.

By the which composition, the roiall citie of Gra-
nada, with all the holds and fortresses of the realme,
and the towers and castels of Alpuſſarare was reu-
dered into the hands of the said king of Spaine; and
that the king of Granada should become subiect and
vassall to the king of Spaine, and to relinquish and
forſake the vsurped name of a king for euer: and
that all the men of warre should franklie depart
out of the citie, and none there to remaine, but artifi-
cers and merchants: and all these things to be done
before the five & twentieth day of Januarie. But the
time was prevented, for the Moors on the first day
of Januarie sent six hundred notable personages
out of the citie with their children for hostages into
the campe of the king of Spaine, to the intent that
he should put no diffidence nor mistrust in the citi-
zens, but that he might peaceablie and quietlie with
his people enter into the citie, and take possession of
the same. The which hostages were distributed and
lodged in the tents and pavillions of the Spanishe
armie.

The third of Januarie, the lord of Guiterins Car-
denes, great master & gouernor of Lion, of the order
of S. James, departed from the armie, noble and
triumphantlie accompanied with five hundred horſe-
men, and three thousand footmen toward the citie.
And as he approached nere to the suburbs, there issued
out diuers noble and valiant captieins of the Moors,
making to him humble obeisance, and conducted
him to a palace adioining to the citie, called the pa-
lace of Anararas, and from thence conueied him to
the palace roiall of the same citie called Alhambra,
whereof hee took quiet and peaceable possession,
to the behoofe of the king of Spaine, whome the
Moors promised and confessed to take and obteine,
as their king and soueraigne lord. And in signe
and token that they thought in their hearts, that
which they promised by mouth; they prostrated and
humbled themselves before the said great master,
and with dolorous lamentation and salt teares deli-
uered to him the keyes of the said palace.

When he had the keyes, and was also possessed of
that strong and magnificent place, he first of all dis-
patched the house of all the Moors and pagans, and
appointed a garrison of valiant and noble christians,
to keepe and defend the same: and the same day cau-
sed a masse solemne to be celebrate in a place of the
same palace called Melchita; which done and finished,
he took possession of all the fortresses, towers, and
holds to the said citie and towne of Granada belon-
ging or pertaining. And then he caused to be erec-
ted and set vp on the highest tower of the palace
(where it might best be seene) the signe and token of
the crosse, whereon Christ for vs sinners suffered his
bitter passion. At the raising whereof were present
an archbishop, and three bishops, with other prelates,
which deuoutlie sang this anthem: *O crux, auſpex
vnicus.*

The said crosse was three times deuoutlie liſſed,
and at euerie exaltation, the Moors being within the
citie, roied, howled, & cried, prostrating themselves,
groueling on the ground, & making dolorous noise
and pittifull outcries. The armie encamped without
the citie, seeing these things, humbled themselves
meeklie before the crosse, rendering to almightie
God their most humble and heartie thanks. The
king of Spaine, being mounted on horsebacke, per-
fecting the erection of the crosse, descended from his
sennet, and knieled downe on the bare ground; and
rendered to God, laud, honour, and praise; for that

noble and triumphant victorie. And after that the
crosse was thus set vp on the high tower, the banner
of saint James, and the kings banners were pitched
and fixed vpon the turrets and pinacles of the citie;
an herald standing in the top of the high tower, pro-
claiming and publishing these wordes following.

Saint James, saint James, saint James; Castile, >>
Castile, Castile; Granada, Granada, Granada. By >>
high and mightie power, lord Ferdinando and Eli- >>
zabeth, king and queene of Spaine, haue ioined from >>
the infidels and Moors the citie and realme of Gra- >>
nada, through the helpe of our Lord God, & the most >>
glozious virgin his mother, and the vertuous apostle >>
S. James, and the holie father Innocent the eight, >>
together with the aids and succours of the great pre- >>
lates, knights, and other gentlemen bozne, and com- >>
mons of their realmes and countries. When the
herald had finished, the artillerie sounded, the min-
strels blew, the people applauded and clapped their
hands for gladnesse, that the earth seemed to tremble
and quake vnderneath them.

After this ioy ended, there issued out of the citie in
maner of procession, seven hundred and mo christi-
ans, as well men, as women and children, which had
bin there prisoners and liued in bonds, seruitude, and
miserable captiuitie, whereof the most part were na-
ked, wounded, and in maner famished for hunger.
To whome the king (of his great liberaltie) gaue
both apparell, blands and monie. These poore prisoners
comming out of the citie sang this psalme; *Bene-
dictus Dominus Deus Israel, qui visitauit & fecit redem-
ptionem plebi suae*; Blessed be the Lord God of Israel,
which hath visited and redeemed his people. And so
singing forth the psalme, went to the church of saint
Faith, which the king Ferdinando had caused to be
most sumptuouslie edified during the time of the
siege, being distant from Granada two or three
miles.

Now as this poore procession passed by the host,
one espied his sonne, and another saw his brother;
and the son perceived the father, and the father found
the daughter, which were now deliuered out of mise-
rable seruitude and bondage. But they could not re-
fraine nor bysole themselves from disfilling of teares
and sobbing, seeing their parents and kinfolk reso-
red to libertie & freedome. And when these people had
said their orisons in the church of saint Faith; and
were come to the armie, they knieled before the king,
killed his feet, crying with one voice; God grant to
the king of Spaine euerlasting life. The next daie
after the lord Cuenus de Mendoza, earle of Endu-
glie, was by the king made captieine of the house
roiall and principall tower of the citie of Granada,
called Alhambra, hauing to him appointed and assign-
ed one thousand men of armes, and two thousand
footmen. Vnto the which earle, the great master deli-
uered the keyes of the said palace and tower, and o-
ther ports and fortresses.

On saturday the eight daie of Januarie, in the
60 yere of our Lord 1492, Ferdinando II. of Spaine
& Granada, the queene, & their eldest son Don John
prince of Spaine, the lord Peter of Mendoza, the
archbishop of Toledo, the patriarch of Alexandria, the
cardinall of Spaine, the lord Peter prince of Lion,
the duke of Cadixan, the marques of Villena & Poia,
the erle of Caprie, the erle of Uienra of Cifuentes,
and manie other earles, barons, and nobles, whereof
some were Englishmen (whose names I haue not)
with ten thousand horsemen, and fiftie thousand foot-
men, with great triumph and roialtie entered into
the citie of Granada, and thereof took real possession
& seazine, and caused masse to be song in a great
place called Melchita, where hee caused a solemne
church to be builded in the honour of God and his
mother.

The Spanis-
ards reioicing
& triumphing
after the con-
quest of the
Moors.

The lord Ce-
uenus de Men-
doza made
captieine of the
house roiall.

A great num-
ber of states
with their
traine enter
triumphantlie
into Granada
to take real
possession.

br. Fl. ex 1
1g. 866

br. Fl. ex
dw. Hall, in
en. 7. 10. xiiij.

Granado
some from
ye Turkes
Saracens

The danger-
ous people
humilie sub-
mit themselves
to the kings
bargement, &
deliuer by the
keyes of the
citie.

ye citie of
anado con-
ted an im-
d and fine
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ed a small
jung.

Remanet of
the Spanish
was giuing
at thens for
name.

mother. When masse was ended, the king and quene repaired to the palace roiall of Alhambra, the which was wonderfull, both in qualitie & sumptuous building, which house was adorne with rich arras and tapestrie in euerie chamber.

The carle of Lendiglie capteine of the palace, feasted the king and quene, and all the nobilitie at his owne costes and charges. So the king of Spaine there remained till the countrie was reduced into a good conformitie and order, and diuerse fortresses and castels were made for the safegard and tuition of the realme. And because this victorie obtained, was to the glorie of God, and to the publike wealth of all christianitie, the said cardinall of Cantuarbie declared to the people, that the king had sent him and the other nobles thither that day, not onelie to notify and declare to them the vertue of the fact, but also to exhort them to giue lauds and praaisings to almighty God, for deliuering so goodlie a citie, so plentifull a countrie, and so notable a region out of the hands of his enemies, and persecutors of his faith and religion. Which declaration ended, the archbishop with the cleargie & the nobles with the communaltie, in most deuout manner went in generall procession, rendering to God for this great atchieued enterprise, glorie, honour, and most reuerent thanks.]

* Domestie doctor of Oxorton, of whom mention is made in the beginning of this historie.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 866.

Sir James Parker by casualty at these mortalitie wounded. Two pardoners set on the pilloie.

Robert Fabian.

In the moneth of Maie next and immediatlie following this triumph, was holden a great and ballant within the kings palace of Shene, now named Richmond, the which indured by the space of a moneth, sometime within the said palace, and sometime without, upon the graine before the gate of the said palace. In which losses sir James Parker knight, running against a gentleman named Hugh Waghian, by casualty was so fore hurt and bruised, that he died thereof. This yeare also two pardoners were set on the pilloie in Coznehill thre market daies, for forging of false pardons, wherewith they had deceived the people, & got much monie. And for that one of them had feined himselfe to be a priest, he was sent to Newgate, where he died: the other was driven out of London with shame enough. Also this yeare was Robert Fabian thiriffe of London & alderman, who made a chronicle of England & of France, beginning at the creation of the world, and ending in the third yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, which booke is now imprinted to the end of Richard the third.

Parimilian king of Romans, intending to be reuenged on the Frenchmen for the manie iniuries done to him of late (and especiallie for that king Charles had forsaken his daughter ladie Margaret, and purposed to take to wife the ladie Anne of Britaine) because he was not rich enough to mainteine the warre of himselfe, he sent his ambassadour, one James Contibald, a trian of great wisdom, to require the king of England to take his part against the French king, making diuers great offers on his owne behalfe, if it should please him so to do.

King Henrie and Parimilian agree to plague the Frenchmen.

Anno. Reg. 7.

The cause of Parimilians malice against Charles of France.

King Henrie no lesse desirous than Parimilian to put the French king to trouble, and chieflie to aid the Britains in the extremitie of their businesse, gladly consented to the request of Parimilian; and promised to prepare an armie with all speed, and in time convenient to passe the seas with the same, and invade the French territories. In this verie season, Charles the French king received the ladie Anne of Britaine, as his pupill into his hands, and with great solemnitie hir espoused, hauing with hir in dower, the whole duchie of Britaine.

John was Parimilian in great chafe toward the French king, not onelie for that he had refused his daughter, but also had bereuen him of his assured wife the said ladie Anne, contrarie to all right and

conscience. Therefore he sent unto king Henrie, desiring him with all speed to passe the seas with his armie, that they might pursue the warre against their aduersarie, with fire, sword and blood. King Henrie hearing this, and hauing no mistrust in the promise of Parimilian, with all speed leued an armie, and rigged his nauie of ships. And when all things were readie, he sent his almonier Christopher Urswike, and sir John Kisele knight unto Parimilian, to certifye him, that the king was in a readinesse, and would arrive at Calis, as soone as he should be aduertised that Parimilian and his men were readie to ioine with him.

These ambassadours coming into Flanders, perceived that Parimilian was neither purueied of men, monie, nor armes, nor of any other thing necessary for the setting forth of warre; sauing onlie that his will was good, although his power was small. King Henrie being aduertised hereof by letters sent to him from his said ambassadours, was soze disquieted in his mind, and was almost brought to his wits end, to consider how his companions in arms should thus faile him at need; but taking aduise of his counsell, at length he determined not to stay his prepered iourne, and therefore he so increased his numbers before he took ship, that he with his owne power might be able to match with his aduersaries. When he had thus gathered and assembled his armie, he sailed to Calis the first day of October, and there incamped himselfe for a space, to see all his men and prouision in such readinesse, as nothing should be wanting.

In this place all the armie had knowledge by the ambassadours (which were newlie returned out of Flanders) that Parimilian could not set forth any armie, for lacke of monie: and therefore there was no succour to be looked for at his hand. But the Englishmen were nothing dismayd therewith, as they that iudged themselves able enough to match the Frenchmen without the helpe of any other nation. In the meane season, although the French king had an armie togither, both for number and furniture able to trie in battell with the Englishmen: yet he made semblance as though he desired nothing more than peace, as the thing much more profitable to him than warre: considering the minds of the Britains were not yet wholly settled.

And againe, he was called into Italie to make warre against the king of Naples, whose kingdome he pretended to appertene to him by lawfull succession from his father king Lewis, to whose Keine duke of Anjou last king of Sicill, of the house of Anjou, had transferred his right to that kingdome (as partly before ye haue heard) wrongfullie and without cause dis inheriting his cosine, godsonne and heire, Keine duke of Lorraine and Bar. The lord Chordes hauing commission from his master the French king to make some entrie into a treatie for peace with the king of England, wrote letters to him before he passed ouer to Calis, signifieng to him that if it might stand with his pleasure to send some of his counsellors to the borders of the English pale adjoining to France, there should be so reasonable conditions of peace proffered, that he doubted not but his grace might with great honour breake by his campe, and retire his armie home againe.

The king of England considering that Britaine was clerelie lost, and past recouerie, and that Parimilian for lacke of monie, and mistrust which he had in his owne subjects, late still like a doymonle doing nothing; and herewith weighing that it should be honorable to him, and profitable to his people to determine this great warre without bloodshed, appointed the bishop of Excester, and Giles lord Dandenie to passe

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The conclu
of peace
betweene the
English and
French.

An. Dom. 1491.

Henrie, de-
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Flanders, Ar-
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An. Reg. 7.

Commis-
sioners
sent over
to Calis
to see
the land
peace.

Callogne be-
sought by the
Englishmen
during him-
self present.

by the
English pre-
sented warre
king peace.

John
Sauage
knight, the
which, as he
and sir John
Killicke rode
about the wals
of the towne,
to view in what
place it might
be easilist
assaulted, was
compassed about
by certeine
Frenchmen that
were issued out
of the towne,
and there staine
standing at
defense, and
vnterlie refusing
to yeld him-
selfe as prisoner.
But sir
John Killicke
escaped by
slinging alwaie.
When the
king was thus
returned to
Calis, he began
to smell a cer-
teine secret
smoke, which
was like to
turne to a
great flame,
without wise
foresight, and
good looking
to. For by the
craftie inuen-
tion, and diu-
elish imagi-
nation of the
ladie Margarete
duchesse of
Burgognie,
a new dole was
set vp in
Flanders, and
by a forged
name called
Richard Plant-
agenet second
sonne to
king Edward
the fourth, as
though he had
bene rai-
sed from death
to life.

Richard
Plantagenet
second sonne
of king Edward
the fourth.

The conclu-
sion of peace
betweene the
English and
French.

the seas to Calis, and so to commun with the
1000 Chordes of articles of peace, which toke effect as
after ye shall perceiue. In the meane time, whilest
the commissioners were communing of peace on
the marches of France, the king of England (as ye
haue heard) was arrived at Calis: from whence af-
ter all things were prepared for such a tournie, he re-
mained in foure battels forwarde, till he came nere
to the towne of Bullogne, & there pitched his tents
before it in a conuenient place for his purpose, mea-
ning to assaile the towne with his whole force & puis-
sance.

But there was such a strong garison of warlike
soldiers within that fortresse, and such plentie of ar-
tillerie, and necessarie munitions of warre, that the
holle of Englishmen assaulting the towne (as was
doubted) should be greater damage to the realme of
England, than the gaining thereof should be profit.
Wherfore the daileie shot of the kings battering pee-
ces brake the wals, and soze defaced them. But when
euerie man was readie to giue the assault, a sudden
rumor rose in the armie that peace was concluded;
which bruite as it was pleasant to the Frenchmen,
so was it displeasing to the Englishmen, because they
were prest and readie at all times to set on their en-
emies, and brought into great hope to haue bene in-
riched by the spoile and gaine to haue fallen to their
lots of their enemies goods, beside the glorious fame
of renowned victorie.

And therefore to be defrauded heretof by an un-
profitable peace, they were in great fume, and verie
angrie: and namelie, for that diuerse of the capteins
to set themselves and their bandes the more gorgeously
forwarde, had borrowed large summes of monie,
and for the repaiment had mortgaged their lands and
possessions, and some happilie had made through sale
thereof, trusting to recouer all againe by the gaine
of this tournie. Wherfore offended with this sudden
conclusion of peace, they spake euill both of the king
and his counsell. But the king like a wise prince as-
suaged their displeasure in part with excusing the
matter, alleging that losse and bloudshed was like
to issue both of capteins and souldiers, if the assault
should haue bene giuen to the vtterance, especiallie
sith the towne was so well furnished with men and
munitions. When he had somewhat appeased their
minds with these and manie other reasons, he re-
turned backe againe to Calis.

There were not manie of the English armie lost
at this siege of Bullogne, & few of no men of name,
saying that valiant capteine sir John Sauage
knight, the which, as he and sir John Killicke rode a-
bout the wals of the towne, to view in what place
it might be easilist assaulted, was compassed about
by certeine Frenchmen that were issued out of the
towne, and there staine standing at defense, and vt-
terlie refusing to yeld him- selfe as prisoner. But sir
John Killicke escaped by slinging alwaie. When the
king was thus returned to Calis, he began to smell a cer-
teine secret smoke, which was like to turne to a
great flame, without wise foresight, and good looking
to. For by the craftie inuen- tion, and diu- elish imagi-
nation of the ladie Margarete duchesse of Burgognie,
a new dole was set vp in Flanders, and by a forged
name called Richard Plantagenet second sonne to
king Edward the fourth, as though he had bene rai-
sed from death to life.

The newes heretof somewhat troubled him, so that
he was with better will content to receive the hono-
rable conditions of peace offered of his enemy: be-
cause he should not be constrained at one time to
make warre both at home, and also in a forren re-
gion. The conclusion of this agreement made with
the Frenchmen, was this: That this peace should

continue both their liues; and that the French king
should pay to the king of England a certeine summe
of monie in hand, according as the commissioners
should appoint for his charges sustained in this tour-
nie. Which as the king certified the mayo: of London
by his letters the ninth of Nouember) amounted to
the summe of seven hundred fiftie and five thousand
duchats: the which is of sterling monie, one hundred
soure scoze and six thousand, two hundred and fiftie
pounds. It was also concluded that he should yeare-
lie (for a certeine space) paie or cause to be paid, for
the monie that the king had spent & expended in the de-
fence of the Britains five & twentie thousand crowns.

Which yearelie tribute the French king (after-
wards continuallie occupied in the wars of Italie)
yearelie satisfied & paid so long as the king lived,
who after he had taried a conuenient space at Calis,
tooke the sea, and arrived at Douer, and so came to
his manour of Grenewich. Immediatlie after his
returne thus into England, he elected into the fel-
lowship of saint George, commonlie called the order
of the garter, Alphonse duke of Calabze, sonne and
heire to Ferdinando king of Naples. Christopher
Arkwike the kings almoner was sent to him into
Naples with the garter, collar, mantell, and other
habillments appertaining to the companions of that
noble order. The which was reuerentlie receiued of
the said duke, who in a solemne presence reuelled
himselfe with that habit, supposing by the counte-
nance of that apparell to be able to resist his aduersa-
rie the French king, sith he was now made a friend
and companion in order with the king of England:
but that little auailed him, as after it was right ap-
parant. And here, because in sumorie actions we haue
sene and obserued the French kings subtilties, his
inconstancie, lacke of truth, honestie, and kinglike
modestie; we maie be bold to set downe the descrip-
tion of his person, as we find the same readie & alone
to hand; that by a view thereof we maie conclude
that his properties were proportioned to his person.

It is verie certeine (saith mine author) that king
Charles from his infancy was of complexion verie
delicate, and of bodie vnfound and diseased, of small
 stature, and of face (if the aspect and dignitie of his
eyes had bene taken alwaie) fowle and deformed, his
other members bearing such equall proportion, that
he seemed more a monster than a man: he was not
onelie without all knowledge of good sciences, but
scarcelie he knew the distinct characters of letters:
his mind desirous to command, but more proper to
anie other thing, for that being inuironed alwaies
with his familiars and fauourits, he retained with
them no maiestie or authoritie: he reiected all affaires
and businesse, and yet if he did debate and consider in
anie, he shewed a weake discretion and iudgement.
And if he had any thing in him that carried appa-
rance of merit or praise, yet being thoroughlie weied and
founde, it was found further off from vertue than
from vice: he had an inclination to glorie, but it was
tempered more with rashnesse and furie than with
moderation and counsell: his liberalities were with-
out discretion, measure, or distinction: immouea-
ble oftentimes in his purposes, but that was rather an
ill grounded obstinacie than constancie. And that
which manie call bountie, deserued more reasonable
in him the name of coldnesse & slackenesse of spirit.]

This yeare the two and twentieth of June, was
borne at Grenewich the lord Henrie, second sonne
to this king Henrie the seuenth, which was created
duke of Yorke, & after prince of Wales, and in con-
clusion succeeded his father in gouernance of this
realme, by the name of Henrie the eight, father to
our gracions souereigne queene Elizabeth. But now
to returne to the new found sonne of king Edward,
continued

Alphonse duke
of Calabze
made knight
of the garter.

Abr. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 47.
The French
king desired
bed.

The birth of
Henrie duke
of Yorke, after
crowned king
by the name of
Henrie the
eight.

1492
The malice of
the duchesse of
Burgogne to
the line of
Lancaster.

conured by mens policies from death to life: ye shall
vnderstand that the duchesse of Burgogne euer desir-
ing to cast a scorpion in the bosome of king Henrie,
not for anie displeasure by him towards hir wrought
or done; but onelie because he was descended of the
house of Lancaster, being an enimie to hir line, be-
gan to spin a new web, like a spider that daile wea-
ueth when his kall is tozine: for after that the earle of
Lincolne, which was by hir set forth, had missed the
cushin, and lost both horse and spurres, he could not
be quiet, untill he had practised a new deuise to put
king Henrie to trouble. And as the diuell prouideth
venomous sauce to corrupt stomachs, so for hir pur-
pose she espied a certeine yong man of visage beau-
tiful, of countenance demure, and of wit craftie
and subtil.

Perkin war-
becke & coun-
terfeit duke of
Yorke.

This youths name was Peter Warbecke, one for
his faintnesse of stomach of the Englishmen in de-
rision called Perkin Warbecke, according to the
dutch phrase, which change the name of Peter to Per-
kin, of yonglings and little boies, which for want of
age, lacke of strength, and manlike courage, are not
thought worthe of the name of a man. This yong
man traueilling many countries, could speake Eng-
lish and diuerse other languages; & for his basenesse
of birth and stocke, was almost unknowne of all
men; and diuened to seeke liuing from his childhood,
was constrained to go and traueill thorough manie
countries. The duchesse glad to haue got so meet an
organ for the conuensing of hir inuented purpose, as
one not unlike to be taken and reputed for the duke
of Yorke, somtime to hir brother king Edward, which
was called Richard, kept him a certeine space with
hir priuile.

The readie
wit of Per-
kin to learne
all that made
for his prefer-
ment to hono-
r.

Besides that, the with such diligence instructed
him both in the secrets and common affaires of the
realme of England, and of the linage, descent and
order of the house of Yorke, that like a good scholer,
not forgetting his lesson, he could tell all that was
taught him promptlie without anie flackering or
faile in his words. And besides that, he kept such a
princelie countenance, and so counterfeited a maiestie
roiall, that all men in manner did firmelie beleue,
that he was extracted of the noble house and familie
of the dukes of Yorke. For suerlie, it was a gift
giuen to that noble progenie, as of nature planted
in the rof, that all the sequels of that line and stocke
did studie and deuise how to be equiualent in ho-
nour and fame with their forefathers and noble pre-
decessors.

The emulation
of the dukes
of Yorke.

When the duchesse had framed hir cloath meet for
the market, she was informed that king Henrie pre-
pared to make warre against Charles the French
king. Wherefore she, thinking that the time serued
well for the setting forth of hir malicious inuention,
sent this Perkin hir new inuented matomet, first
into Portugale, and so craftilie into the countrie of
Ireland; to the intent that he, being both wittie and
wille, might inuegle the rude Irishmen (being at
those daies moze inclined to rebellion than to reason-
able order) to a new seditious commotion. Shortly
after his arrivall in Ireland, whether by his shrewd
wit, or the malicious exhortation of the savage Irish
gouernours, he entred so farre in credit with the peo-
ple of that Ile, that his words were taken to be as
true, as he vntrue with false demonstrations set
forth and published them.

Perkin war-
becke arri-
ueth in Ire-
land.

The French king aduertised hercof, then being in
displeasure with king Henrie, sent into Ireland for
Perkin, to the intent to send him against king Hen-
rie, which was then inuading France (as ye before
haue heard.) Perkin thought himselfe aloft, now
that he was called to the familiaritie of kings, and
therefore with all diligence sailed into France, and

comming to the kings presence, was of him roiallie
receiued, and after a princelie fashion interteined,
and had a gard to him assigned, whereof was gouer-
nour the lord Congreshall: and to him being at Pa-
ris, reposed sir George Peuill bassard, sir John
Tailor, Rowland Robinson, and an hundred Eng-
lish rebels. Now, after that a peace (as before is
said) was concluded betwixt the French king, and
the king of England, the French king dismissed
Perkin, and would no longer keepe him.

But some haue said (which were there attending
on him) that Perkin, fearing least the French king
should deliuer him to the king of England, beguiled
the lord Congreshall, and fled from Paris by night.
But whether the French king knew of his depar-
ture or not, the truth is, that he being in maner in de-
spaire, returned to his first founder the ladie Sparga-
ret, of whome he was so welcomed to all outward
appearance, that it seemed he could not haue reioiced
at anie earthlie thing moze, than the did at his pre-
sence, and (as he could well dissemble) the made sem-
blance as though she had neuer seene him before that
time. Now as she had soze longed to know not once,
but diuerse times in open audience, and in soleme
presence, she willed him to declare and shew by what
means he was preserved from death and destruction,
and in what countries he had wandered and sought
friendship; and finally, by what chance of fortune he
came to hir court.

This did she, to the intent that by the open decla-
ration of these fained phantasies, the people might be
persuaded to giue credit, and beleue that he was the
true begotten sonne of hir brother king Edward.
And after this, she assigned to him a gard of thirtie
persons in murrie and blew, and highlie honoured
him as a great estate, and called him the white rose
of England. The nobilitie of Flanders did to him all
reuerence. [All which port and pompe exhibited in
most soleme sort, he was well content to take vpon
him, forgetting the basenesse of his birth, and glory-
eng in the counterfeited title of honour: much like the
saw that would be called a swan, or like the crow
that trimming hir selfe with the stolne feathers of a
peacocke, would seeme Junos bird; as the poet sayth:

mentito nomine cygnam
Graculus appellat sese, cornicula plumas
Pauonis furata cepit pauo ipsa vidori.

In this yeare was one Hugh Clopton master of
London, and of the staple, a gentleman, borne at
Clopton village, halfe a mile from Stratford vpon
Auen by nozth, who continued (during his life) a ba-
cheler: he builded the great and sumptuous bidge of
Stratford vpon Auen, at the east end of the towne.
This bidge hath foureteene great arches, and a long
cawse with smaller arches, all made of stone, new
walled on each side. At the west end of the bidge, he
builded a faire large chappell. Toward the south end
of that towne, & nere vnto the same, a pretie house of
brikke and timber, where he laie, and ended his life.
He glased the chancell of the parish church in that
towne, and made a waie of foure miles long, thre
miles from Alesburie towards London, and one mile
beyond Alesburie.]

But to returne to Perkin: the brute of whome
in England, blowne throughout the realme, soze dis-
quieted the people, in somuch that not onelie the me-
ner sort, but also manie of the nobles and worthie
personages beleued and published it abroad, that all
was true which was reported of him. And not onelie
they that were in sanctuaries, but also manie other
that were fallen in debt, assembled in a companie,
and passed ouer the seas into Flanders, to their coun-
terfeit duke of Yorke, othertwise rightlie named
Perkin Warbecke. Truelie the realme of England
was

Perkin war-
becke & coun-
terfeit duke of
Yorke.

Ano Reg. 8.

Perkin coun-
terfeited the
duke of Yorke
by his cunning-
g.

Perkin was
used by the
duchess of
Burgogne
the wife of
the king of
England.

Perkins true
image.

Perkin was
sent to Philip
archduke of
Burgonie.

Perkin was
sent to Philip
archduke of
Burgonie.

In Dom. 1492.
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of the rumors
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Anno Reg. 8.

Perkin com-
mencing the
take of York
from cummyn-
g.

Perkins true
image.

Archbishops
sent to Philip
archduke of
Burgonie.

Such long
and looked
for alteration
of laws.

The sum of
D. wariaus
speech to the
archduke.

was in maner diuided (with the rumor and vaine
fable spred abroad of this twise bozne duke) into par-
takings and contrarie factions. And some of the no-
ble men conspired together, purposing to aid the foze-
said Perkin, as the man whome they reputed to be
the verie sonne of king Edward; and that the matter
was not feigned, but altogether true, iust, and not
imagined of anie malicious pretense of euill pur-
pose.

And bicause the thing was weightie, and required
great aid and assistance, therefore they determined
to send messengers vnto the ladie Margaret, to
know when Richard duke of Yorke might conueni-
entlie come into England; to the intent that they be-
ing thereof certified, might be in a readinesse to helpe
and succour him at his arriual. So by the common
consent of the conspirators, sir Robert Clifford
knight, and William Barleie, were sent into Flan-
ders, which discouered to the duchess all the secret in-
tents and priuie meanings of the friends and fau-
tors of the new found duke. The duchess gladielie re-
ceiued this message, and after she had heard their
errand, she brought the messenger to the sight of
Perkin, who so well counterfeited the gesture, coun-
tenance, and maner of Richard duke of Yorke, that
sir Robert Clifford beleued verelie, that he was the
second sonne of king Edward; and therefore wrote
a letter of credit into England to his complices: and
to put them out of doubt, he affirmed that he knew
him to be king Edwards sonne by his face, and o-
ther lineaments of his bodie.

Vpon this letter, the chiefe doers in this businesse
spred the signification thereof abroad through the
realme, to the intent to stirre the people to some new
tumult and commotion; but it was done by such a
secret craft, that no man could tell who was the au-
thor of that rumor. The king perceived that this
vaine fable was not banished out of the mad brains
of the common people. To prouide therefore against
all perils that might thereby insue, he sent certeine
knights that were skilfull men of warre, with com-
petent bands of soldiers, to keepe the sea coasts and
hauens, to vnderstand who came in and went out of
the realme; doubting least some great conspiracie
were in helowing against him. He also sent into the
low countries certeine persons, to learne the truth
of this forged dukes progenie, where some of them
that were so sent, comming to Tourne, got know-
lege that he was bozne in that cite, of base linage,
and named Perkin Warbecke.

The king then aduertised not onclie by his espi-
als vpon their returne, but also from other his tru-
ste friends, determined with all speed to haue the
fraud published, both in England and forren parts:
and for the same cause sent sir Edward Poynings
knight, & sir William Warram doctor of the lawes
vnto Philip archduke of Burgonie, and to his coun-
cellors (bicause he was not of age able to gouerne of
himselfe) to signifie to him and them, that the yong
man, being with the ladie Margaret, had falselie and
vnruefullie usurped the name of Richard duke of
Yorke, which long before was murdered with his
brother Edward in the Tower of London, by the
commandement of their vncle king Richard, as ma-
nie men then liuing could testifie.

The ambassadors comming to the court of Phi-
lip the archduke, were honozable interteined of him
and of his counsell, and willed to declare the effect of
their message. William Warram made to them
an eloquent oration, and in the later end somewhat
trueibed against the ladie Margaret, not sparing to
declare, how she now in hir later age had brought
forth (within the space of a few peares together) two
detestable monstres, that is to saie, Lambert (of

whom yee heard before) and this same Perkin War-
becke, and being conceiued of these two great babes,
was not deliuered of them in eight or nine moneths
as nature requireth; but in one hundred and eightie
moneths, for both these at the lest were fiftene yeers
of age, yet she would be brought in bed of them, and
shew them openlie; and when they were newlie crept
out of hir wombe, they were no infants but lustie
yownglings, and of age sufficient to bid battell to
kings. Although these talents angred the ladie Mar-
garet to the hart, yet Perkin was more vered with
the things declared in this oration, and especiallie be-
cause his cloaked iuggling was brought to light.

The duchess intending to cast hot sulphur into the
new kindled fire, determined with might and maine
to arme and set forward prettie Perkin against the
king of England. When the ambassadors had done
their message, and that the archdukes counsell had
long debated the matter; they made answer, that to
haue the king of Englands loue, the archduke and
they would neither aid nor assist Perkin nor his com-
plices in anie cause or quarrell. Yet notwithstanding
if the ladie Margaret, persisting in hir rooted malice
towards the king of England, would be to him aid-
ing and helping, it was not in their power to with-
stand it; for bicause in the lands assigned to hir for hir
dower, the might franklie and fraile order all things
at hir will and pleasure, without contradiction of a-
nie other gouernour.

After that the ambassadors were returned with
this answer, the king straight sent forth certeine espi-
als into Flanders, which should feigne themselves
to haue fled to the duke of Yorke; and thereby search
out the whole intent of the conspiracie, and after
what sort they meant to proceed in the same. Others
were sent also to intise sir Robert Clifford and Wil-
liam Barleie, to returne into England, promising to
them pardon of all their offenses, and high rewards,
for obeying the kings request. They that were sent,
did so earnestlie and prudentlie applie their businesse,
that they brought all things to passe at their otone de-
sires. For first they learned who were the chiefe con-
spirators, and after perswaded sir Robert Clifford to
giue ouer that enterpryse, which had no grounded
staie to rest vpon. Albeit William Barleie at the
first would not leave off, but continued his begun
attempt; till after two peares, he repenting him of
his follie, & hauing pardon granted him of the king,
returned home into his native countrie.

When the king had knowledge of the chiefe cap-
teins of this conspiracie (by the ouerture of his espi-
als which were returned) he caused them to be appe-
hended, and brought to London before his presence.
Of the which the chiefe were John Ratcliffe, lord
Fitz-Water, sir Simon Montford, sir Tho. Whithwaits
knights, William Daubencie, Robert Ratcliffe,
Thomas Cressenoz, and Thomas Astwood. Also cer-
teine preests & religious men, as sir William Rich-
ford doctor of diuinitie, and sir Thomas Poines, both
friers of saint Dominicks order, doctor William
Sutton, sir William Worsleie deane of Paules,
Robert Laiborne, and sir Richard Lefele. Other
which were guiltie, hearing that their fellows were
apprehended, fled and took sanctuary. The other that
were taken were condemned, of the which sir Simon
Montford, Robert Ratcliffe, and William Dauber-
nie were beheaded.

Some had their pardons, and the preests also for
their order sake; but yet few of them liued long af-
ter. The lord Fitz-Water parboned of life, was
conueied to Calis, and there laid in hold, & after lost
his head; bicause he went about to corrupt his kee-
pers with rewards, that he might escape, intending
(as was thought) to haue gone to Perkin. Thus by
the

Anno Reg. 9.
Espials sent
into Flanders
from the king
for a subtil
politic.

The conspi-
ring fantasie
of the coun-
terfeit duke
of yorke.

Abr. Flem.

the policie and subtilie deuise of the king, practised to the point by his espials, the finewes of this conspiracie was rent in sunder. So that the malicious ladie Margaret was not a little swolne with indignation when she saw the course of hir deuise (now that it had passed so far as that it was knowne to people on this side and beyond the seas) stopped, and the confederacie (whereof she speciallie trusted) dissolved. Yet notwithstanding, as women will not (to die for it) giue ouer an enterprise, which of an envious purpose they attempt; so she put hir irons afresh into the fier to set hir hatred forward: whome a while we will leaue at worke, and shew some doings betwene England and Flanders.]

King Henrie taking displeasure with the king of Romans, for that he kept not touch in aiding him against the French king, and partlie displeased with the Flemings, but speciallie with the ladie Margaret, for keeping and setting forward Perkin Warbeck, not onelie banished all Flemish wares and merchandizes out of his dominions, but also restrained all English merchants from their repaire and traffike into anie of the lands and territories of the king of Romans, or of the archduke Philip, sonne to the same king of the Romans, causing the mart to be kept at Calis, of all English merchandizes and commodities. Wherefore the said king and his sonne banished out of their lands and seignories all English clothes, yarne, tin, lead, and other commodities of this realme. The restraint made by the king forced hindered the merchants aduenturers; for they had no occupying to beare their charges, and to support their credit withall.

And that most greued them, the Casserlings being at libertie, brought to the realme such wares as they were wont, & so serued their customers through out the realme. Whereupon there ensued a riot by the seruants of the mercers, haberdashers, & clothworkers in the citie of London, the tuesday before saint Edwards day. For they perceiuing what hinderance grew to their maisters, in that they were not able so well to keepe them as before they had done, assembled together in purpose to reuenge their malice on the Casserlings, & so came to the Stilliard, & began to rife & spoile such chambers & warehouses as they could get into. So that the Casserlings had much adoe to withstand them, & keepe them back out of their gates, which with helpe of carpenters, smiths, and other that came to them by water out of Southwarke, they shored & so fortified, that the multitude of the seruants and apprentices, being assembled, could not preuaile.

At length came the maior with a number of men, defensible weaponed, to remoue the force; at whose approach those riotous persons fled auaite like a flocke of sheepe. But diuerse of them were apprehended, and upon inquirie made before the kings commissioners, about foure score seruants & apprentices were found to be conspired together, and two: none not to reueale it; of whom some of the chiefe beginners were committed to the Towre, and there long continued. But in conclusion, because none of their maisters, nor a nie one housholder was found culpable, the king of his clemencie pardoned their offense, and restored them to libertie. [For he thought it no credit to his crowne to take vengeance of such sillie soules by seruic of death, whom in clemencie pardoning he might restore to a reformed life.]

¶ On the two & twentieth of Februarie in this yere were arreigned in the Guildhall of London foure persons, Thomas Wagnall, John Scot, John Heath, and John Herington, the which were sanctuarie men of saint Martins le grand in London, and latelie before were taken out of the said sanctuarie, for forging of seditious bills, to the slander of the king, & some of

his counsell, for the which three of them were iudged to die; and the fourth named Wagnall, pleaded to be restored to sanctuarie: by reason whereof he was reprieved to the Towre till the next terme: and on the six and twentieth of Februarie, the other three with a Fleming, and a yeoman of the crowne, were all five executed at Tiborne. ¶ On the eight and twentieth of Aprill John Woughton widow was burnt in Smithfield, for holding certeine opinions of John Wickliffe. Wheat was sold at London at six pence the bushell, bate salt for three pence halfe penie the bushell, & anttwich salt was sold for six pence the bushell, white herrings nine shillings the barrell, red herrings at three shillings the cade, red sprats six pence the cade, & Calcoigne wine for six pounds the tun.]

Shortlie after sir Robert Cliford, partlie trusting on the kings promise, and partlie mistrusting the desperat begun enterprise, returned suddenly againe into England. The king certified before of his coming, went straight to the Towre of London the morow after the day of Epiphanie, & there taried till such time as sir Robert Cliford was there presented to his person. This was done for a policie, that if sir Robert accused anie of the nobilitie, they might be called thither without suspicion of anie enill, and their attached and late fall. Some thought also, that for a policie king Henrie sent sir Robert Cliford ouer as an espie, or else he would not so soon haue received him into fauour againe. Neuerthelesse, there were great presumptions that it was nothing so, for both was he in great danger after his begun attempt, and neuer was so much esteemed with the king afterward as he was before.

But this is true, upon his coming to the kings presence, he besought him of pardon, and obtained it; and therewith opened all the maner of the conspiracie, so far as he knew, and who were aiders, satours, and chiefe beginners of it; amongst whom he accused sir William Stanleie, whom the king had made his chiefe chamberleine, and one of his priue counsell. The king was soze to heare this, and could not be induced to beleue that there was so much bitterness in him, till by euident proofes it was tried against him. ¶ When the king caused him to be refreshed from his libertie in his owne chamber within the quadrat towre, and there appointed him by his priue counsell to be examined, in which examination he nothing denied, but wiselie and sagelie agreed to all things laid to his charge, if he were faultie therein.

The report is, that this was his offense. When communication was had betwixt him, and the aboue mentioned sir Robert Cliford, as concerning Perkin, which falselie usurped the name of R. Edwards sonne; sir William Stanleie said, that if he knew certeinlie that the yong man was the indubitate heire of king Edward the fourth, he would neuer fight or beare armour against him. This point argued, that he bare no hartie good will toward king Henrie as then. But what was the cause that he had continued some inward grudge towards the king; or how it chanced that the king had withdrawen his speciall fauor from him, manie haue doubted. Some indeed haue gessed, that sir William Stanleie, for the seruice which he shewed at Bosworth field, thought that all the benefitts which he received of the king to be farre vnder that which he had deserved, in preferring him not onelie the kings life; but also in obtaining for him the victorie of his enemies, so that his aduersarie was slaine in the field.

Wherefore desiring to be created earle of Chester, and therof denied, he began to disdaine the king. And one thing encouraged him much, which was the riches and treasure of king Richard, which he onlie possessed at the battell of Bosworth; by reason of which riches

Flemish
wares for-
bidden.

The mart
kept at Cal-
lis.

English com-
modities ban-
ished out of
Flanders.

A riot made
upon the Cas-
serlings.

Abt. Fl. ex I.S.
pag. 867.
Execution for
seditious bills
against the
kings person.

Wheat was
sold at Lon-
don at six
pence the
bushell.

1494
Anno Reg.

Police of
the king
against
Robert
Cliford.

Sir William
Stanleie a
favourite of
Perkin.

The office
of sir William
Stanleie.

Considered
of sir William
Stanleie's
merits and
services.

King Henrie
in a quarrelle.

1495
Sir William
Stanleie be-
came.

pag. 760.

John Stow
pag. 69.
The king and
his friends at
Bosworth
field kept at
the place.
The king
was
slain.

Rich. Grafon.

Anno Reg. 11.
John Stow
pag. 69.
The king and
his friends at
Bosworth
field kept at
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King Henrie
in a quarrell.

1495
Sir William
Stanley be-
haved.

Ex p. 760.

1494
Anno Reg. 10.

Notice of
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In Sow
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Shower to
beats in a
people that
a long.

Each Grafton.

Anno Reg. 11.
King Henrie
in a quarrell.
Sir Edward
Stanley
sent into Ire-
land with an
army.

riches and great power of men, he set naught by the king his sovereign lord and master. The king having thus an hole in his coat, doubted first what he should do with him; for loth he was to lose the favour of his brother the earle of Derby: and againe to pardon him, he feared least it should be an euill example to other, that should go about to attempt the like offense. And so at length, seueritie got the upper hand, & mercie was put backe, in so much that he was arraigned at Westminster and adiudged to die, and (according to that judgement) was brought to the Tower hill the sixteenth daie of Februarie, and there had his head stricken off.

[This was the end of Sir William Stanley the chiefest helper of King Henrie to the crowne at Bosworth field against King Richard the third, and who set the same crowne first upon the kings head, when it was found in the field trampled vnder feet. He was a man (while he liued) of great power in his countrie, and also of great wealth; in so much as the common fame ran, that there was in his castell of Holt found in ready coine, plate, and iewels, to the value of forty thousand markes or more, and his land and fees extended to three thousand pounds by yeare. Heuertheless all helped not; neither his good seruice in Bosworth field, neither his forwardnesse (euen with the hazard of life) to prefer King Henrie to the crowne, neither his faithfullnesse in cleauing to him at all bannis, neither the bond of alliance betwixt them, neither the power that he was able to make, neither the riches which he was worth, neither intercession of friends, which he wanted not; none of these, nor all these could procure the redemption of his lost life:

Quicumque decus hominum, o variabile tempus.

¶ On the sixteenth of Nouember was holden the sergeants feast at the bishops place of Elie in Holborne, where dined the king, quene, and all the chiefe lords of England. The new sergeants names were master Dordant, Wygham, Kingsmill, Conisbie, Butler, Palestrie, Frowlicke, Drenbidge, & Constable. In digging for to laie a new foundation in the church of Saint Marie hill in London, the bodie of Jackeie, which had bene buried in the church the space of 175 yeares, was found whole of skynne, & the points of his armes pliable: which corpse was kept aboue ground foure daies without interuallance, and then buried againe. ¶ Also this yeare (as master Grafton saith) at the charges of master John Late alderman of London was the church of Saint Anthones founded, & annexed vnto the college of Wyndesore, wherein was erected one notable and free schole to the furtherance of learning, and a number of poore people (by the name of almshouses, which were poore, aged, and decreaied householders) releued, to the great commendation of that worthy man, who so liued in worship, that his death by his worthie doings maeth him still aliue; for he was not forgetfull to beautifie the good state of this citie, in which by wealth he had tasted of Gods blessings.]

About this same time, diuerse men were punished that had vpon a presumptuous boldnesse spoken manie slanderous words against the kings maiestie, hoping still for the arrivall of the feigned Richard duke of Yorke. After the death of Sir William Stanley, Giles lord Darnley was elected and made the kings chiefe chamberlaine. Also, the King sent into Ireland to purge out the euill & wicked seeds of rebellion amongst the wild & savage Irish people, sowed there by the craftie conuenance of Perkin Warbecke. Sir Henrie Deane, late abbat of Langtonie (whome he made chancelor of that Ile) & Sir Edward Poyninges knight, with an armie of men. The fauourers of Perkin, hearing that Sir Edward Poyninges was come with a power to persecute them, withdrew

straightwaies, and fled into the woods and marishes for the safegard of themselves.

Sir Edward Poyninges according to his commission, intending to punish such as had aided and aduanced the enterpryse of Perkin, with his whole armie marched forward against the wild Irishmen, because that all other being culpable of that offense, fled and resorted to them for succour. But when he saw that his purpose succeeded not as he would haue wished it; both because the Irish lords sent him no succour according to their promises; and also for that his owne number was not sufficient to furnish his enterpryse, because his enemies were dispersed amongst woods, mounteins, and marishes; he was constrained to recule backe, sore displeased in his mind against Gerald earle of Kildare, being then the kings deputie.

Now, the cause of this his discontentment was, for that the said earle was suspected to be the meane that he had no succours sent him, and was so informed in deed by such as bare the earle no good will. And therefore suddenlie he caused the earle to be apprehended, and as a prisoner brought him in his companie into England. Which earle being examined, and sundrie points of treason laid to him, he confessed them all, & laid the burthen in other mens necks, that he was dismissed, and sent into Ireland againe, there to be deputie and lieutenant as he was before. The king being now in some better seruice of his estate, did take his progresse into Lancashire the five & twentieth daie of June, there to make merrie with his mother the countesse of Derby, which then laie at Lathome in the countrie.

In this meane while, Perkin Warbecke, being in Flanders, sore troubled that his tugging was discovered, yet he determined not to leaue off his enterpryse, in hope at length to attaine the crowne of England: and so gathering a power of all nations, some bankrupts, some false English sanctuarie men, some thieves, robbers, and vagabunds, which desiring to liue by rapine, were glad to serue him. And thus furnished, he took such ships as his friends had provided for him: and departing from Flanders towards England, he arrived vpon the Kentish coast, & there cast anchor, purposing to proue how the people there were affected towards him: and therefore he sent certeine of his men to land, to signifie to the countrie his arrivall with such power, that the victorie must incline to his part.

The Kentishmen vnderstanding that Perkin was but Perkin, and had none with him (to make account of) but strangers borne, like faithfull subjects determined to fall vpon those that were thus new come to land, and to trie if they might allure the whole number out of their ships, so to giue them battell. But Perkin wiselie considering that the maner of a multitude is not to consult, and sagelie to aduise with themselves in anie deliberate foit, but suddenlie and rashlie to run headlong into rebellion, would not let one foot out of his ship, vntill he saw all things sure. Yet he permitted some of his souldiers to go on land, which being trained for a pretie waie from their ships, were suddenlie compassed about and beset of the Kentishmen, and at one stroke vanquished and driuen backe to their ships.

Of these discomfited soules were taken prisoners an hundred and forty persons, whereof five, Pontfort, Corbet, White, Welt, & Quittin (or otherwise Genin) being captiues were brought to London by Sir John Beche, Shriffe of Kent, railed in ropes like horses drawing in a cart, & after vpon their arraignment confessed their offense, and were executed, some at London, and other in the towne adioining to the sea coast. And thus Perkin, missing of his purpose, fled

Gerald earle
of Kildare de-
putie of Ire-
land appre-
hended.

King Henric
progress in
to Lancas-
shire.

Perkin at-
tempteth to
land in Kent
in hope of vic-
torie.

Perkins men
vnmolested.

Perkins cap-
tiues taken &
executed.

Perkin re-
ceiveth into
Flanders.

hen he came into Flanders. In this verie season departed to God Cicilie duchesse of Yorke mother to king Edward the fourth, at hir castell of Berkhamsted, a woman of small stature, but of much honour and high parentage, and was buried by hir husband in the college of Ffodzingrie.

The king being aduertised that his enemies were landed, leaving off his progresse, purposed to haue returned to London; but being certified the next day of the luckie speed of his faithfull subiects, continued his progresse, & did send sir Richard Wilford both to commend the fidelitie and manhood of the Kentish men, and also to render to them most hartie thanks for the same. He also caused order to be taken for the erecting of beacons, and watching of them. Perkin then perceiuing that he should not be receiued into England, sailed into Ireland, trusting there to augment his numbers, and then to returne towards the coast of England againe, and to take land in the West countrie, if occasion serued; but if not, then he determined to saile straight into Scotland, to seeke friendship there.

After he had therefore staid a while in Ireland, and perceiued that the hope of victorie consisted not in the Irish nation, being naked people, without furniture of armour or weapon, he took the sea againe at Coffe, and sailed into Scotland; where comming to the presence of king James, he forged such a painted processe to moue him to beleue that he was the verie sonne of king Edward; that the Scottish king, whether blinded with error, or bying dissimulation, that he might vnder a colourable pretext make war against England, began to haue Perkin in great honour, and caused him openlie to be called duke of Yorke. And to perswade the world that so he was indeed, he caused the ladie Katharine, daughter to Alexander earle of Huntley, his nigh kinsman, to be espoused to him. But per we passe anie further, you shall see and peruse (if you will) the said painted processe of Perkin, as it is left in record by Edward Hall for an example what working force is in words (speciallie where the hearers are easie to be seduced) and not to be ouer hastie to giue them too quicke & hastie credit. For the poet saith of gate words void of truth:

*Verba nitent phaleris, at nullas verbamedullas
Intus habent.*

The colourable oration or counterfeited tale that Perkin told the king of Scots to iustifie his false title.



Thinke it is not vnknowne vnto you (most noble king and puissant prince) into what ruine the stocke house, and familie of Edward the fourth, of that name king of England, is now of late brought to and fallen in, either by Gods permission, or by diuine punishment; whose indubitate sonne (if you know not alreadie) I am, and by the power of almighty God, preferred aloue to this houre from the mightie hand of a tyrant. For my father king Edward (when he died) appointed his brother Richard duke of Gloucester to be our gouernour, protector, and defendour; whome the more that he loued & studied to aduance and promote, the better he thought that he would loue, fauour, and tender his children. But alas my vnfortunate chance I may say! how hath his trust bene turned into treason, and his hope into hinderance, all men know and I feele.

Our vnckle was not the tutor and preseruer of our stocke and linage, but the confounder & destroyer of our blood and progenie. For that tyrant, blinded and glutted with the desire of ruling and souereignie, commanded Edward my brother & me to be slaine and dispatched out of this mortall life. Whereupon that person, to whome the weightie and cruell charge was committed and giuen to oppresse and destroye by poore innocent infants and guiltlesse babes, the more that he abhorred this heinous and butcherlie offense, the more he feared to commit it.

And so wauering in mind and doubtfull what to doe, at the length willing in part to slanch the bloudie thirst of the unnatural tyrant, and in part to abstaine from so heinous & detestable homicide, he destroyed my brother and preserued me; like the good priest Joiada, who saued little Joas, when all the children of the bloud roiall were commanded by Athalia the quene to be slaine and vtterlie destroyed. And further, to the intent that my life might be in surtie, he appointed one to conueie me into some strange countrie; where when I was furthest off, and had most need of comfort he forsooke me suddenly (I thinke he was so appointed to doe) and left me desolate alone without friend or knowlege of anie reliefe or refuge. And so king Richard did obtaine the crowne as a price mischefeoullie gotten by the dispatching awaie of my brother and me. So that I thus escaping, by reason of my tender infancie, forgot almost my selfe, and knew not well what I was. But after long wandering from countrie to countrie, and from citie to citie, I perceived and learned by little and little what was my estate & degree; and so in conclusion came to mine owne aunt the ladie Margaret lieng in Flanders, which was sometime married to Charles duke of Burgogny, which as ioifullie receiued and welcomed me, as if I had come out of hell into heauen, as the onelie type and garland of hir noble stirpe and linage. But forsomuch as he being onelie Dowager of the duchie of Burgogny, and hauing nothing but hir dowrie proper to hir selfe, was not of power to helpe me with men and munitions of warre, as she would gladlie haue done for the recouerie of my fathers reime & rightfull inheritance: I therefore am driuen to seeke further aid and succour.

And therefore by hir counsell and aduertisement, with this small handfull of men of warre and souldiers, I am repaired to your presence for succours; of whome (as the publike fame is spread ouer the whole world) there was neuer man by wrong or iniurie chased or driuen out of his countrie, region, or inheritance, or by extort power and tyrannie kept out of the same (as I my selfe from mine infancie haue bene) whose request was frustrate and denied at your hand. Therefore, by the maiestie of your realme & countrie I desire, & heartlie with

Perkin said into Ireland and is in people opinion.

Perkin said into Ireland and is in people opinion.

Katharine daughter to the earle of Huntley married to Perkin.

M. Pal. in Virg.

Abr. Flem. ex Edw. Hall fol. xxxvii, xxxix. Perkin faith that he is Edward the fourths lawfull sonne.

Perkin told the king how he was preferred and kept alive.

1496 The Scottish king invaded England for a great army in Perkin's behalf.

The countie of Perkin.

Perkin told the king how he was preferred and kept alive.

Anno Reg. 12

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Lib. 10.

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1496

The Scottish
king invaded
England with
a great armie
in Perkin his
myght.

The countie
of Burgome
was Perkin.

Anno Reg. 11.

A parliament
of the three
estates of
the realme.

1496.

with praier as I can, I beseech and exhort you to helpe and releue me now in my extream necessitie. And if it chance me by your aid and succour to recouer & possesse my fathers realme and dignitie; not onelie I, but all the kings of our linage, which hereafter shall obtaine the same, shall be so much obliged and bound vnto you; that they must needs thinke, that doing to you all the pleasure and benefits that they can, yet with all thanks that can be giuen your great kindnesse can neuer in full measure be recompensed.

When he had thus said, the king bad him be of good comfort, and promised him that whatsoeuer he were, it should neuer repent him of his comming to him. Shortly after, hauing this Perkin with him in companie, he entered into England with a puissant armie, and caused proclamation to be made, to spare all those that would submit themselves vnto Richard duke of Yorke. Wherewith they began the warre in most cruell maner, with slaughter of men, burning of towncs, spoiling of houses, and committing of all other detestable enormities; so that all the countrie of Northumberland was by them in maner wasted, and destroyed. At length, when the souldiers were laden with spoiles, and faciate with bloud, perceiuing that no succour came out of England vnto the new inuented duke, contrarie to that which he had made them to beleue would come to passe; they determined to retire rather with assured gaine, than to tarrie the vncertaine victorie of that counterfeited duke, and so thereupon they withdrew backe into Scotland enriched with preies and booties.

It is said, that Perkin Warbeck, being returned into Scotland with the king of Scots, vnder a cloked pretense should sore lament the great slaughter, spoile, and damage, which had bene done at this last roade made into England; and therefore as one that bare a naturall loue toward his native countrie, besought the king of Scots, that from thenceforth, he would no more so deface his naturall reline, and destroy his subjects with such terrible fire, flame and haucke; as who should saie, he being overcome now with compassion, did beualle the cruell destruction of his naturall countrie of England. But the Scottish king told him, that he seemed to take thought for that which appeared to be none of his, sith that not so much as one gentleman or yeoman (for ought he could see) would once thew themselves ready to aid him in the warre begun for his cause, & in his name, within that realme which he pretended to claerlie to appertene to him.

The king of England being certified of this invasion, prepared an armie with all diligence to haue resisted the Scots: but they were returned per the English power could assemble together. So when the king was truelie certified that the Scottish king was returned home, he staied all the preparations made at that time to go against him. But yet meaning to be reuenged of the wrongs done to him by king James and his people; he first called a parliament, and in that assemble of three estates of the realme, he declared the cause of the instant warre, and how necessarie it should be for the suertie and wealth of the realme of England to haue that warre pursued against those enemies that had begun it. To this motion all the nobilitie wholie agreed. And to the maintenance of that warre, a subsidie was by whole assent of the parlement frælie giuen and granted. Which payment though it was not great, yet manie of the common people soze grudged to pay the same,

as they that euer abhorre such fares and exactions. At the same parlement were diuerse acts and statutes made, necessarie & expedient (as was thought) for the publike weale of the realme.

In the meane season the king of Scots, perceiuing that the Englishmen would shortly go about to reuenge the iniuries done to them by him and his people, assembled effloness a puissant armie, that he might either defend his realme against the English power, attempting to innade his countrie, or else afresh to enter into the English borders. And thus these two mightie princes minded nothing more than the one to indamage the other. But the king of England would not deferre one houre by (his good will) till he were reuenged, and therefore prepared a mightie armie to innade Scotland, and ordeined for chiefeine thereof the lord Daubenie. But as this armie was assembled, and that the lord Daubenie was forward on his iourne towards Scotland, he was suddenlie staied and called backe againe, by reason of a new commotion begun by the Cornishmen for the payment of the subsidie which was granted at the last parlement.

These vnrulie people the Cornishmen, inhabiting in a barren countrie and vnfruitfull, at the first soze repined that they should be so grauouslie taxed, and burdened the kings counsell as the onelie cause of such polling and pilling: and so being in their rage, menaced the chiefe authoers with death and present destruction. And thus being in a roze, two persons of the same assintie, the one called Thomas Flammoche, a gentleman, learned in the lawes of the realme; and the other Michaell Joseph, a smith, men of stout stomachs and high courages, toke vpon them to be capteins of this seditious companie. They laid the fault and cause of this exaction vnto John Hoxton archbishop of Canturburie, and to sir Reginald Bate; bicause they were chiefe of the kings counsell. Such rewards haue they commonlie that be in great authoritie with kings and princes.

The capteins Flammoche and Joseph exhorted the common people to put on harnesse, and not to be asfraid to follow them in that quarrell, promising not to hurt anie creature, but onelie to see them punished that procured such exactions to be laid on the people, without anie reasonable cause, as vnder the colour of a little trouble with the Scots, which (sith they were without anie home) they toke to be well quieted and appeased. So these capteins bent on mischief, (were their outward pretense neuer so finelie coloured) perswaded a great number of people to assemble together, and condescended to doe as their capteins would agree and appoint. Then these capteins praising much the hardines of the people, when all things were ready for their infortunate iourne, set forward with their armie, and came to Taunton, where they due the prouost of Perin, which was one of the commissioners of the subsidie, and from thence came to Welles, so intending to go to London, where the king then sojourned.

When the king was aduertised of these doings, he was somewhat astoned, and not without cause; being thus troubled with the warre against the Scots, and this ciuill commotion of his subjects at one instant. But first meaning to subdue his rebellious subjects; and after to proceed against the Scots, as occasion should serue, he reuoked the lord Daubenie which (as you haue heard) was going against the Scots, and increased his armie with manie chosen and piket warriors. Also mistrusting that the Scots might now (hauing such opportunitie) innade the realme againe; he appointed the lord Th. Howard erle of Surrie (which after the death of the lord Witham was made high tresuroz of England) to gather a band

1497
The king of
England and
Scotland pre-
pare for mu-
tual warre.

A rebellion in
Cornwall for
the payment of
a subsidie.

The two cap-
teins in this
commotion.

The prouost
of Perin
slains by the
rebels.

Thomas Howard
erle of
Surrie high
tresuroz of
England.

band of men in the countie Palatine of Durham, that they with the aid of the inhabitants adioining, and the borderers, might keepe backe the Scots if they chanced to make anie inuasion . The nobles of the realme hearing of the rebellion of the Cornishmen, came to London, euerie man with as manie men of warre as they could put in a readinesse, to aid the king if need should be. In the which number were the earle of Cless, and the lord Pontioy, with diuers other.

James Twi-
chot lord Au-
delic cheefe
captaine of
the Cornish
rebels.

In the meane time, James Twichet lord Aud-
leie being confederate with the rebels of Cornewall
ioined with them, being come to Welles, and tooke
vpon him as their chiefe captaine to lead them a-
gainst their naturall lord and king. From Welles
they went to Salisbury, and from thence to Win-
chester, and so to Kent, where they hoped to haue had
great aid, but they were decieued in that their expec-
tation. For the erle of Kent, George lord of Aburga-
uencie, John Brooke, lord Cobham, sir Edward Poi-
nings, sir Richard Cilford, sir Thomas Bourchier,
John Pede, William Scot, and a great number of
of people, were not onelie prest and readie to defend
the countrie, to keepe the people in due obedience,
but bent to fight with such as would lift vp sword, or
other weapon against their soueraigne lord: inso-
much that the Kentishmen would not once come
nere the Cornishmen, to aid or assist them in anie
manner of wise.

Want of the
Cornishmen
take their
holidays by night.

Which thing maruelouslie dismayd the hearts of the Cornishmen, when they saw themselves thus de-
crued of the succours which they most trusted vpon,
so that manie of them (fearing the euill chance that
might happen) fled in the night from their companie,
and left them, in hope so to saue themselves. The cap-
teines of the rebels, perceiuing they could haue no
helpe of the Kentishmen, putting their onelie hope
in their owne puissance, bought their people to
Blacke heath, a foure miles distant from London,
and there in a plaine on the top of an hill, they orde-
red their battels, either readie to fight with the king
if he would assaile them, or else to assault the citie of
London: for they thought the king durst not haue
encountred with them in battell. But they were de-
crued: for the king although he had power inough
about to haue fought with them before, yet their com-
ming so nere to the citie, yet he thought it best to sa-
fer them to come forward, till he had them farre off
from their natiue countrie, and then to set vpon
them being destitute of aid in some place of aduan-
tage.

The citie of
London fore
afraid of the
rebels.

The cite was in a great feare at the first know-
ledge giuen, how the rebels were so nere incamped
to the cite, euery man getting himselfe to barnesse,
and placing the melues, some at the gates, some on
the walles, so that no part was undefended. But the
king deliuered the cite of that feare: for after that
he perceived how the Cornishmen were all daie rea-
die to fight, and that on the hill, he sent straight John
Carle of Drenford, Henrie Bourchier, earle of Glou-
cester, Edmund de la Pole, earle of Suffolke, sir Wile-
am Thomas, and sir Humfreie Stanleie, noble war-
riors, with a great companie of archers and horse-
men, to enuiron the hill on the right side, and on the
left, to the intent that all bywaies being stopped and
foreroloked, all hope of fight should be taken from
them. And incontinentlie he himselfe, being as well
incouraged with manlie stomachs as furnished with
a populous armie and plentie of artillerie, set for-
ward out of the cite, and incamped himselfe in saint
Georges field, where he on the fridaie at night then
lodged.

On the saturday in the morning, he sent the lord Daubeneite with a great compantie to set on them

early in the morning, which first got the bridge at
Dorsetford Strand, which was manfully defended by
certain archers of the rebels, whose arrows (as is
reported) were in length a full cloth yard. While the
earles set on them on cuerie side, the lord Daubenie
came into the field with his companie, and without
long fighting, the Cornishmen were overcome; and
first they take the lord Daubenie prisoner: but whe-
ther it were for feare, or for hope of fauour, they let
him go at libertie, without hurt or detriment. There
were slaine of the rebels which fought and resisted,
aboue two thousand men (as Edward Hall noteth)
and taken prisoners an infinite number, & amongst
them the blacke smith, and other the chiefe captiues,
which were shortly after put to death. When this bat-
telle was ended, the king wanted of all his numbers
but thre hundred, which were slaine at that con-
flict.

Some affirme, that the king appointed to haue
20 fought with them not till the morrowe, and preuent-
ing the time set on them on the saturday before, tak-
ing them vnprovidid, and in no arraie of battell,
and so by that policie obtained the field and victorie.
The prisoners as well captaine as other, were par-
doned, saving the cheefe captaine and first begin-
ners, to whome he shewed no mercie at all. The lord
Audeley was dyawne from Fleetgate to the Tow-
er hill in a coate of his owne armes, painted upon
paper reversed and all to tyme, and there was bebra-
30 ded the foure and twentieth of June. Thomas Flam-
mocke & Michaell Ioseph were hanged, dyawne, and
quartered after the maner of traitors, & their heade
and quarters were pitched vpon stakes, and set vp in
London, and in other places: although at the first, the
king meant to haue sent them into Cornewall, to
haue bene set by there for a terror to all others. But
hearing that the Cornishmen at home were readie
to begin a new conspiracie, least he shoud the more
tritate and prouoke them by that displeasent sight,
40 he changed his purpose, for doubt to wray himselfe
in more trouble than needed.

While these things were doing in England, the king of Scots being advertized of the whole matter and rebellion of the Cornishmen, thought not to let passe that occasion: and therefore he eiesones timaded the frontiers of England, waisting the countrie, burning towines, and murdering the people, sparing neither place nor person: and while his light horsemen were riding to forraie and despoile the bishoprike of Durham, and there burned all about, he with an other part of his armie did besiege the castell of Spokham. The bishop of Durham Richard For, being owner of that castell, had well furnished it both with men and munitions aforesaid, doubting least that would follow which came now to passe. The bishop, after that the Scots made this invasion, advertized the king (as then being at London) of all things that chanced in the Spoksh parts; and sent in all post hast to the earle of Surrie, to come to the rescue. The earle being then in Spokeshire, and having gathered an armie, upon knowledge given to him from the bishop, with all diligence marched forward, and after him followed other noble men out of all the quarters of the Spoksh, euerie of them bringing as manie men as they could gather, for defense of their countrie.

Amongst these, the chiefe leaders were, Rafe earle of Westmerland, Thomas lord Dacres, Rafe lord Penell, George lord Strange, Richard lord Latimer, George lord Lumley, John lord Scrope, Henry lord Clifford, George lord Dgle, William lord Coniers, Thomas lord Darcie, Wsknights, Thomas baron of Wylton, sir William Perse, sir William Walmer, sir William Gascoigne, sir Rafe Bigob,

Blackburn
field.

They have
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The earle of
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Anno Reg. 13.

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Kate Bowes, sir Thomas a Parre, sir Kate Ellec,
ker, sir John Constable, sir John Katcliffe, sir John
Scaill, sir Thomas Strangweiss, and a great num
ber of other knights and esquires belides. The whole
armie was little lesse than twentie thousand men,
beside the nauie, whereof the lord Brooke was ad
mirall.

When the Scots had diuerse waies assaulted and
beaten the castell of Pozham, but could make no
batterie to enter the same, they determined of their
owne accord to raise the siege, and returne; and that
so much the sooner in verte deed, because they heard
that the earle of Surrie was within two daies four
nie of them, with a great puissance. Wherefore king
James raised his siege, and returned home into his
owne realme. When the earle knew of the kings re
turne, he followed him with all hast possible, trust
ing suertie to ouertake him, and to giue him battell.

When the earle was entred Scotland, he ouerthrew
and defaced the castell of Catodesreimes, the tower
of Weterhall, the tower of Edington, the tower of
fulden: and he sent Porrie king at armes to the
capitaine of Hatton castell, which was one of the
strongest places betwixt Berwike and Edenburgh,
to deliuer him the castell. Which he denied to do, affir
ming that he was sure of speedie succours.

The earle hereupon laid his ordinance to the ca
stell, and continuallie beat it, from two of the clocke
till fwe at night, in such wise, that they within ren
dered by the place, their liues onelic saued. The earle
caused his minors to raise & ouerthrow the fortrese
to the plaine ground. The Scottish king was within
a mile of the siege, and both knew it, and saw the
smoke, but would not set one foot forward to the re
scue. While the earle laie at Hatton, the king of Scots
sent to him Pachemont, and an other herald, desir
ing him at his election, either to fight with whole
puissance against puissance, or else they two to fight
person to person; requiring that if the victorie fell to
the Scottish king, that then the earle should deliuer
for his rancome, the towne of Berwike, with the
fishgarths of the same.

The earle made answer hereto, that the towne
of Berwike was the king his masters, and not his,
the which he neither ought nor would laie to pledge,
without the king of Englands assent; but he would
gage his bodie, which was more pretious to him
than all the townes of the world, promising on his
honour, that if he took the king prisoner in that sin
gular combat, he would release to him all his part of
the fine and rancome; and if it chanced the king to
vanquish him, he would gladlie paie such rancome as
was conuenient for the degree of an earle, and than
ked him greatlie for the offer: for suertie he thought
himselfe much honored, that so noble a prince would
bondsafe to admit to poyze an earle to fight with him
bodie to bodie. When he had rewarded and dismissed
the heralds, he set his armie in a readinesse, to abide
the coming of the king of Scots, and so stood all
daie.

But king James not regarding his offers, would
neither performe the one nor the other; fearing to
cape with the English nation in anie condition; and
so thereupon died in the night season with all his puis
sance. When the earle knew that the king was reced
ed, and had bene in Scotland sir or seven daies, be
ing daile and nightke vexed with continuall wind
and raine, upon god and deliberat aduise returned
backe to the towne of Berwike, and there dissolved
his armie, tattering there himselfe, till he might vi
derstand further of the kings pleasure. In the meane
time there came an ambassadour to the K. of Scots
from the K. of Spaine, one Peter Hialas, a man of
no lesse learning than wit & policie, to moue & intret

a peace betwene the two kings of England & Scot
land [that their people might fall to their necessarie
trades of aduantage with quietnesse, and friend with
friend, husband with wife, father with children, and
maisters with seruants dwell and accompanie: a dis
solution and separation of whome one from another
is procured by bloudie warre, wherein as there is no
pitie, so is there is no pietie, as one saith full trulie:

*Nulla fides pietasque uiris qui castra sequuntur,
Nulla salus bello.*

Luc. lib. 18.

This Spanish ambassadour so earnestlie trauel
led in his message vnto the king of Scots, that at
length he found him conformable to his purpose:
and therefore wrote to the king of England, that it
would please him to send one of his nobilitie or coun
cell, to be associat with him in concluding of peace
with the Scottish king. The king of England was
neuer dangerous to agree to anie reasonable peace,
so it might stand with his honour; and therefore ap
pointed the bishop of Durham doctor For, to go in
to Scotland about that treatie which Peter Hialas
had begun. The bishop (according to his commission)
went honozable into Scotland, where he and Peter
Hialas at the towne of Jedworth, after long argu
ing and debating of matters with the Scottish com
missioners, in stead of peace concluded a truce for cer
teine yeares; upon condition, that James king of
Scots should conuene Berkin Warbecke out of his
realme, seignories, and dominions.

About the same time, king Henrie receiued the
ambassadors that were sent to him from the French
king, and had bene staied at Douer, till the Cornish
rebels were vanquished and subdued. Also the lord of
Camphire, and other oratours of Philip archduke of
Austrich, and duke of Burgognie came to him for
the conclusion of amitie, and to haue the English
merchants to resort againe to their countrie. Which
request being vertie agreable to the quietnesse and
wealth of his realme, and especiallie at that time, he
did fauorable grant and agree vnto. And so did the
Englishmen resort againe into the archdukes domi
nions, and were receiued into Antwerpe with gene
rall procession: so glad was that towne of their re
turne. Shortly after the concluding of the truce be
twene England and Scotland, Berkin Warbecke
being willed of the king of Scots to depart out of
the Scottish dominions, sailed with his wife and fa
milie into Ireland, there determining with himselfe
either to repaire into Flanders to his first setter vp
the duchess of Burgognie, or else soine and take part
with the Cornishmen.

But howsoever it came to passe, whilste he laie in
Ireland, he had knowledge from the Cornishmen,
that they were readie to renew the warre againe.
Whereupon he minding not to let passe so fauie an
occasion, hauing with him foure small ships, and not
aboue sir scoze men, sailed into Cornewall, and there
landed in the moneth of September, and came to a
towne called Bodmar, and there did so prouoke the
waivering people, that with faire wordes and large
promises, that he gathered to him aboue three thou
sand persons, which immediatlie called him their
capitaine, promising to take his part, and follow him
to the death. Then Berkin well encouraged, made
proclamations in the name of king Richard the
fourth, as sonne to king Edward the fourth. And by
the aduise of his three counsellors, John Peron mer
cer a bankrupt, Richard Skelton a tailor, and John
Astelle a scriuener determined first of all to assaie
the winning of Excester.

When hasting thither, he laid siege to it, and wan
ting ordinance to make batterie, studied all waies
possible how to breake the gates, and what with cast
ing of stones, heaving with iron barres, and kindling
of

The English
merchants re
ceined into
Antwerpe
with generall
procession.

Berkin was
saine to pack
out of Scot
land.

Berkin War
beck arriveth
in Cornwall.

Another rea
bellion by the
Cornishmen.

Berkins three
counsellors.

Excester as
saulted by
Berkin & the
Cornishmen.

of fire vnder the gates, he omitted nothing that could be deuised for the furtherance of his purpose. The citizens, perceiuing in what danger they stood, first let certeine messengers do tunc by cords ouer the wall, that might certifie the king of their necessitie & trouble. And herewith taking vnto them boldnesse of courage, determined to repell fire with fire, and caused fagots to be brought and laid to the inward parts of the gates, and set them all on fire; to the intent that the fire being inflamed on both sides the gates, might as well keepe out their enemies from entring, as that in the citizens from fleeing out, and that they in the meane season might make trenches and rampires to defend their enemies in stead of gates and bulwarks. Thus by fire was the citie preserved from fire.

The citie of
Excester pre-
served from
fire by fire.

Then Perkin of verie necessitie compelled to forsake the gates, assaulted the towne in diuerse weake and unfortified places, and set vp ladders to take the citie. But the citizens, with helpe of such as were come forth of the countrie adioining to their aid, so valiantlie defended the walles, that they slew aboue two hundred of Perkins souldiers at that assault. The king hauing aduertisement of this siege of Excester, hastened forth with his host, in as much speed as was possible, and sent the lord Daubeneie with certeine bands of light horsemen before, to aduertise all men of his coming at hand. But in the meane season, the lord Edward Courtenie earle of Deuonshire, and the valiant lord William his sonne, accompanied with sir Edmund Carew, sir Thomas Trenchard, sir William Courtenie, sir Thomas Fulford, sir John Haleswell, sir John Croker, Walter Courtenie, Peter Edgcombe, William saint Maure, with all speed came into the citie of Excester, and holpe the citizens, and at the last assault was the earle hurt in the arme with an arrow, and so were manie of his companie, but verie few slaine.

The king maketh out his
power against
Perkin.

When Perkin saw that he could not win the citie of Excester, sith he sawe it was so well fortified both with men and munitions, he departed from thence, and went vnto Taunton, and there the twentieth day of September he mustered his men; as though he were ready to giue battell: but perceiuing his number to be diminished, by the secret withdrawing of sundrie companies from him, he began to put mistrust in all the remnant. In deed when the people that followed him, in hope that no small number of the nobilitie would ioine with him, saw no such matter come to passe, they staid alwaie from him by secret companies. When the king heard that he was gone to Taunton, he followed after him with all speed. And by the way there came to him Edward duke of Buckingham, a yong prince of great towardnesse; and him followed a great companie of noble men, knights and esquires, as sir Alexander Baskham, sir Maurice Barkleie, sir Robert Lame, sir John Guise, sir Robert Pointz, sir Henrie Vernon, sir John Portimer, sir Thomas Tremaille, sir Edward Sutton, sir Amise Paulet, sir John Birkenhill, sir John Sapcotes, sir Hugh Lutterell, sir Francis Cheineie, and diuerse other.

Edward the
yong duke of
Buckingham
and his com-
panie ioine
with the king.

At the kings approaching to the towne of Taunton, he sent before him Robert lord Roke lord steward of his house, Giles lord Daubeneie his chiefe chamberleine, and sir Rice ap Thomas. But as soon as Perkin was informed that his enemies were ready to giue him battell, he that nothing lesse minded than to fight in open field with the kings puissance, dissembled all the daie time with his companie, as though nothing could make him afraid: and about midnight, accompanied with three score horsemen, he departed from Taunton in post to a sanctuarie towne beside Southampton, called Beaulieu, & there

Perkin fleeth
and taketh
Beaulieu
sanctuarie.

he and John Heron with other registered themselves as persons privileged. When as king Henrie knew that Perkin was thus fled, he sent after him the lord Daubeneie with five hundred horsemen toward the sea side, to apprehend him before he should get away. Although Perkin escaped (as I haue said) vnto sanctuarie, yet manie of his chiefe capteins were taken and presented to the king.

Also the horsemen that were sent, without anie stop or staie came to saint Michaels mount, and there (as chance was) found the lady Katharine Gordon wife to Perkin, and brought hir straight to the king. At whose beaultie and amiable countenance the king much marvelled, and thought hir a preie more meet for a prince, than for the meane souldiers, and sent hir incontinentlie vnto London to the queene, accompanied with a sort of sage matrones and gentlewomen, because she was but yong. The common people that had followed Perkin, after that their chafeteine was fled, staid alwaie their armour as people amazed, and submitted themselves to the king, humbly beseeching him of mercie, which he most gentlie granted, and receiued them to his fauour. After this the king rood to Excester, and there not onelie commended the citizens, but also hartlie thanked them for doing so well their duties in defending their citie from their enemies. He also put there to execution diuerse Cornishmen, which were the authors and principall beginners of this new conspiracie and insurrection. Fewer the lesse, he vfed maruelous clemencie also in pardoning a great number of the rebels.

The beaultie
full lady Katharine
Gordon
brought to
the king.

M. Pal. in Vrg.

Com. Moners
appointed for
making of
their liues
that favoured
the Cornish
rebels.
1498

¶ For when king Henrie was come to Excester with a great armie, moued there vnto (as you haue heard) by reason of the rebellion of Perkin Warbecke, who was fled before the kings coming, he staid a few daies about the examination of the said rebellion, and the executing of the chiefe and principall capteins. In the end, the multitude of the offenders being great, and most humbly craning for pardon, the king caused them all to be assembled in the churchyard of saint Peters, where they all appeared bare headed, in their shirts, and with halters about their necks. His grace was then lodged in the treasurerors house, lieng fast vpon the churchyard, and out of a faire and large window (made for the purpose) he toke the view of them, who shouted and cried out for pardon. At length, when the king had paused, he made a speech vnto them, exhorting them to obedience, and in hope he should thenceforth find them dutifull, he pardoned them all: whereat they all made a great shout, gaue the king thanks, and hurled about their halters. Yet neuerthelesse, some returned againe, and ioined themselves with the Cornish people, which had not all submitted themselves, nor sought for pardon.]

John Heron,
alias Vorell.

John Heron
partakers in
their sherte
about their
necks appoynted
before the
king.

Now while he remained at Excester, he considered with himselfe, that he had done nothing, if he could not get into his hands the chiefe head of this trouble and seditious businesse. Wherefore he caused the sanctuarie wherein Perkin was inclosed, to be intrenched with two bands of light horsemen, to watch diligetlie, that Perkin should not escape by anie meanes forth of that place vntaken: and withall attempted by faire promises of pardon and forgiveness, if Perkin would submit himselfe to him and become his man. Perkin perceiuing himselfe so shut by, that he could no waie escape, of his owne free will came out of the sanctuarie, and committed himselfe to the kings pleasure. When the king had thus atchained his purpose, he returned to London, and appointed certeine keepers to attend on Perkin, which should not (the bredth of a naile) go from his person; least he should conuete himselfe by anie meanes out of the

Perkin his
sanctuarie
attained.

Perkin his
matter was
sent to the
king, and
straitly
came in.

Anno Reg. 14.

England and
Scotland like
to go together
by the
same strech.

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Commissioners
appointed for
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their fines
that favoured
the Comyns
1498

He. Fl. ex. L.S.
p. 872.
Gardens in
the field
and built
to make archers
game.
Bourchaine
bridele
Sebastian
Cabato bus
tillmoure of
an Island of
rich commo-
dities.

John Hooker,
alias Vowell.
An Perkins
partakers in
their sties
South borders
about their
necks appea-
red before the
king.

Perkin in
sanctuary
admitted.

Perkin scilicet
matters busi-
ness to the
king, and us-
ing the same.

England and
Scotland his-
tory to go to
the court by the
same.

he land [and set forth troubles abroad by such prac-
tises as he had to fore used, for the advancement of
himself to the estate of a king, by assuming unto
himself the name of a kings sonne, when in deed he
was come of base parentage. But such will be a
gentleman, the long eared alle will be taken for a
leopard, and the king pleasure for a lion, as one saith:
Nunc est propter vocat et formis leonem.

After this the king caused inquiries to be made
of all such as had aided with men or monie the
Scottish rebels, so that diuerse persons as well in Scot-
land as here were detected of that of-
fence which he intended for example sake should take
some part of the punishments for their crimes, ac-
cording to the quality thereof. And therefore he ap-
pointed Thomas de Warracie, knight, and Robert
Sherborne deane of Woules (that was
after bishop of Chichester) to be commissioners for
selling of their fines that were found culpable. These
commissioners so bestowed themselves in tolling the
offers and substance of all the inhabitants of both
those shires, that there was not one person imbrued
or spotted with the blood of that abominable crime,
that escaped the paine which he had decreed: but to
such yet as offended rather by contempt than of ma-
lice, they were gentle and fauourable, so that equitie
therein was verie well and iustlie executed.

In this yeare all the gardens which had bene
continued time out of mind, without any gate of
London, were destroyed, and of their was made a
plaine field for archers to shoot in. Also this yeare was
a great drought, by reason whereof a load of haie,
which was before sold at London at five shillings,
was this yeare sold for ten or twelue more. Also this
yeare, one Sebastian Cabato, a Genoas sonne,
borne in Wiffow, professing himselfe to be expert in
knowledge of the circuit of the world, and Islands of
the same, as by his charts and other reasonable de-
monstrations he shewed, caused the king to man and
bittell a ship at Wiffow, to search for an Island which
he knew to be replenished with rich commodities. In
the ship diuerse merchants of London aduentured
small stocks, and in the companie of this ship sailed
also out of Wiffow three or foure small ships straight
with slight and grosse wares, as course cloath, caps,
lases, points, and such other.

Sir Humfre Gilbert knight, in his booke intituled,
A discouerie for a new passage to Cataia, writeth
thus; Sebastian Cabato, by his personal experience
and trauell, hath described and set forth this passage
in his charts, which are yet to be seene in the queenes
maiesties priue gallerie at Whitehall, who was
sent to make this discouerie by king Henrie the se-
uenth, and entered the same fret, affirming that he
sailed verie farre westward, with a quarter of the
north, on the north side of terra de Labrador, the eleventh
of June, untill he came to the septentrionall latitude
of 67½ degrees, and finding the seas still open, said,
that he might & would haue gon to Cataia, if the em-
nitie of the maister and mariners had not bene. Per-
uerthelesse, he went verie farre, euen to a nation in-
habited with people more like beastes than men, as ap-
peareth in the yeare 1502, and the seuententh of this
kings reigne, when the said trauelier was returned,
and presented himselfe to the kings maiestie.]

In this yeare the warre had like to haue bene
renewed betwixt the realmes of England and Scot-
land by a small occasion, as thus. Certaine pongmen
of the Scots came arrived before Rosham castell, &
beheld it wondrous circumspectlie, as though they
would haue bene of counsell to know what
was done therein. The keepers not perceiuing anie
damage attempted against them for the first time,
determined not to moue anie question to them, or

once to stirre out. But when they came againe the
next day, and viewed it likewise, the keepers of the
castell suspecting some euill meaning, demanded of
them what their intent was, and why they viewed
and admired so the castell. The Scots answered them
roughlie with disdainfull words, so that the English
men fell to and replied with strokes, and after manie
blowes giuen and receiued, diuerse Scots were
wounded, and some slaine; and the residue ouermat-
ched with multitude of the Englishmen, fled as fast
as their horses could carie them.

The Scottish king hereof aduertised, was highlie
displeased, and in all hast signified to king Henrie
by his heralds appointment, in what sort his people
(to the breach of the truce) were abused and handled.
King Henrie being not in will to breake with anie
of his neighbours, excused the matter, affirming
that he was not of knowledge to the misdemeanour
of those that had the castell in keeping; requiring the
king of Scots not to thinke the truce broken for a-
nie thing done without his consent; promising in the
word of a king to inquire of the truth, and if the of-
fence were found to be begun on the partie of the
keepers of the castell, he assured him that they should
for no meed nor fauour escape due correction and pu-
nishment.

This answer (though it was more than reasona-
ble) could not pacifie the king of Scots, till the bi-
shop of Durham (that was owner of the castell of
Rosham) who sore lamented, that by such as he ap-
pointed keepers there, the warre should be renewed)
with sundrie letters written to the Scottish king, at
length asswaged his displeasure, so that the said king
wrote courteously to the bishop againe, signifieng
that because he had manie secret things in his mind,
which he would communicate onelie with him tou-
ching this matter now in variance; therefore he re-
quired him to take the paine to come into his coun-
trie, trusting that he should thinke his labo- well be-
fitted. The bishop was glad, and sent word hereof
to the king his master, who willed him to accomplish
the desire of the Scottish king, which he took to be
reasonable.

At his comming into Scotland, he was courte-
ously receiued of the king himselfe at the abbey of
Spelrosse. And there, after the king had (for a counte-
nance) complained much of the vnjust slaughter of
his men late committed at Rosham: vpon the bi-
shops gentle answers therunto, he forgave the same,
and after began to talke secretlie without witness
alone with the bishop. And first he declared what iust
causes moued him in times past to seke amitie with
the king of England: which now he desired much
more to haue confirmed, for further maintenance
& increase thereof. Which he doubted not but should
sozt to a fortunate conclusion, if the king of Eng-
land would vouchsafe to giue to him in matrimonie
his first begotten daughter the ladie Margaret, vpon
which point he purposed latelie to haue sent his
ambassadors into England, which thing he would the
sooner do if he knew the bishops mind therein to be
readie to further his sute. The bishop answered but
few words, saying that when he were returned to
the king his maister, he would do the best in the
matter that he could.

When the bishop was returned into England,
and come to the king, he declared to him all the com-
munication had betwene king James and him,
from point to point in order. The king liked well
thereof, as he to whom peace was euer a loue reigne
solace and comfort. In this meane time Perkin
Warbecke, disappointed of all hope to escape out of
the Englishmens hands (which was the onelie thing
that he most desired) found meanes yet at length to
escape

The bishop of
Durham al-
swageth the
kings displea-
sure by letters.

The bishop of
Durham go-
eth into
Scotland.

The Scottish
king desireth
the ladie Mar-
garet eldest
daughter of
Henrie the se-
uenth to be
his wife.

Perkin war-
becke escapeth
from his mas-
ters.

deceiue his keepers, & took him to his heels. But when he came to the sea coasts, and could not passe, he was in a marvellous perplexitie: for euerie by way, lane, and cozier was laid for him, and such search made, that being brought to his wits end, and cut short of his pretended iournie, he came to the house of Bethlem, called the priore of Shene beside Richmond in Southerie, and betooke himselfe to the priore of that monasterie, requiring him for the honour of God, to beg his pardon of life of the kings maiestie.

The priore, which for the opinion that men had conceived of his vertue, was had in great estimation, pittieing the wretched state of that castife, came to the king, and shewed him of this Perkin, whose pardon he humbly craved, and had it as frelie granted. Incontinentlie after was Perkin brought to the court againe at Westminster, and was one day set fettered in a paire of stocks, before the doore of Westminsters hall, and there stood a whole day, not without innumerable reproches, mocks and scornings. And the next daie he was caried through London, and set vp on a like scaffold in Cheape by the standard, with like ginses and stocks as he occupied the daie before, and there stood all daie, and read openlie his owne confession, written with his owne hand, the verie copie thereof here insueth.

The confession of Perkin as it was written with his owne hand, which he read openlie vpon a scaffold by the standard in Cheape.

Perkin made an anatomy of his descent of his age.

It is first to be knowne, that I was borne in the towne of Turneie in Flanders, and my fathers name is John Osbecke, which said John Osbecke was controulloz of the said towne of Turneie, and my mothers name is Katharine de Faro. And one of my grandfathers vpon my fathers side was named Diricke Osbeck, which died. After whose death my grandmother was married vnto Peter Flamin, that was receiuer of the torenamed towne of Turneie, & deane of the botemen that row vpon the water of riuer called le Scheld. And my grandfater vpon my mothers side was Peter de Faro, which had in his keeping the keies of the gate of S. Johns within the same towne of Turneie. Also I had an uncle called maister John Stalin, dwelling in the parish of S. Dias within the same towne, which had married my fathers sister, whose name was Ione or Jane, with whome I dwelt a certeine season.

Perkins education of bringing by.

And after I was led by my mother to Antwerpe for to learne Flemish, in a house of a couline of mine, an officer of the said towne, called John Stienbecke, with whome I was the space of halfe a yeare. And after that I returned againe to Turneie, by reason of warres that were in Flanders. And within a yeare following I was sent with a merchant of the said towne of Turneie, named Berlo, to the mart of Antwerpe, where I fell sicke, which sicknesse continued vpon me five moneths. And the said Berlo set me to board in a skimmers house, that dwelled beside the house of the English nation. And by him I was from thence caried to Barow

mart, and I lodged at the signe of the old man, where I abode for the space of two moneths.

After this, the said Berlo set me with a merchant of Middlebrow to seruite for to learne the language, whose name was John Strebo, with whome I dwelt from Christmasse to Easter, and then I went into Doringall in companie of sir Edward Bramptons wife, in a ship which was called the quens ship. And when I was come thither, then was I put in seruice to a knight that dwelled in Luthborne, which was called Peter Waz de Cogna, with whome I dwelled an whole yeare, which said knight had but one eie. And because I desired to see other countries, I took licence of him, and then I put my selfe in seruice with a Britan, called Regent Meno, which brought me with him into Ireland. Now when we were there arrived in the towne of Cork, they of the towne (because I was arraid with some cloths of silke of my said masters) came vnto me, & threatened vpon me that I should be the duke of Clarences sonne, that was before time at Dublin.

But forsomuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto me the holie euangelists, and the crosse, by the maiore of the towne, which was called John Leweline, and there in the presence of him and others, I took mine oth (as the truth was) that I was not the foresaid dukes sonne, nor none of his blood. And after this came vnto me an Englishman, whose name was Stephan Boitron, and one John Water, and laid to me in swearing great oths, that they knew well that I was king Richards bastard sonne: to whome I answered with like oths, that I was not. Then they aduised me not to be afearde, but that I should take it vpon me boldlie: and if I would so doo, they would aid and assist me with all their power against the king of England; & not onelie they, but they were well assured, that the earle of Desmond & Kildare should doo the same.

For they forced not what part they took, so that they might be reuenged on the king of England: and so against my will made me to learne English, and taught me what I should doo and saie. And after this they called me duke of Porke, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, because king Richards bastard sonne was in the hands of the king of England. And vpon this the said Water, Stephan Boitron, John Tiler, Hughbert Burgh, with manie others, as the foresaid earles, entered into this false quarell, and within short time others. The French K. sent an ambassador into Ireland, whose name was Loit Lucas, and maister Stephan Friham, to aduertise me to come into France. And then I went into France, and from thence into Flanders, & from Flanders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, & so into England.

The Irish would have Perkin take vpon him to be the duke of Clarences sonne.

They bring Perkin to the king Richards bastard.

They call him duke of York.

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They call him
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When the night of the same date (being the fifteenth of June) was come, after he had stood all that date in the face of the citie, he was committed to the Tower, there to remaine under safe keeping, least hapilie he might escones run awaie, and escape out of the land, to put the king and realme to some new trouble. For he had a wonderful bertittie and readinesse to circumvent, a heart full of overreaching imaginations, an aspiring mind, a head more wilie (I wisse) than witte; bold he was and presumptuous in his behaviour, as forward to be the instrument of a mischief, as anie deuiler of wickednesse would willy; a friend of the diuels owne forgoing, nursed and trained up in the studie of commotions, making offer to reach as high as he could loke; such was his inordinate ambition, wherewith he did swell as conuict to be a princes peere: much like the tode that would match the bull in drinking, but in the end the bull in peeces and neuer dranke more; as the poet telleth the tale (by the imitation of the fabler) saying:

cupiens aquare bibendo

Rena botem, rupta nunquam bibit amplius alio.

1499. Reg.

1499. Reg. 15.
Perkin a mo
table land
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Perkin a mo
table land
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Perkin a mo
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Perkin a mo
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Perkin a mo
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In this yeare was an Augustine frier called Patrike in the parties of Suffolke, the which hauing a scholer named Rafe Willford (a thomakers sonne of London as Stow noteth) had so framed him to his purpose, that in hope to worke some great enterpryse, as to disappoint the king of his crowne and seat roiall, took upon him to be the earle of Warwike, insonuch that both the maister and scholer hauing counselled betwaine themselves of their enterpryse, they went into Kent, & there began the pong matu met to tell priuile to manie, that he was the vertie earle of Warwike, and latelie gotten out of the Tower, by the helpe of this frier Patrike. To which sayings when the frier perceiued some light credence to be giuen, he declared it openlie in the pulpit, and desired all men of helpe. But the danger of this seditions attempt was shortly remoued and taken awate, the maister and scholer being both apprehended and cast into prison and atteinted.

The scholer was hanged on Shrouetuesdaie at saint Thomas Waterings, and the frier condemned to perpetuall prison. For at that time so much reuerence was attributed to the holie orders, that to a preist (although he had committed high treason against his souereigne lord) his life was spared, in like case as to anie other offender in murder, rape, or theft, that had receiued anie of the three higher holie orders. The chiefe cause (saith Edward Hall) of this fauour was this, because bishops of a long time and season did not take knowledge, nor intermix themselves with the search & punishment of such heinous and detestable offenses: by reason whereof they did not disgrace and depriue from the holie orders such malefactours and wicked persons, which without that ceremonie by the canon lawes could not be put to death.

Furthermore, what should a man saie, it was also toled, that he that could but onelie read (yea although he vnderstood not what he read) how heinous or detestable a crime so euer he had committed (treason onelie excepted) should likewise as affines & allies to the holie orders be faued, and committed to the bishops prison. And to the intent that if they should escape, and be againe taken, committing like offense, that their liues be no more to them pardoned: it was ordeined that murderers should be burnt on the bawne of the left hand with an hot iron signed with this letter M. and thence in the same place with this letter T. So that if they, which were once signed with anie of these marks or tokens did reiterate like crime & offense againe, should suffer the paines and punishments which they had both merited and deser

ued. Which decre was enacted and established in a session of parlement kept in the time of this kings reigne, and taken (as I conteaure) of the French nation, which are wont, if they take anie such offender, to cut off one of his eares, as a sure token and marke hereafter of his euill doing.]

Perkin Warbecke (as before ye haue heard) being now in hold, by false persuasions and great promises corrupted his keepers, Strangith, Bletwet, Astwood, and long Roger, seruants to sir John Digbie lieutenant of the Tower. Insonuch that they (as it was at their arresignment openlie promised) intended to haue slaine their maister, and to haue set Perkin and the earle of Warwike at large. Which earle of Warwike had bene kept in prison within the Tower almost from his tender yeares, that is to saie, from the first yeare of the king, to this fiftieth yeare, out of all companie of men & sight of beastes, insonuch that he could not discerne a gosle from a capon, and therefore by common reason and open apparance could not of himselfe seeke his diuine death and destruction. But yet by the drift and offense of an other he was brought to his death and confusion.

For being made priuile of this enterpryse deuised by Perkin and his complices, therewith (as all naturall creatures loue libertie) he assented and agreed. But this craftie deuile and subtilt imagination being reuealed, forced to none effect, so that Perkin and John Awater sometime maior of Cozke in Ireland, one of his chiefe founders, and his sonne, were on the sixteenth daie of Nouember arresigned and condemned at Westminister. And on the thre and twentieth daie of the same moneth, Perkin and John Awater were drawne to Tiburie, where Perkin standing on a little scaffold, read his confession (as before he had done in Cheape side) taking it on his death to be true. And so he and John Awater asked the king forgiveness, and died patientlie.

This was the reward of the feined gosle and counterfeit comment of Perkin Warbecke, the which as by his false surmises in his life time had brought manie honourable personages to their deaths, and vndone manie an honest man: so now at his death he brought other of the same sort to their not altogether vnderferved punishment. And amongst others Edward Plantagenet the forenamed erle of Warwike, which (as the same went) consented to beake prison, and to depart out of the realme with Perkin (which in prisoners is high treason) was the one and twentieth daie of the said moneth arresigned at Westminister before the earle of Wrenford then high steward of England of the said treason, which (whether it were by intilement and persuation of other, or of his owne free will manie doubted, because of his innocencie) confessed the fact, and submitted himselfe to the kings mercie; and upon his confession had his iudgement, and according therunto the eight and twentieth daie of Nouember in the yeare 1499, was brought to the scaffold on the Tower hill, and there beheaded.

The same after his death spang abroad, that Ferdinando king of Spaine would make no full conclusion of the matrimonie to be had betwene prince Arthur and the ladie Katharine daughter to the said Ferdinando, nor send him into England as long as this earle liued. For he imagined that so long as anie earle of Warwike liued, England should neuer be purged of ciuill warre and priuie sedition, so much was the name of Warwike in other regions had in feare and gealoufie. The next yeare after there was a great plague, whereof men died in manie places be rie soze; but speciallie and most of all in the citie of London, where died in that yeare thirtie thousand. The four and twentieth of Februarie in this fiftieth

Burning in
the hand
when enacted.

Perkin cor
rupted his
keepers.

Edward
Plantagenet
erle of War
wike a vertie
innocent.

Perkin and
John Awater
executed
at Tiburie.

Edward
Plantagenet
the young earle
of warwike
beheaded.

1500
A great
plague.

1500
years

Edward the kings third sonne christened.
The manour of Shene burnt & Richmond built in place thereof. I.S.pag. 874.

King Henrie the seuenth saileth to Calis.

The king of England and the duke of Burgonie meet at saint Peters church without Calis. Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. in Hen. 7. follij.

Anno Reg. 16.

A yeare of Jubile.

Pope Alexander maketh profit of his great pardon or heauenlie grace, as he termeth it.

yeare of this kings reigne his third son was christened and was named Edward. Also in this yeare was burned a place of the kings, called the manour of Shene situate nigh the Thames side, which he after builded againe sumptuously, and changed the name of Shene, and called it Richmond; because his father and he were earles of Richmond: or (as some note) for that so manie notable and rich iewels were there burnt. He also new builded Wainards castell in London, and repaired Cranelwich.]

The king, whether to auoid the danger of so great and perillous sicknesse, then raging, or to take occasion to comen with the duke of Burgonie, did personallie take his ship at Dover in the beginning of Maie, and sailed to Calis, whither the duke of Burgonie sent to him honourable personages in ambassage to welcome him into those parties, and to declare that the said duke would gladlie repaire personallie to his presence with such a number as the king should appoint, so that it were within no walled towne nor fortreffe. For hauing denied the French king to enter into anie of his fortresses to talke with him, he would be loth now to giue a present to him to desire the like meeting. The king intertaining the ambassadors, and thanking the duke of his courteous offer, appointed the place at saint Peters church without Calis.

Upon tuesdaie in Whitsunweke the archduke Philip came thither with a conuenient companie. The king and the queene with manie a lustie lord and ladye rode thither to welcome him. And when the king approached, the duke at his lighting offered to hold his stirrups, when the king in no wise would suffer to be done. When the king was descended from his horse, he and the archduke embraced each other with most princelie familiaritie, and then the queene and all the nobles saluted him. And after most louing interteinments, banquettings, mirth, and pastime thewed amongest them, there was communication of marriages, treating of further strengthening of leagues, requests of tolles in Flanders to be minished: with manie other things touching the commoditie and traffike of both their countries. And when all things were set in order, the two princes toke their leaue, and departed; the king to Calis, and the archduke to S. Amers. After his departing, there came as ambassadors from the French king, the lord Cronthouse gouernour of Picardie, and the lord Peruelliers bailiffe of Amiens, which declared to the king the getting of Millaine and taking of the duke. The king highlye feasted them, and rewarded them princelie at their departing.

Some after, when the death was slaked, the king returned againe into England about the end of Iune. Shortly after there came to him one Casper Pons a Spaniard, a man of excellent learning and most ciuill behauiour, sent from Alexander the bishop of Rome to distribute the heauenlie grace (as he termed it) to all such as (letted by anie forceable impediment) could not come to Rome that yeare to the Jubile, which was there celebrate, being the yeare after the birth of our Saviour, 1500. This beneuolent liberalitie was not altogether frailer giuen. For Alexander looking to the health of mens soules, thought to do somewhat for his owne priuat commoditie, & therefore he set a certeine price of that his grace and pardon. And to the end that the king should not hinder his purpose, he offered part of his gaires to the king.

And to colour the matter with some fauourable pretext, and to make men the better willing, & moze ready to giue frankie, he promised with that monie to make warre against the Turke. By this meanes the roie got a great masse of monie, which he had

conueied ouer vnto him by such trustie messengers (doubt you not) as he had appointed; and yet nothing done against the Turks, which in the meane season did much hurt to the christians. [For it was no part of his meaning (what colourable helpe soeuer he made of tendering the succourlesse people) to impart anie portion thereof to so good a vse; but rather for the supportation of him and his swarme, who before they will bate an ace of their gorgeous gallantnesse, the whole world shalbe consumed. Such is the collusion of the pope, such be the shamelesse shifts of him and his cleargie for the maintenance of their owne courtlie bawerie, which is wicked banitie; farre passing the pompe of anie prince, were the same of neuer so rare magnificence; as he well noteth that said full trulie:

*immo princeps non visus in orbe est,
Cui tanti fastus tantae pompa fuit.
Ingreditur quando misera Babylonis in urbes,
Cernitur hic plusquam regia pompa comes.
Huic equus est humans ostrog infans & auro,
Alisq; chinas sub pede terra ferunt.*

About this time died these bishops in England, John Hopton archbishop of Cantuarburie, Thomas Langton bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Rotherham archbishop of York. After him succeeded Thomas Sanage bishop of London, a man of great honour and worthinesse: in whose place succeeded William Warham, of whose before is made mention. And Heirric Deane bishop of Salisburie, was made archbishop of Cantuarburie, and Richard For was removed from Durham to the see of Winchester. Also this yeare two notable marriages were concluded, but not consummate till afterwarres, as you shall heare in place conuenient. For king Henrie granted his daughter ladie Margaret to James the fourth king of Scots. And Ferdinando king of Spaine gaue his daughter ladie Katharine to Arthur prince of Wales, sonne and heire apparent to the king of England.

Among other articles of the marriage concluded with the Scottis king this was one, that no English men should be receiued into Scotland without letters commendatorie of their soueraigne lord, or safe conduct of his warden of the marches; and the same prohibition was in like maner giuen to the Scots. This yeare the ladie Katharine of Spaine was sent by hir father king Ferdinando with a puissant nauie of ships into England, where she arrived in the haue of Wlmmouth the second daie of October then being saturday. Upon the twelfe of November she was conueied from Lambeth through London with all triumph and honour that might be deuised to the bishops palace, the streets being hanged, and pageants erected after the maner as is vied at a coronation: which solemnitie Edward Hall describeth with the sumptuous shewes then glistering in the beholders eyes.

I passe ouer (saith he) the wise deuises, the prudent speeches, the costlie works, the cunning portraiture, practised and set forth in seuen goodlie beautiful pageants, created and set by in diuerse places of the citie. I leaue also the goodlie ballades, the sweet harmonie, the muscalle instruments, which sounded with heauenlie noise on euerie side of the streets. I omit further, the costlie apparell both of goldsmiths worke and imbroderie, the rich iewels, the masse chaines, the stirring harnesses, the beautifull barbs and the glittering trappers, both with belles and spangels of gold. I pretermitt also the rich apparell of the prince, the strange fashion of the Spanissh nation, the beautie of the English ladies, the goodlie demaure of the yong damoels, the amorous countenance of the lustie bachelers. I passe ouer also the fine ingrained clothes, the costlie furs of the citizens, standing

Ab. Fl.

Ab. Fl. 42.

Two notable marriages.

1501

Katharine daughter to Ferdinando K. of Spaine affianced to the prince of Wales.

Anno Reg.

The fourth of October as Stow hath noted.

Ab. Fl. 42. Edw. Hall follij.

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Two notable
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on scaffolds, raised from Gracechurch to Paules. What should I speake of the odoriferous scarlets, the fine veluets, the pleasant furrres, the masse chaines, which the maior of London with the senat, sitting on horsebacke at the little conduit in Cheape, ware on their bodies and about their neckes: I will not speake of the rich arras, the collicke tapestrie, the fine clothes both of gold and siluer, the curious veluets, the beautifull satteens, nor the pleasant silkes which did hang in euerie street where she passed, the wine that ran continuallie out of the conduits, and the graweling of the streets needeth not to be remembred.]

Whilest this ladie sojourned for her recreation in the bishops palace of London, being in the meane time visited of the king, the quene, and the kings mother, there was erected in the bodie of S. Paules church a long badge made of timber, extending from the west dore of the church to the step at the entring into the quere, which was six foot from the ground. On the said badge of stage, guen direalie before the confessorie of the church, was a place raised like a mount for eight persons to stand upon, compassed round about with steps to ascend and descend, which was covered with fine red woofed, and in likewise were all the railles of the said stage. On the north side of this mount was a place decked and trimmed for the king and quene, and such other as they appointed to haue. On the south side of the same mount stood the maior and the magistrates of the citie.

When all things were prepared and set in order, upon the foureteenth of Nouember then being Sundaye, the foresaid ladie was led to the said mount, and there prince Arthur openlie espoused her, both being clad in white, both lustie and amorous, he of the age of sixteen and more, and she of the age of eighteen or thereabouts, the king and quene standing priuily on their stage. After the matrimonie celebrated, the prince and his wife went by into the quere, and there heard a solemne masse song by the archbishop of Canturburie, associat with nineteen prelates mitred. And after the masse finished, the bzide was led homewards to the bishops palace by the duke of Yorke being then a godlie young prince, and the legat of Spaine. Pert after followed the ladie Cicilie sister to the quene, suppoiting the traine of the spoule.

But to speake of all the solemne pompe, noble companie of lords and ladies, and what a sumptuous feast and plentifull was kept, with dawning and disgulings, words might sooner faile than matter words of rehearfall. Whatbeit euerie daie endeth and night insuech, and so when night was come, the prince and his beautifull bzide were brought and ioined together in one bed, where they laie as man and wife all that night. Now when the morning appeared, the prince (as his familiar seruitors, which had then neither cause nor reward to lie or faime, openlie told the tale called for drinke, which he before times was not accustomed to do. At which thing one of his chamberlaines maruelling, asked the cause of his drouth. To whom the prince answered merilie, saying: I haue this night bene in the midst of Spaine, which is a hot region, and that iourne maketh me so drie: and if then haddest bene under that hot climat, thou wouldest haue bene drier than I.]

Shortlie after the king and the quene, with the new wedded spoules went from Baimards castell by water to Westminister, on whom the maior and communalte of London in barges gorgeously trimmed gaue their attendance. And there in the palace were such martiall feats, valiant iusts, vigorous turneis, and such fierce fight at the barriers, as before that time was of no man had in remembrance. Of this toiall triumph lord Edward duke of Bucking-

ham was chiefe challenger, and lord Thomas Greie marquisse Dorset chiefe defender, which with their aids and companions bare themselves to balliantlie, that they got great praise and honour, both of the Spaniards, and of their owne countrymen. During the time of these iusts and triumphs, were receiued into London, an earle, a bishop, and diuerse noble personages sent from the king of Scots into England, for conclusion of the marriage betwene the ladie Margaret and him; which earle by prorie, in the name of king James his master, affied and contracted the said ladie. Which affiance was published at Paules crosse, the daie of the conuersion of saint Paule: in reioicing whereof *Te Deum* was song, and great fiers made through the citie of London.

These things being accomplished, the ambassadoys as well of Spaine as Scotland toke their leane of the king, and not without great rewards returned into their countries. When the ambassadoys were departed, he sent his sonne prince Arthur againe into Wales, to keepe that countrie in good order; appointing to him wise and expert counsellors, as sir Richard Pole his kinsman, which was his chiefe chamberleine, also sir Henrie Vernon, sir Richard Crofts, sir David Philip, sir William Udall, sir Thomas Englefield, sir Peter Pelton knights; John Malleson, Henrie Barton, & doctor William Smith, president of his counsell, and doctor Charles; of the which two doctors, the one was after bishop of Lincoln, and the other bishop of Hereford.

This yeare John Shaw (who was maior of London) caused his brethren the aldermen to ride from the Guildhall vnto the water side, when he went to Westminister to be presented in the exchequer. He also caused the kitchens and other houses of office to be builded at the Guildhall, where since that time the maiors feasts haue bene kept, which before had bene in the grocers or tallowers hall. About Easter, all the Greie friers in England changed their habit, for whereas of long time before they had used to weare browne russet of foure shillings, six shillings, and eight shillings the yard; now they were compelled to weare russet of two shillings the yard and not above, which was brought to passe by the friers of Cranelwich. This yeare, the dike called Carnemill broke, with all the course of flet dike, were so scoured downe to the Thames, that boates with fish and felwell were rowed by to Holborne bridge, as they of old time had bene accustomed: which was a great commoditie to all the inhabitants in that part of London. Also the tower nere to the Blacke friers was taken downe by the commandement of the maior. Also this yeare were brought vnto the king three men taken in the new found Islands, by Sebastian Gabato, before named in Anno 1468. These men were clothed in beasts skins, and eat raw flesh, but spake such a language as no man could vnderstand them, of the which three men, two of them were sene in the kings court at Westminister two yeares after, clothed like Englishmen, and could not be discerned from Englishmen.]

A few moneths before the marriage of prince Arthur, Edmund de la Pole earle of Suffolke, sonne to John duke of Suffolke, and ladie Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth, being bold and rash withall, was indicted of murder, for slaying of a meane person in his rage & furte. And although the king pardoned him whome he might iustlie haue put to death for that offense, yet bicause he was brought to the barre before the kings Bench, and arraigned (which fact he toke as a great blemish to his honour) shortlie after upon that displeasure he fled into Flanders vnto his aunt the ladie Margaret, the king not being ynnie to his going ouer. Peruerthelesse, the

Margaret eldest daughter to king Henrie affied to James king of Scots.

1502

Prince Arthur is sent into Wales.

John Stow pag. 874, 875.

The maiors feast first kept at Guildhall.

woollen cloth of two shillings the yarde. Dikes of London cleansed.

When brought from the new found Islands.

Edmund eris of Suffolke flieth into Flanders.

ther he was perswaded by his friends thereunto, whom the king had willed to deale with him therein; or whether upon trust of his innocencie: true it is that he returned againe, and excused himselfe to the king, so that he thought him to be guiltlesse of anie crime that might be objected against him.

The discon-
tented mind of
the earle of
Suffolke.

But when the mariage betwixt the prince & the ladie Katharine of Spaine was kept at London, this erle either for that he had passed his compasse in excessive charges and sumptuousnesse at that great triumph and solemnitie, and by reason thereof was farre run into debt; either else through the procurement of his aunt the foresaid ladie Margaret; or picked with some private enuie, which could not patientlie with open eyes behold king Henrie (being of the aduerser faction to his linage) so long to reigne in wealth and felicitie: in conclusion with his brother Richard fled againe into Flanders. This departure of the earle so bereaved the king, doubting of some new trouble to issue thereof.

The kings
sworned pa-
trons now as-
gaine practis-
ed.

But yet to vnderstand the full meaning of the said earle, the king bled his old feth: for immediatlie after the earle was fled, he appointed sir Robert Curson, whome he had aduanced to the order of knight-hood, and made capitaine of Hammes castell, a valiant man and a circumspect, to dissemble him selfe one of that conspiracie; who went into Flanders, to espie what was done there by the ladie Margaret, and his nephew the earle of Suffolke. After that the said sir Robert Curson was thus gone into Flanders, the king to put him out of all suspicion with the said ladie Margaret and the earle, caused the said earle, and sir Robert Curson, and five persons more to be accused at Paules crosse, the first Sunday of Nouember, as enemies to him and his realme.

To be briefe, the king by his meanes, and other such diligent inquisition as he made, trised out such as he suspected, partlie to be deualers of mischefe against him, and partlie to beare no sincere affection towards his person, so that he could reabilie name them: whereof a great part were within few daies apprehended and taken. And amongst them William lord Courtencie, sonne to the earle of Deuonshire, which married the ladie Katharine, daughter to king Edward the fourth; lord William de la Pole, brother to the foresaid earle of Suffolke, sir James Tirrell, & sir John Windam. Both the Williams were rather taken of suspicion, because they were so neere of kin to the conspirator, than for anie proued matter. But sir James Tirrell and John Windam, because they were traitors, and so attainted, the first daie of Maie after their apprehension, they were on the Tower hill beheaded.

Tirrell and
windam
beheaded.

When the earle of Suffolke heard what fortune thus happened to his friends, as one in bitter despaire to haue anie good successe in his pretended enterprise, wandered about all Germanie and France, to purchase some aid and succour, if by anie means he might. But when he perceived no stedfast ground to catch anchor-hold vpon, he submitted himselfe vnder the protection of Philip archduke of Austrich. But his brother Richard, being a politike man, so wiselie ordered himselfe in this stormie tempest, that he was not intrapped either with net or snare. The king not yet out of all doubt of ciuill sedition, because a great number of euill disposed persons partakers of this conspiracie, were fled into sundrie sanctuaries, deuised to haue all the gates of sanctuaries and places privileged shut and locked vp, so that none should issue out from thence to perturb and disquiet him.

And for that intent he wrote vnto pope Alexander, desiring him by his authoritie to adiudge all Englishmen, being fled to sanctuarie for the offense

of treason as enemies to the christian faith, interdicting and prohibiting the refuge and priuilege of sanctuarie to all such, as once had enioied the libertie and protection of the same, and after that fled out, and estates returned againe. Which thing after that the pope had granted, turned to the great quietnesse of the king and his realme. For manie that had offended, for feare to fall into danger, returned to the due subiection of their prince; and other that were yet free from perill, durst not hazard themselves so boldlie as they durst haue done before, vpon hope of such starting holes.

When the king had thus settled things to his owne contentation and pleasure, there suddenlie happened to him a lamentable chance. For that noble prince Arthur, the kings first begotten sonne, after he had bene married to the ladie Katharine his wife, the space of five moneths, departed out of this transitorie life, in his castell of Ludlow, and with great funeral obsequie was buried in the cathedrall church of Worcester. His brother the duke of Yorke was deaied from the title of Prince by the space of a moneth, till to women it might appeare whether the ladie Katharine liued to the said prince Arthur was conceived with child or not. [It is reported that this ladie Katharine thought and feared such dolorous chance to come: for when she had embraced her father, and taken her leave of her noble and prudent mother, and sailed towards England, she was continually so tossed and tumbled hither and thither with boisterous winds, that what for the rage of the water, and contrarietie of the winds, her ship was prohibited diuerse times to approach the shore, and take land.]

In this eighteenth yeare, the twentieth fourth daie of Januarie, a quarter of an houre afore three of the clocke at after none of the same daie, the first stone of our ladie chapel within the monastrie of Westminster was laid, by the hands of John Skip abbat of the same monastrie, sir Reginald Bray knight of the garter, doctor Barnes maister of the rolles, doctor Wall chapleine to the kings maiestie, maister Hugh Oldham chapleine to the countesse of Darbie and Richmond the kings mother, sir Edward Stanhope knight, and diuerse others. Vpon the same stone was this scripture ingrauen: *Illustrissimus Henricus septimus rex Anglia & Francie, & dominus Hibernie, posuit hanc petram in honore beatae virginis Mariae, 24. die Ianuarij, anno Domini 1502. Et anno dicti regis Henrici septimi, decimo octauo.* The charges wherof amounted (as some report, vpon credible information as they saie) to foureteene thousand pounds.

Queene Elizabeth lieng within the Tower of London, was brought a bed of a faire daughter on Candlemasse daie, which was there christened and named Katharine; and the eleuenth of the same moneth the said queene there deceased, and was buried at Westminster, whose daughter also liued but a small season after her mother. [King Henrie the seauenth being himselfe a brother of the tailors company in London, as diuerse other his predecessors kings before him had bene (to wit Richard the third, Edward the fourth, Henrie the first, Henrie the fifth, Henrie the fourth, and Richard the second; also of dukes eleuen, earles eight and twentie, and lordes eight and fortie) he now gaue to them the name and title of merchant tailors, as a name of worship to indure for euer. This yeare, about the later end of March, the prioz of the Charterhouse of Shene was murdered in a cell of his owne house, by meanes of one Godwine, a monke of the same cloister, and his adherents artificers of London. A drie summer, hauing no notable raine from Whitson-tide to the later ladie daie in haruest.

The eightieth of Februarie, the king at his palace

Donatus
relinquit.

The death
of Arthur
prince
of Wales.

Edw. Hall
Hen. 7. lib. 1.

Anno Reg. 1502
King Henrie
the seauenth
chapel at
Westminster
first buried.

Abt. Fl. c. 13
pag. 87.
Sir Henrie
of England
then was
tailor in
London, before
they were
called mer-
chant tailors.
Prioz of
Shene was
murdered.

The mar-
riage
betweene the
king and
the ladie Mar-
garet.

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The mar-
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Edw. Hall in
Hen. 7. fol. 13.

Anno Reg. 14.
1503
King Henrie
the seventh
chappell at
Westminster
first builded

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of the
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face of Westminster created his onelie sonne Henrie prince of Wales, earle of Chester, &c: who afterward succeeded his father in possession of the regall crowne of this realme. Moreover, this yeare also, after the deceasse of that noble queene, for hir vertue commonlie called good queene Elizabeth, departed out of this world also sir Reginald Bate knight of the garter, a verie father of his countrie, for his high wisdom and singular loue to iustice well worthie to beare that title. If anie thing had bene done amiss contrarie to law and equitie, he would after an humble sort plainelie blame the king, and giue him good advertisement, that he should not onelie rejoyce the same, but also be more circumspect in anie other the like case. Of the same vertue and faithfull plainnesse was John Foxton archbishop of Canturburie, which died (as is shewed aboue) two yeares before.

So these two persons were restrainers of the kings vnbisheled libertie; whereas the common people (ignorant altogether of the truth in such matters) iudged and reported, that the counsell of those two worthie personages corrupted the kings cleane and immaculate conscience, contrarie to his princelie disposition and naturall inclination; such is euer the error of the common people. About this time died Henrie the archbishop of Canturburie, whose roome doctor William Warham bishop of London supplied. And to the see of London William Barnes was appointed, and after his death succeeded one Richard fitz James. This yeare also the lord Calmire marquisse of Brandenburg, accompanied with an earle, a bishop, and a great number of gentlemen well apparelled, came in ambassage from the emperor Maximilian, and were triumphantlie receiued into London, and lodged at Croftes place.

Their message was for thre causes, one to comfort the king in his tunc of heavinesse for the losse of his wife. The second for the renewing of amitie, and the old league. The third (which was not apparant) was to move the king to marie the emperours daughter, the ladie Margarete, duchesse Dowager of Savoy. The two first took effect: for the king upon Passen Sundaye rode to Paules in great triumph, the said marquisse riding on his left hand. And there the bishop made to the king an excellent consolatorie oration concerning the death of the queene. And there also the king openlie swore to keepe the new renewed league and amitie during their two liues. But the third request (whether the let was on the mans side, or on the womans) neuer soyled to anie conclusion.

The ladie Margarete the kings daughter, assied (as ye haue heard) to the king of Scots, was appointed to be conueied into Scotland, by the earle of Surrie: and the earle of Northumberland, as wariden of the marches, was commanded to deliuer hir at the confines of both the realmes. And so hereupon, after hir coming to Werwike, she was conueied to Lamberton kirke in Scotland, where the king of Scots, with the flower of all the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, was readie to receiue hir: to whom the earle of Northumberland (according to his commission) deliuered hir. The said earle of Northumberland and that date, what for the riches of his coat being goldsmithes worke, garnished with pearle and stone, and what for the gallant apparell of his henchmen, and braue trappers of his horse, besides foure hundred tall men well hoysed and apparelled in his colours, was esteemed both of the Scots and Englishmen more like a prince than a subiect.

From Lamberton, the foresaid ladie was conueied to Edenburgh, and there the date after, King James the fourth, in the presence of all his nobilitie,

esponed hir, and feasted the English lords, and shewed iusts and other pastimes verie honourable, after the fashion of that countrie. And after all things were finished according to their commission, the earle of Surrie with all the English lords and ladies returned into their countrie. In this yeare the king kept his high court of parlement, in the which diuerse acts esteemed necessarie for the preservation of the common-wealth were established: and amongst other, it was enacted, that thence and murderers duellie conuicted by the law to die, and yet saved by their books, should be committed to the bishops custody. After this, a subsidie was granted, both of the tempozaltie, and spiritualltie, and so that parlement ended.

But the king now drawing into age, and willing to fill his chests with abundance of treasure, was not satisficed with this onelie subsidie, but deuised an other meane how to enrich himselfe, as thus. He considered that the Englishmen little regarded the keeping of penall lawes, and pecuntall statutes, deuised for the good preservation of the common-wealth. Therefore he caused inquisition to be made of those that had transgressed anie of the same lawes, so that there were but few noble men, merchants, farmers, husbandmen, graffers, or occupiers, that could clearely proue themselves faultlesse, but had offended in some one or other of the same lawes. At the first, they that were found gilty were caslie fined. But after, there were appointed two maisters and suruisors of his forfeits, the one sir Richard Empson, and the other Edmund Dudley.

These two were learned in the lawes of the realme, who meaning to satisfie their princes pleasure, and to see their commission executed to the vttermost, seemed little to respect the perill that might insue. Whereupon they being furnished with a sort of accusers, commonlie called promoters, or (as they themselves will be named) informers, troubled manie a man, whereby they wan them great hatred, and the king (by such rigorous proceedings) lost the loue and fauour which the people before time had borne towards him; so that he for setting them a worke, and they for executing of it in such extream wise, ran into obloquie with the subjects of this realme.

On the thirtieth of Nouember was holden with in the palace of the archbishop of Canturburie, at Lambeth, the sergeants feast, where dined the king and all his nobles. And upon the same day, Thomas Granger, newlie chosen shriffe of London, was presented before the barons of the kings exchequer, there to take his oth, and after went with the maiors unto the same feast, which saued him monie in his purse; for if that day that feast had not bene kept, he must haue feasted the maiors, aldermen, and others, two shipfull of the citie. This feast was kept at the charge of ten learned men, newlie admitted to be sergeants to the kings law, whose names were, Robert Biddell, William Grenill, Thomas Harlow, George Edgoc, John More, John Cutler, Thomas Eliot, Lewis Pollard, Cnie Palmis, William Jafrekar. On the one and twentieth of Nouember at night, began a perillous fier at the signe of the painter upon London hydge, nere to saint Magnus church; where six tenements were burned per the same could be quenched. On the seventh of Ianuarie, were certeine houses consumed with fire against saint Butolphes church in Thames street. On the nine and twentieth of Ianuarie began a parlement at Westminster, of the which was chosen speaker for the commons, maister Edmund Dudley.

A new coine of sluer was ordeined of grotes and halfe grotes, which bare but halfe faces; and some peeces of the value of twelue pence were then stamped,

garet king
Henries el-
dest daughter.

Anno Reg. 19.

The king co-
uerous in his
old age.

1504

Richard
Empson &
Edmund
Dudley.

Promoters.

Abt. Fl. ex
I. S. pag. 876.
Sergeants
feast soberat
were the king
and all his
nobles as
dinner.

Fire on L. ord
don bridge.

Fire.

Parliament.

Anno reg. 20.

An. Reg. 21.

The king of
Castile inter-
dicted Span-
naw.

to sir John Carew, and to sir Thomas Trenchard, that they should intertaine him in the most hono-
rable sort they could devise, till he might come himselfe
in person to welcome him. Beside this, he sent the
earle of Arundell with manie lords and knights to
attend upon him. Which earle (according to the
kings letters) receiued him with three hundred hor-
ses, all by torchlight, to the great admiration of the
strangers.

King Philip seeing no remedie but that he must
needs tarie, would no longer gaze after king Hen-
ries coming, but took his iourne toward Wind-
sore castell, where the king laie: and five miles from
Windsore the prince of Wales, accompanied with
five earles, and diuerse lords and knights, and other
to the number of five hundred persons gorgeously
apparelled, receiued him after the most honorable fa-
shion. And within halfe a mile of Windsore, the
king, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham,
and a great part of the nobilitie of this realme, wel-
comed him, & so conueied him to the castell of Wind-
sore, where he was made companion of the noble or-
der of the garter. After him came to Windsore his
wife quene Jane, sister to the princesse Dowager,
late wife to prince Arthur.

After the two kings had renewed & confirmed the
league and amitie betwixt them, king Henrie de-
sired to haue Edmund de la Pole earle of Suffolke
to be deliuered into his hands. To whom the king
of Castile answered, that he herelic was not within
his dominion: and therefore it laie not in him to de-
liuer him. In deed he was loth to be the authour of
his death that came to him for succour, and was re-
ceiued under his protection: yet upon the earnest re-
quest and assured promise of king Henrie (that he
would pardon him of all erecutions and paines of
death he granted to king Henries desire; and so in-
conueniently caused the said earle secretlie to be sent
for. After this, to protract time till he were possessed
of his priue, king Henrie conueied the king of Cas-
tile unto the citie of London, that he might see the
head citie of his realme.

Then he led him from Baiwards castell by Cheape
to Waring; and so returned by Watling street a-
gaine: during which time there was shot out of the
Tower a wonderfull peale of ordinance. But he
would not enter into the Tower, because as ye haue
heard before he had aduised not to enter the for-
tresse of any foreign prince, in the which a garrison
was maintained. From London the king brought
him to Richmond, where manie notable feates of
armes were panned both of tilt, turnie, and barriers.
In the meane season the erle of Suffolke, perceiuing
what hope was to be had in foreign princes, and
trusting that after his life to him once granted, king
Henrie would graunte let him at his full libertie,
was in manner contented to returne againe into his
native countrey.

When all pacts and covenants betwixt the kings
of England and Castile were appointed, concluded,
and agreed, king Philip took his leave of king Hen-
rie passing to him and his beautes thanks for his high
dore and comely entertainment. And being ac-
companied with diuerse lords of England, he came to
the citie of Oxford, and so to Southampton in Corn-
wall, and there taking ship sailed into Spaine, where
he arrived after he was being thirtie yeares of age. The
time of his iourne, of countenance amiable
of his face most gentle, quick, welled, bold and
brave. Somewhat the tempest that he suffered on the
sea was long, and wonderfull also upon the land, in
which he in the presence of the world was become an
eagle of battle, being set to them on which part the
world was, from a puerile to a place of honour and
glorie.

and in the falling, the same eagle brake and battered
an other eagle that was set up for a signe at a fa-
uierne dore in Cheape-side.

Whereupon men that were given to gestic things
that should happen by marking of strange tokens,
deemed that the emperour Maximilian, which gaue
the eagle, should suffer some great misfortune: as he
did shortly after by the losse of his sonne, the said
king Philip. And suerlie these prodigious accidents
are not to be omitted as matter of course; for they
haue their weight, and shew their truth in the issue.
Examples in this booke be diuerse, among which one
is verie memorizable, mentioned in the thirtie & ninth
yeare of Henrie the first. At what time the duke of
Borke making an oration to the lords of the parlie-
ment, for the iustifying of his title to the crowne, it
chanced that a crowne which hang in the middle of
the nether house (to garnish a branch to set lights up-
on) without touch of man or blast of wind suddenlie
fell downe. About which season also fell downe the
crowne which stood on the top of Dover castell. Which
things were construed to be signes that the crowne
of the realme should some waie haue a fall; and so it
came to passe.

And because the events of these foresaydes had
their truth, as manie more of the like nature; it shall
not be amisse here to ad (by waie of digression) what
hath bene obserued in former ages by foreign writers
in and about such foretokens. The content of the hear-
uens and of men, pronounced to Italie their calami-
ties to come; for that such as made profession to haue
iudgement either by science or diuine inspiration in
the things to come, assured with one voice that there
were in preparing, both more great mutations and
more strange and horrible accidents, than for manie
worlds before had bene discerned in any part or
circuit of the earth. There were scene in the night in
Bouille three sons in the midst of the firmament,
but manie clouds about them, with right fearefull
thunders and lightnings. In the territorie of Aretze,
were visible scene passing in the aire, infinite num-
bers of armed men upon mightie horses, with a ter-
rible noise of drums and trumpets. The images & fi-
gures of saints did sweate in manie parts of Italie.

In euerie place of the countrey were brought forth
manie monsters of men and other creatures, with
manie other things against the order of nature con-
curring all at one time, but in diuerse places: by
means wherof the people were carried into incredible
feares, being already amazed with the brute of the
French powers & furie of that nation, with which ac-
cording to the testimony of histories they had afore-
time run ouer all Italie, sacked and made desolate
with fire and sword the citie of Rome, and subuer-
ted in Asia manie provinces; and generally no part of
the world which had not felt the vertue of their
armes. But albeit these iudgements are oftentimes
fallible, and rather coniectures vncertaine, than ef-
fects happening: yet the accidents that were on,
brought to them, in the spirits of fraile men, an abso-
lute faith, credit, & religion. So that there is in force
the way matter of moment together to be obserued,
howeuer the world lieth asleep in the lap of secu-
ritie us touched with no feare of change. But alas the
Apostrophe could be the contrary, and therefore said:

CHANCE WILL FALL UPON THEE, O KING,
THAT THOU SHALT SEE A STRANGE END
OF THY REIGN, AND OF THY PEOPLE.

But to returne to our owne story. Shortly after
the departing of king Philip, the king of England
began to suspect sir George Bouchard lord of Bouchard
newe, and sir Thomas Greue of Greues house,
as partakers in the beginning of the conspiracy
with the earle of Suffolke, and so upon that suspicion

Prodigious
tokens or ac-
cidents haue
their issue in
truth.

See pag 557.

Abt. Flera. ex
Guic. pag. 40.

These scenes
scene at once
in the night.

Man. lib.
Ap. lib.

they were committed to the Towler. But shortly after, when they had bene tried and purged of that suspicion, he commanded them both to be set at libertie. But sir Thomas Grene fell sicke before, and remained in the Towler, in hope to be restored to his health as well as to his libertie, but by death he was prevented. [And here because it is good to see the consent of histories in the report of accidents, it shall not be amisse to repeat the entier relation of a late toizer stranger touching this casualltie which befell to king Philip, in such sort to be cast vpon the English coasts; as also the promise of the said king to deliver the duke of Suffolke into the hands of king Henrie, with the cause (as it is supposed) why the king desired to haue him within his owne reach.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 355. King Philip saileth out of Flanders into Spaine.

King Philip was imbarked to saile out of Flanders into Spaine with a great armie by sea; and to reduce his going to a more facilitie and safetie (for he feared least his father in law by the aid of the French would hinder his passage) he practised the Spanish subtilties, and agreed with him to leaue vnto him the managing and policie of the most part of affaires, and that they shuld take in common the title of king of Spaine, according to the example in the quenes time: and lastlie, that the reuenues and tributes shoud be diuided in an order certeine & indifferent. By reason of which accord, his father in law, notwithstanding he was not assured of the obseruation, sent him into Flanders manie ships to furnish his voyage: with the which, hauing imbarked his wife, and Ferdinand his second sonne, he toke his course into Spaine with forward winds, which, within two daies turning cleane contrarie, after his nauie had runne a dangerous fortune, and made a wearie resistance against the furie of the sea, his ships were cast vpon sundrie coasts of England and Britaine; his owne person with two or three ships being driuen with manifest perill vpon England into the haven of South Hampton.

King Philip cast by casualltie of sea vpon the coasts of England.

Whereof Henrie the seventh then king of that nation being aduertised, sent to him with speed manie barons to do him honour, and desire him to come to his court, then at London: a request which Philip could not denie, the king of Englands demand bearing no lesse honourable, than his owne estate full of necessitie and nakednesse. He remained in the court of England, vntill all his nauie was reassembled, and shippes rigged, making in the meane while betwene them new capitulations: wherein albeit Philip in all other things held himselfe vsed as a king, yet in this one thing complained, that he was constrained as a prisoner, to consent to redeliver to his enemies hands the duke of Suffolke, whom he held prisoner within the castell of Hamur, and whom the king of England desired much to haue in his power, for that he quarrelled the title of the crowne, pretending the right of the kingdome to appertene to him: one lie the king of England assured Philip by the faith and word of a king, that he would not put him to death, which he did as iustlie performe, as he had honorable promised, keeping him in prison so long as he liued, and afterwards was beheaded vnder the reigne and commandement of his sonne.]

Philip promised to redeliver to king Henrie the duke of Suffolke.

Anno Reg. 22.

The sweating sicknesse returned.

This yeare the king began to be diseased of a certeine infirmitie, which thise euerie yeare, but specially in the springtime sore bered him. And because for the most part the harme that chanceth to the prince, is parted with his subiects, the sweating sicknesse, which (as ye haue heard) in the first yeare of the king first afflicted the people of this realme, now assailed them againe; howbeit by the remedie found at the beginning of it, nothing the like number died thereof now this second time, as did at the first time till the said remedie was inuented. But now the third plague

equall to the pestilence ensued, by the working of the maisters of the forfeitures, and such informers as were appointed thereto. By whose meanes manie a rich & wealthe person by the extremitie of the lawes of the realme were condemned and brought to great losse and hunderance.

A great part of which their bndings proceeded by the inconuenience of such unconscionable officers, as by the abuse of exigents outlawed those that neuer heard, nor had knowledge of the lutes commensed against them, of which hard and sharpe dealing (the harme that thereof insueeth considered) if the occasion might be taken awaie by some other more reasonable forme and order of law deuised, whereby the parties might haue personall waiting, it would both preserve manie an innocent man from vnder serued beration, and danger of vnmerefull losse of goods; and also rebound highlie to the commendation of the prince, and such other as chanced to be reformers of that colourable law, where they be called onlie in the counties without other knowledge giuen to them or theirs at their dwelling houses.

But now to returne. Such maner of outlawries, old recognisances of the peace, and god abearings, escapes, riots, & innumerable statutes penall, were put in execution, and called vpon by Emplon and Dupleie; so that euerie man, both the spirituale and temporallie, hauing either lands or substance, were invited to that plucking banquet. For these two rauening wolues had a gard of false perjured persons appertaining to them, which were impanelled in euerie quest. Learned men in the law, when they were required of their aduise, would say; So agree is the best counsell that I can giue you. By this vniuersitians, these couetous persons filled the kings coffers, and enriched themselves. And at this vnrainable and extort doing, noble men grudged, meane men kicked, poore men lamented, preachers openlie at Donles crosse and other places exclaimed, rebuked, and detested. Howbeit the good king in his last daies conferred and pardoned his poore subiects of such vnrainable yokes and ponderous burdens as they were laden withall.

Ed. Hall in Hen. 7. fol. 19.

Sir Gilbert Talbot knight, and Richard Bere abbat of Glasfenburie, and doctor Robert Sherborne deane of Poules, were sent as ambassadoys from the King to Rome, to declare to Pius the third of that name newlie elected pope in place of Alexander the first deceased, what joy and gladnesse had entered the kings heart for his preferment. But he taried not the coming of those ambassadoys, for within a moneth after that he was installed, he rendered his debt to nature, and so had short pleasure of his promotion [not beguiling the hopes which the cardinals conceived of him at the time of his creation, the six & twentieth day after his election, which was in short time to die. This popes name was Francis Piccolomini cardinal of Sienna, in whom was no expectation of long life, both for his extreame age, and present sicknesse: a cardinall sure of vnspotted report, and for his other conditions not vnworthy that degree; who to renew the memorie of Pius secundus his vncle, toke vpon him the name of Pius the third.]

1507

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 356.

Pag. 356.

Pag. 357.

He succeeded Alexander the first, who went to supper in a vineyard nere the Vatican to reioise in the delight & pleasure of the fresh aire, & was suddenly carried for dead to the bishops palace; his sonne also communicating in the same accident, but with better fortune. For the day following, which was the eighteenth day of August, the dead corps of the pope (according to custome) was borne into the church of saint Peter, blacke, swolne, and most deformed; most manifest signes of poison. But Valentines, what by the vigour and strength of his youth, and reable helpe of strong

strong medicines and counterpoisons, had his life saved, remaining notwithstanding oppressed with long and grievous sicknesse: it was assuredly believed that the accident proceeded of poison, the discourse whereof (according to common report) was in this sort.

The duke Valentinois, who was to be present at that supper, had determined to poison Adrian cardinal of Cornette, reserving that time and place to execute his bloudie resolution: for it is most certaine that in his father and him were naturall customes to use poison, not onelie to be reuenged of their enemies, or to be assured of suspicions; but also upon a wicked courtousnesse, to despoile rich men of their goods, whether they were cardinals or courtiers, although they had neuer done them wrong, as hapned to the cardinall saint Ange, who was verie rich. This manner of rage they would use also against their greivous friends & familiars, and such as had bin their most faithfull seruants, such as were the cardinals of Capua and Spodeno: a recompense vnto the merits of good men, and not disagreeable to the disposition of such a father and sonne, whereof the one made all things lawfull by vile dispensation; and both the other nothing was dishonest wherein was opportunitie to his purposes. The duke Valentinois sent before certaine flagons with wine infected with poison, which he gave to a seruant that knew nothing of the matter, commanding that no person should touch them.

A common indecent presubtill to his maister, as the ignorance of the seruant was the instrument in the euill that hapened both to the father and son. Such is the sufferance of God, who in the execution of his iudgements raiseth one murderer to kill another, & breaketh the bands of the fire upon the head of him that first kindled it: for the pope comming by aduenture somewhat before supper, and overcome with the brought and immoderate heat of the time, called for drinke. And because his owne pouison was not yet brought from the palace, he that had the infected wine in charge, thinking it to be recomended to his keeping for a wine most excellent, gaue the pope to drinke of the same wine which Valentinois had sent; who arriving while his father was drinking drinke also of the same wine, being but lust that they both should tast of the same cup which they had buyed for the destruction of others. All the towne of Rome ran with great gladnesse to saint Peters about the dead bodie of the pope, their eyes not satisfied to see dead and destroyed a serpent, who with his immoderate ambition and poisoned infidelitie, together with all the horrible examples of cruelty, lururie, and monstrous courtousnesse, selling without distinction both holie things and prophane things, had infected the whole world.

And yet was he accompanied with a most rare, & almost perpetuall prosperitie euen from his yong age, to the end of his life; desiring alwaies great things, and obtaining most often that he desired. An example of much importance, to confound the arrogancie of those men, who presuming to know and see perfectlie with humane eyes the depth of Gods iudgements do assure, that what happeneth either good or ill to mortall men, proceedeth either of their merits or faults: as though we saw not daillie manie good men vniuallie tormented, & wicked persons about their deservings live in ease and honour: wherein who makes an other interpretation, derogates the iustice and power of God, the greatnesse of which being not to be contained within any script or tearme present, knoweth how well and largely to discern in an other time and place the lust from the vniust, and that with rewards and eternall punishments. In the

meane time he poureth out his vengeance vpon the imaginers of mischance in this life; so providing, as that they are caught in their owne snares, and overtaken with such destruction as they had prepared for others, according to that saying of the Psalmist:

Effudit puteum, foueamque eduxit ab imo,

Et miser in lacebras incidit ipse suas.

In verticem ipsius recurrit

Pernicies, reciduntque fraudes.]

At the same time died Giles lord Daubencie the kings chiefe chamberleine, whose office Charles, barbard sonne to Henrie last duke of Summerfet occupied and entoyed; a man of good wit, and great experience. Some after, the king caused Guidebald duke of Ardeine to be created knight of the order of the garter, in like maner as his father duke Frederike had bene before him, which was chosen and admitted into the order by king Edward the fourth. Sir Gilbert Talbot, and the other two ambassadores being appointed to keepe on their iourneie vnto pope Iulio the second, elected after the death of the said Iulio the third, bare the habit and collar also vnto the said duke Guidebald; which after he had received the same, sent sir Balthasar Castilio, knight, a Spaniard borne, as his orator vnto king Henrie, which was for him installed, according to the ordinances of the order.

This yeare that worthy prelate Thomas Savage archbishop of Poike departed this life at his castell of Calwood: a man beside the worthinesse of his birth highlie esteemed with his prince for his fast fidelitie and great wisdom. He bestowed great cost in repairing the castell of Calwood and the manor of Scrobie. His bodie was buried at Poike, but he appointed by his testament, that his hart should be buried at Spacelfield in Cheshire, where he was borne, in a chapell there of his foundation, joining to the south side of the church, meaning to haue founded a college there also, if his purpose had not bene preuented by death. After him succeeded doctor Benbidge in the archbishops se of Poike, being the fiftie and sixt archbishop that had sat in that se.

About this same time Liewes the French king, the twelke of that name (who succeeded Charles the eighth that died at Amboise the night before the eighth daie of Aprill, of a catarrhe, which the physicians call an apoplexie, the same rising in him with such abundance, as he beheld a match played at tennisse, that in few houres he ended at the same place his life: during the which, he had with greater importunitie than vertue troubled the whole world with great apparance of danger to kindle flames new fiers of inuocation and troubles) married his eldest daughter named Clare, vnto Francis de Valois Dolphin of Niennne, and duke of Angoulesme, which ladie was promised vnto Charles the king of Castile: whereupon by ambassadores sent to and fro betwixt king Henrie and the said king of Castile, a marriage was concluded betwixt the said king of Castile, and the ladie Marie, daughter to king Henrie, being about the age of ten yeares. For conclusion of which marriage, the lord of Barol, & other ambassadores were sent into England from the emperor Maximilian which with great rewards returned.

William Woloue mercer maior of London this yeare deceased, and forthwith sir Laurence Ailmer draper was chosen and sworn, and went home in a grate cloake, with the sword borne before him, on the eight and twentieth daie of March. Item he took his oth at the Towre, and kept no feast. William Capell was put in lute by the king for things by him done in his maiortie. Also Thomas Kneifworth that had bene maior of London, and his thirte, were sent to the kings Bench, till they were put to their

Eccl. H. 1. 1. 6. G.
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The lord
Daubencie
died.

Anno Reg. 23.
Guidebald
duke of Ardeine
made knight
of the garter.

Thomas
Savage
archbishop
of Can-
terburie
deceased.

Abr. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 184.

1508

Abr. Fl. ex
L.S. pag. 879.

William Capell
sued by the king
for things
done in his
maiortie.

Ed. Hall in
Hen. 7. fol. 19.

1507

Abr. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 314.

pag. 315.

pag. 307.

Notwich on
her.

Free schole at
Wolfruncham-
hampton.

John Ligh-
ton, his rare
example of
charitie.

Wolfruncham-
ton, corruptly
called Wol-
merhampton.

Ex charta Regia

Smart.
Hospital of
the Sauoie.

Rec. of Can-
turb. church.

Fr. Thin.
Thomas Rn-
thall bishop of
Durham.

their fines of soareteene hundred pounds. In the mo-
neth of June, the citie of Notwich was sore perished,
& nere consumed with fier, that began in a French
mans houle named Peter Johnson, a surgian, in
the parish of saint George.

Stephan Wenings merchant tailor, maior of
London, founded a free grammar schole at Wol-
frunchampton in Staffordshire, with conuenient
lodgings for the maister and vsher, in the same
place where he was borne. He gaue lands sufficient
for the maintenance, leaving the oversight thereof
to the merchant tailors in London, who haue hither-
to iustlie dealt in that matter, and also augmented
the building there. Maister Nichols, who married the
onellie daughter and heire of the aforesaid Stephan
Wenings, gaue lands to mainteine the pauements
of that towne. Also, Robt Leneon esquier, about
Anno 1556, gaue lands, whereof foure pounds should
be dealt euerie yeare, on good Friday, to the poore
people of Wolfrunchampton, and six and thientie
shillings eight pence yecrelie, towards the reparatie
on of the church there.

Moreover, about Anno 1566, sir John Ligh-
ton, which had serued in that church there, the space
of threescore yeares, for five pounds, six shillings eight
pence the yeare, without anie other augmentation
of his living, who would neuer take anie benefice, or
other preferment, gaue twentie pounds, to purchase
twentie shillings the yeare lands, the same to be gi-
uen yecrelie for euer to the poore of Wolfrunchamp-
ton upon good Friday; & twelue pounds thirtene shil-
lings foure pence, to purchase a marke a yeare lands,
the same to be giuen to the poore of Chisnall, in the
countie of Salop, where the said Ligh was borne.
This man liued nigh one hundred yeares. He bestow-
ed besides his owne labour which was great (in bea-
ring of stones, &c.) about twentie pounds on the high
waies about that towne of Wolfrunchampton.

This towne of Wolfrunchampton, is now cor-
ruptly called Wolmerhampton: for in Anno 996,
in king Ethelreds time (who wrote himselfe *rex An-
glorum & princeps Northbrorum Olympide tercia regni
sui*, for so he wrote the count of his reigne then, which
was the sixteenth yeare) it was then called Hamp-
ton, as appeareth by an old charter written by the no-
tarie of the said king Ethelred, which charter I haue
sene and read. And for that a noble woman named
Wulfune a widow, sometime wife to Alhelme duke
of Northampton, did obtaine of the said king to giue
lands vnto the church there which she had founded, the
said towne took the addition of the same Wulfune;
for that charter so nameth hir Wulfune, and the
towne Hampton.

In this yeare was finished the goodlie hospitall
of the Sauoie nere vnto Charing crosse, which was
a notable foundation for the poore, done by king
Henrie the seauenth, vnto the which he purchased and
gaue lands for the relieving of one hundred poore peo-
ple. This was first named Sauoie place, by Peter
earle of Sauoie, father to Boniface archbishop of
Canturburie, about the nine and twentieth yeare of
king Henrie the third, who made the said Peter erle
of Richmond. This house belonged since to the duke
of Lancastell, and at this time was conuerted to an
hospitall, still retaining the first name of Sauoie.
King Henrie also builded three houses of Francis-
cane friers, which are called obseruants, at Rich-
mond, Grænewich, and Newarke; and three other of
the familie of Franciscane friers which are called
conuentuals, at Canturburie, Newcastell, and
Southampton.]

This yeare was Thomas Rnthall made bishop
of Durham by Henrie the seauenth, touching whose
place of birth (being at Cirencester now Cicester)

and himselfe, I will not refuse to set downe what
Leland (about the yeare 1542) hath written; not be-
ing vnfit here to be recorded. Cirencester (saith he) in
Latine called *Corinium* standeth on the river Churne.
There haue bene three parish churches, whereof
saint Ciceles church is cleane downe, being of late
but a chappell. Saint Laurence yet standeth, but it is
no parish church. There be two poore houses women
endued with land. There is now but one parish church
in all Cirencester that is verie faire, the bodie of
which church is all new worke, to the which Rnthall
bishop of Durham, who ne and brought vp in Ciren-
cester) promised much, but prevented by death, gaue
nothing. One Anne Aueting aunt to doctor Rnthall
by the mothers side, gaue one hundred markes to the
building of that church. King Henrie the first made
the hospitall of saint Johns at Cirencester. Thus
saith Leland.

This man thus borne at Cirencester in Gloce-
stershire, and made bishop of Durham, was after
the death asking Henrie the seauenth, one of the pri-
uis counsell to king Henrie the eighth; in whose court
he was so continuallie attendant, that he could not
steale anie time to attend the affaires of his bishop-
ricke. But yet not altogether carelesse (though not so
much as he ought to haue bene) of the place and
cause from whence and for which he received so great
reuenues, as came vnto his hands from that sex. He
repaired the third part of Aine bridge next vnto the
south, which he might well doe; for he was accepted
the richest subject though the realme. To whom (re-
maining then at the court) the king gaue in charge
to write a booke of the whole estate of the kingdome,
because he was knowne to the king to be a man of
sufficiencie for the discharge thereof, which he did ac-
cordinglie.

Afterwards, the king commanded cardinal
Wolfeie to go to this bishop, and to bring the booke
alwaie with him to deliuer to his maiestie. But see
the mishap! that a man in all other things so promi-
dent, should now be so negligent: and at that time
most forget himselfe, when (as it after fell out) he had
most need to haue remembred himselfe. For this bi-
shop hauing written two bookes (the one to auouch
the kings command, and the other intreating of his
owne priuate affaires) did bind them both after one
fozt in vellame, iust of one length, breadth, and thick-
nesse, and in all points in such like proportion an-
swering one an other, as the one could not by anie e-
speciall note be discerned from the other: both which
he also laid by together in one place of his studie.

Now when the cardinall came to demand the
booke due to the king: the bishop vnadvisedlie com-
manded his seruant to bring him the booke bound in
white vellame lieng in his studie in such a place. The
seruant doing accordinglie, brought forth one of
those bookes so bound, being the booke intreating of
the state of the bishop, and deliuered the same vnto
his maister, who receiuing it (without further consi-
deration or looking on) gaue it to the cardinall to
beare vnto the king. The cardinall hauing the booke,
went from the bishop, and after (in his studie by him-
selfe) vnderstanding the contents thereof, he greatlie
relolled, hauing now occasion (which he long sought
for) offered vnto him to bring the bishop into the
kings disgrace.

Wherefore he went forthwith to the king, deliue-
red the booke into his hands, and briefelie informed
the king of the contents thereof; putting further into
the kings head, that if at anie time he were desir-
tute of a masse of monie, he should not need to seeke
further therefore than to the cofers of the bishop, who
by the tenor of his owne booke had accepted his
proper riches and substance to the value of a hundred
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Anno Reg.

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of all which when the bishop had intelligence what he had done, how the cardinal used him, what the king said, and what the world reported of him, he was stricken with such griefe of the same, that he shortly through extreme sorrow ended his life at London, in the yeare of Christ 1523. After whose death the cardinal, which had long before ga- ped after the said bishoppe, in singular hope to at- taine thereunto, had now his wish in effect: which he the more easilie compassed, for that he had his nets alwaies ready cast, as assuring himselfe to take a trout: following therein a prophane mans cautelous counsell, and putting the same in practise; who saith:

*Cassus ubi; ualeat, semper tibi pendeat hamus,
Quo minime credis gurgite piscis erit.*

The sickness which held the king daile more and more increasing, he well perceiued that his end drew nere, and therefore meaning to do some high plea- sure to his people, granted of his free motion a gene- rall pardon to all men, for all offences done & com- mitted against anie his lawes or statutes; theues, murtherers, & certeine other were excepted. He paid also the fees of all prisoners in the gaoles in and about London, abiding there onelie for that dutie. He paid also the debts of all such persons as laie in the counters or Ludgate for fourtie shillings, & bur- der; and some he releued that were condemned in ten pounds. Verbyon were processions generallie v- sed euerie daie in euerie citie and parish, to praise to almightie God for his restoring to health and long continuance of the same. Whereupon he was so afflicted with his long maladie, that nature could no longer susteine his life, and so he departed out of this world the two and twentieth of Aprill, in his palace of Whitehall, in the yeare of our Lord 1509. His corpe was carried with all funerall pompe to West- minster, and there buried by the good queene his wife in a sumptuous chapell, which he not long before had caused to be builded.

He reigned three and twentie yeares, and more than seven moneths, and liued two and fiftie yeares. He had by his queene Elizabeth foure sonnes, and foure daughters, of the which three remained alieue behind him. Henrie his second son prince of Wales, which after him was king, Margaret queene of Scots, and the labie Marie promised to Charles king of Castile. He was a man of bodie but leane and spare, albeit mightie and strong therewith, of perso- nage and stature somewhat higher than the meane sort of men, of a wonderfull beautie and faire com- plexion, of countenance merie and smiling, especial- lie in his communication, his eyes graie, his teeth single, and haire thin, of wit in all things quicke and prompt, of a princelie stomach and haucie courage. In great perils, doubtfull affaires, and matters of im- portance, supernaturall and in manner diuine; for he ordered all his doings aduisedlie and with great de- liberation.

Besides this, he was sober, moderate, honest, cour- teous, bountious, and so much abhorring pride and arrogance, that he was euer sharpe and quicke to them that were noted with that fault. He was also an indifferent and bright iusticer, by the which one thing he allured to him the hearts of manie people, and yet to this severitie of his he ioined a certeine mercifull pitie, which he did extend to those that had offended the penall lawes, and were put to their fines by his iustices. He did vse his rigour onelie (as he said himselfe) to dant, bring low, and abate the blas- phemous and stout stomachs of the wealthie and wild people, nourished up in seditious factions and ciuill rebellions, rather than for the greedie desire of monie; although such as were scourged with aucter- nities cried out, and said it was rather for the re-

spect of gaine, than for anie politike prouision. In- deed he left his coffers well stuffed, for he was no wastfull consumer of his riches by anie inordinat meanes.

To conclude, he had asmuch in him of gifts both of bodie, mind and fortune, as was possible for anie potentate or king to haue. His politike wisdom in gouernance was singular, his wit alwaie quicke and readie, his reason pitie and substantiall, his me- morie steele and holding, his experience notable, his counsels fortunate and taken by wise deliberation, his speech gracious in diuerse languages, his person (as before ye haue heard) right comelie, his naturall complexion of the purest mixture, leagues and con- federations he had with all christian princes. His mightie power was dread euerie where, not onelie within his realme but without. Also his people were to him in as humble subiection as euer they were to king; his land manie a daie in peace and tranquilli- tie, his prosperitie in battell against his enemies was marvellous, his dealing in time of perils and dangers was cold and sober, with great hardnesse. If anie treason were conspired against him, it came out wonderfullie. His buildings most goodlie, and af- ter the newest cast, all of pleasure.

And so this king liuing all his time in fortunes fauour, in high honour, wealth and glorie, for his no- ble acts and prudent policies is worthy to be regi- stred in the booke of fame, least time (the consumer of all worthy things) should blot out the memorie of his name here in earth, whose soule we trust liueth in heauen, enioyng the fruition of the godhead, & those pleasures prepared for the faithfull. [In memorie of whome, his manifold vertues, with the fortunat suc- cesse of his affaires, and the gracious descent of his loines, as they procured a famous report in nations farre and nere; so haue some at the contemplation of his princeliesse, and euerie waie crowned with felicitie, made memorials of his magnificence; to the immortallitie of his high praise and vnblemishable renowne: among whome (for the truth of the report iustifiable by the contents of this historie) one com- munitie to mind, which may well serue for an epitaph:

*Septimus Henricus factus est nomen adeptum
Præclarum claris ventura in seculis fama:
Cuius ille fuit fuerat clarissimus, hostes
Omnes iure ipsum metuebant: nuntius almi
Religiosus erat cultor pietatis & aequi,
Versutos hominesque malos vehementius odit.
Viginti totos charus trique amplius annos
Regibus externis in summo vixit honore:
Magnanimus, iustus rex, prudens atque modestus,
Henrico heredi moriens sua regna reliquit,
Diuitisque immensum argenti pondus & auri.*

The altar and sepulture of the same king Henrie the seuenth, wherein he now resteth, in his new chap- pell at Westminster, was made and finished in the yeare of our Lord 1519, by one Peter T. a painter of the citie of Florence, for the which he receiued one thousand pounds sterling for the whole stufte and workmanship, at the hands of the kings executors, Richard bishop of Winchester, Richard Fitz James bishop of London, Thomas bishop of Duresme, John bishop of Rochester, Thomas duke of Dorset folke treasurer of England, Edward earle of Wor- cester the king chamberleine, John ff. knight, chiefe iustice of the kings Bench, Robert ff. knight, chiefe iustice of the common pleas, &c.]

Of learned men that liued in this kings daies (as maister Bale noteth them) these are recorded. First George Kipeleie a Carmelite frier at Boston, scene in the mathematikes, he wrote diuerse treatises, and after his decease was accounted a nekromancer; John Erghom boyme in Worke, a blacke frier,

Out of the
bishop of
Rochesters
funerall ser-
mon preached
in Pauls
church at
London.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 892.
Sepulture of
Henrie the se-
uenth.

Executors to
Henrie the se-
uenth.

a doctor of diuinitie professed in Orford, studious of prophesies, as by the title of the works which he wrote it may appeare; John Persuall a Chartreux monke; Thomas Wailloze a Welthman bozne, he wrote (I wrote not that) of king Arthur, and of the round table; John Kousse bozne in Warwicksheire, a diligent searcher of antiquities, wherupon few libraries were any where to be seene in England and Wales, where he made not search for the same, and wrote sundrie treatises of historிக்கal arguments. He deceased at Warwike the fourteenth of Ianuarie in the yeare 1491, and was buried in our ladie church there.

Thomas Scrope, otherwisse surnamed Bzadleie, descended of the noble familie of the Scrops, professed sundrie kinds of religions, as that of the order of saint Benet, and saint Dominike, and likewise he became a Carmelite, and last of all he fell to and preached the gospell in haire and sackcloth, till he understood himselfe to be in the displeasure of Wallden and other, that could not alwaie with such singulartie in him; other, founding (as they toke it) to the danger of bringing the doctrine of the Romish church in misliking with the people; for then he withdrew himselfe to his house againe, and there remained twentie yeares, leading an anchors life, but yet after that time he came abroad, and was aduanced to be a bishop in Ireland, and went to the Roades in ambassage, from whence being returned, he went barefooted by and downe in Norfolk, teaching in townes and in the countrie abroad the ten commandments, he liued till he came to be at the point of an hundred yeares old, & departed this life the fiftieth day of Ianuarie in the yeare of our Lord 1491, and was buried at Leltholfe in Suffolke.

John Donneis a diuine and an Augustine frier in Norwich, wrote certeine rules of grammar, and other things printed by Richard Binlon; Gefferie surnamed the Grammarian; John Alcocke bishop of Ely, changed a nunnrie at Cambridge into a college named Iesus college, about the yeare of Christ 1496. The chiefe cause of suppressing the nunnrie is noted to be, for that the abbesse and other of the conuent liued dissolute liues; Stephan Palwes a learned gentleman, and of such reputation, as he was admitted to be one of the priuie chamber to king Henrie the seuenth; William Bintree, so called of a towne in

Norfolk where he was bozne, by profession a Carmelite frier in Burnham, a great diuine; William Gallion an Augustine frier in Lin, and at length became prouinciall of his order.

Robert Fabian a citizen and merchant of London, an historiographer, he was in his time in good estimation for his wisdom and wealth in the citie, so that he bare office and was shiriffe in the yeare 1493; William Telling, bozne beside Feuerham in Kent, a monke of Canturburie; Thomas Bourcier descended of the noble linage of the earles of Essex, was first bishop of Ely, and after removed from thence to Canturburie, succeeding John Kemp in that archbishops see, at length created by pope Paule the second a cardinall; Philip Bromier a Dominicke frier, a diuine; John Piles a doctor of both the lawes, ciuill and canon, he studied in Orenford in the college of Wzafen nose, noblie founded in the daies of this king Henrie the seuenth by William Smith bishop of Lincoln; Richard Shirborne bishop of Chichester, and imploied in ambassage to diuerse princes, as a man most meet thereto for his singular knowledge in learning and eloquence.

Robert Aldous vicar of Thakestead in Essex, and a prebendarie canon of Welles, an excellent poet; Peter Kenighall a Carmelit frier, but bozne of worshipfull linage in France, hauing an Englishman to his father, was student in Orenford, and became a notable preacher; John Pozton first bishop of Ely, and after archbishop of Canturburie the fiftie and fourth in number that ruled that see, he was aduanced to the dignitie of a cardinall, and by king Henrie the seuenth made lord chancelor, a worshipfull counsellor and a modest, he was bozne of worshipfull parents in Cheshire, & departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 1500; Henrie Medwall chapleine to the said Pozton; Edmund Dubleie bozne of noble parentage, studied the lawes of this land, and profited highlie in knowledge of the same, he wrote a booke intituled *Arbor rei publice*, the tree of the common wealth: of this man ye haue heard before in the life of this king, and more (God willing) shall be said in the beginning of the next king, as the occasion of the historie leadeth; John Wokingham an excellent scholcman; William Blackeneie a Carmelit frier, a doctor of diuinitie, and a nekromancer.

Thus farre Henrie the seuenth, sonne to Edmund earle of Richmond.



1502
Anno Reg. 1.

Henrie the
eight procla-
ming.

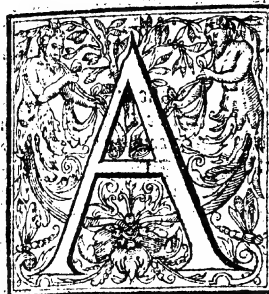
Polydor.

Counsellors
to king Hen-
rie the eight.

King Henrie's
riches.
His counsell-
ors good mea-
sures.



Henrie the eight, sonne and successor to Henrie the seuenth.



After the death
of the noble prince
Henrie the seauenth,
his sonne
Henrie the eight
began his reigne
the two and twen-
tith daie of Aprill
in the yeare of the
world 5475, after
the birth of our sa-
uour 1509, and in
the eighteenth yeare of his age, in the sixteenth yeare
of Maximilian then being emperor, in the eleuenth
yeare of Helues the twelfth that then reigned in
France, and in the twentieth yeare of king James
the fourth as then ruling ouer the Scots: Whose title
was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet in the citie
of London, the thre and twentieth daie of the said
moneth, with much gladnesse and reioysing of the
people. And the same daie he departed from his ma-
nour of Richmond, to the Tower of London, where
he remained closelie and secret with his counsell, till
the funerals of his father were finished.

Although this king now comming to the crowne,
was but young (as before is said) yet hauing bene in
his first yeares trained by in learning, did for respect
of his owne snertie and god gouernement of his
people, prudentlie (by the aduise of his grandmother
the countesse of Richmond and Derby) elect & choise
fourth of the most wise and graue personages to be of
his priuie counsell, namelie such as he knew to be of
his fathers right deere and familiar frends, whose
names were as followeth. William Warham arch-
bishop of Canturburie and chancelor of England,
Richard For bishop of Winchester, Thomas Ho-
ward earle of Surrie, and treasurer of England,
George Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, and lord tre-
ward of the kings household, Charles Summerset
lord chamberleine, sir Thomas Louell, sir Hen-
rie What, doctor Thomas Kuthall, and sir Edward
Poynings.

These graue and wise counsellors, fearing least
such abundance of riches and welth as the king was
now possessed of, might moue his young yeares in-
torious forgetting of himselfe (for unto no king
at any time before, was left greater or the like ri-
ches, as well in readie coine, as in iewels and other
monieables, as was left to him by his father) they
therefore his said counsellors travelled in such pri-
uent fort with him, that they got him to be present
with them when they sat in counsell; so to acquaint
him with matters pertaining to the politike gouerni-
ment of the realme, that by little and little he might
aplie himselfe to take vpon him the rule and admi-
nistratioun of publicke affaires, with the which at the
first he could not well indure to be much troubled, be-

ing rather inclined to followe such pleasant pastimes
as his youthfull young yeares did more delite in, and
therefore could be vertie well contented, that other
graue personages should take paines therein.

The same daie also that the king came to the
Tower, the lord Henrie Stafford brother to the duke
of Buckingham was arrested, and committed to
the Tower; and the same daie also doctor Kuthall
was named bishop of Durham. The five and twen-
tith daie of Aprill was proclaimed, that the kings
grace satisfied all the pardons granted by his father,
and also pardoned all such persons as were then in
lute for any offence whatsoeuer it was; treason, mur-
der, and felonie onelie excepted. And now, whereas
the performance of the deceased kings will was
thought right expedient with all speed to be perfor-
med, a proclamation was also set forth and publi-
shed thorough the realme, that if any man could
prooue himselfe to be hurt, and depriued of his goods
wrongfullie by the commissioners of the forfeitures,
he should come and present his plaint to the king, be-
ing readie to satisfie euerie one of all iniuries so
incurred.

After this proclamation was notified abroad, all
such as had bene constrained either by right or by
wrong (as Polydor saith) to paie any thing for any
forfeitures of lawes and customes by them trans-
gressed, came flocking to the court, & there declared
their griefs, in what sort they had wrongfullie bene
compelled (as they surmised) to paie this or that
summe. The counsell heard euerie mans complaint,
and such as were found to haue paid any thing with-
out plaine prooue of iust cause, they toke such order for
them, that they had their monie againe. Which being
once knowne, it was a strange thing to see how
thick other came in; yea euen those that had bene
wrongfullie fined & punished for their disorderlie trans-
gressions, making earnest sute for restitution, set-
ting and forging manie things to make their cause
seeme good, and to stand with equitie.

And the better to be heard in their sute, they made
friends as well with bribes and large gifts as other-
wise, leauing no waies vnassailed to compass their
desires. Which greedines in such multitude of suiters,
brought the commissioners, and other that had bese
in the forfeitures into danger, and did the miselues no
good: for the counsell perceiuing that it was not pos-
sible to satisfie them all, refused to heare any further
complaints or sutes for restitution: but thought it
best to commit those to prison, by whom the complai-
nants pretended the miselues to haue bene wronged.
And here vpon was sir Richard Empson knight, and
Edmund Dudley esquier, great counsellors to the
late king attached, and brought to the Tower, there-
by to quiet mens minds, that made such importu-
nate sute to haue their monie againe restored, which
in the late kings daies they had bene compelled to
pay.

Proclamation

Of suiters what
sutes they
made to be
heard.

Empson and
Dudley com-
mitted to the
Tower.

disburse, thorough the rigorous proceedings, as they alleged, of the said two counsellors, and others.

Truile great exclamacion was made against them, as often happeneth; that where any thing is done contrarie to the liking of the people, those that be dealers under the prince, and by his commandement proceed in the execution thereof, run in hatred of the multitude. But how soever it was, their apprehension and committing to prison was thought by the wise to be procured by the malice of them that in the late kings daies were offended with their authority. Shortly after (as Edward Hall saith) were apprehended diuerse other persons, that were called promoters, as Canbie, Page, Smith, Werbie, Wright, Simson, and Stedon; of which the more part wore papers, and stood on the pillorie. [And (as an other saith, who termeth them ringleaders of false queets in London) they rode about the citie with their faces to the horses tails, and papers on their heads, and after they had bene set on the pillorie in Coznehill, they were brought againe to Peluigate, where they died all within fewen daies after for verie shame.]

Promoters punished.

I.S. pag. 893.

The funerall pompe and solemnitie of Henrie the seventh.

When all things were prepared ready for the funerall of the late king, his corps with all sumptuous pompe and solemne ceremonies, was conveyed from Richmond to saint Georges field, where the clergy of the citie met it: and at the bridge the maiors and his brethren with manie commoners all clothed in blacke likewise met it, and gaue their attendance on the same thorough the citie, to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, where was song a solemne dirige and masse, and a sermon made by the bishop of Rochester John Fisher. The next daie the corps was had to Westminster, and there the daie following, put into the earth with all due solemnities as appertained. [Notwithstanding this breafe remembrance of king Henries solemne funerall, might seeme sufficient in the iudgement of some, without further amplification; yet because it is good in others opinion (and those not of meanest wit) to set downe things of state at large, if conuenient helps thereto maie be had: therefore you shall haue the whole solemnitie of the said roiall funerall, as it is found recorded by Edward Hall.

Edw. Hall, in Hen. 8. fol. j.

After that all things (saith he) necessarie for the interment and funerall pompe of the late king, were sumptuously prepared and done: the corps of the said deceased king was brought out of his private chamber into the great chamber, where he rested three daies, and euerie daie had there dirige and masse song by a prelat mitred. From thence he was conveyed into the hall, where he was also three daies, and had like seruice there; and so three daies in the chappell. And in euerie of these three places, was a hearse of war garnished with baners, and nine mourners giuing their attendance all the seruice time: and euerie daie they offered, and euerie place hanged with blacke cloth. Upon Wednesday the ninth daie of Maie, the corps was put into a charriot, couered with blacke cloth of gold, besome with five great caruers all couered with blacke velvet, garnished with cushions of fine gold: and ouer the corps was an image or representation of the late king, laied on cushions of gold, and the said image was apparelled in the kings rich robes of estate, with a crowne on the head with ball and scepter in the hands: the charriot was garnished with baners and pencils of the armes of his dominions, titles and genealogies.

The corps put into a charriot sumptuously garnished.

The order of the pompe and mourners.

When the charriot was thus ordered, the kings chappell, and a great number of prelates set forward praieing. Then followed all the kings seruants in blacke, then followed the charriot: and after the charriot nine mourners, and on euerie side were caried

long torches & next, to the number of six hundred, & in this order they came to saint Georges field, from Richmond. There met with them all the prelates and clerks and religious men within the citie & without, which went for most before the chappell. The maiors and his brethren with manie commoners all clothed in blacke, met with the corps at London bridge, and so gaue their attendance on the same thorough the citie. And in good order the companies passed thorough the citie, whereof the streets on euerie side were set with long torches, and on the flais stood yong children holding tapers; & so with great reuerence the charriot was brought to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, where the bodie was taken out and caried into the quire, and set vnder a goodlie hearse of war garnished with baners, pencils, and cushions, where was song a solemne dirige and a masse with a sermon made by the bishop of Rochester. During which time, the kings household and the mourners reposed them in the bishops palace.

The next daie the corps in like order was removed towards Westminster: first Edward Howard bearing the kings baner on a caroler trapped in the armes of the deceased king. In Westminster was a curious hearse, made of nine principals, all full of lights, which were lighted at the coming of the corps, which was taken out of the charriot by six lords and set vnder the hearse: the image or the representation lieng vpon the cushion on a large pall of gold. The hearse was double railed; within the first rales sat the mourners, and within the second rales stood knights bearing baners of saints, and without the same stood officers of armes. When the mourners were set, Cartier king at armes, cried: for the soules of the noble prince king Henrie the seventh late king of this realme: then the quire began *Placido*, and so song dirige: which being finished, the mourners departed into the palace, where they had a bold, and so reposed for that night. The next daie were three masses solemnelie song by bishops, and at the last masse was offered the kings baner and caroler, his coat of armes, his sword, his target, and his helme: and at the end of masse the mourners offered by rich palles of cloath of gold and bandekin: and when the quire sang, *Libera me*; the bodie was put into the earth.

Then the lord treasurer, lord steward, lord chamberleine, the treasurer and comptroller of the kings household, brake their staves and cast them into the graue. Then Cartier cried with a loud voice; *Vive le roy Henrie le huitiesme, roy d'Angleterre, & de France, sire d'Irland*. Then all the mourners, and all other that had giuen their attendance on this funerall obsequie, departed to the palace, where they had a great and a sumptuous feast. Wonder it were to write of the lamentation that was made for this prince amongst his seruants, and other of the wisest sort; and the soie that was made for his death by such as were troubled by rigour of his law: yet the toward hope which in all points appeared in the yong king did both repaire and comfort the beate hearts of them, which had lost so wise and sage a prince: and also did put out of the minds of such as were relaxed by the said kings death, all their old grudge and rancoz, and confirmed their new soie by the new grant of his pardon.

After that the funerals of the said late king were once ended, great preparation was made for the coronation of the new king; which was appointed on the summer daie next ensuing. During the time of which preparation, the king was aduised by some of his counsell to take to wife the ladie Katherine, late wife to his brother prince Arthur, least she hauing so great a dowrie as was appointed to hir, might mar-

the Duke of Buckingham was rich man.

The Duke of Buckingham was rich man.

The church brought out the body.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. j.

Description of the curious hearse at Westminster.

From sight of organs in chappell, with branches of myrtle war.

Henries apparail at his coronation.

The bodie of the dead king interred.

The kings traine and the pompe of the same.

Dom. 1509.

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Reg. 1.

ric out of the realme, which should be to his hinder
rance. The king being hereto persuaded, espoused
the said ladie Katharine the third daie of June, the
which marriage was dispensed with by pope Iulie, at
the sute of hir father king Ferdinand. On the ele
uenth daie of this moneth of June, the king came
from Grenewich to the Tower ouer London by bidge
and so by Grace church, with whome came manie a
gentleman richlie appareled, but speciallie the duke
of Buckingham, which had a gobone all of gold:
smiths worke, berie coslie.

On fridaie the two and twentieth day of June, the
king with the quene being in the Tower of Lon
don, made foure and twentie knights of the Bath.
And the morow following, being saturday the foure
and twentieth of June, his grace with the quene de
parted from the Tower through London, the streets
being hanged with tapestrie and cloth of arras, be
rie richlie; and a great part of the south side of Cheape
with cloth of gold, & so was some part of Cornhill.
The streets were railed & barred on the one side, from
ouer against Grace church to Bedstreet in Cheape
side, where euerie occupation stood in their lincies in
order, beginning with base and meane occupations,
and so ascending to the worshipfull crafts. Highest
and lastlie stood the maior with the aldermen. The
goldsmiths stals unto the end of the Old change, be
ing replenished with virgins in white, with branches
of white war: the priests and clarkes in rich copes,
with crosses and censers of silver, with censsing his
grace and the quene also, as they passed. The features
of his bodie, his goodlie personage, his amiable vi
sage, princelie countenance, with the noble qualities
of his roiall estate, to euerie man known, needeth
no reherfall, considering that (for lacke of cunning)
I cannot expresse the gifts of grace and of nature
that God indued him with all.

Yet partlie to describe his apparell, it is to be no
ted, his grace wore in his hypermost apparell, a robe
of crimian velvet, furred with ermins, his iacket o
coat of raised gold, the placard imbodered with dia
monds, rubies, emerauds, great pearles, and other
rich stones, a great banderike about his necke of
great balasses. The trapper of his horse damaske
gold, with a deepe purple of ermins. His knights and
esquiers for his bodie in crimian velvet; and all the
gentlemen, with other of his chappell, and all his offi
cers and household servants were appareled in scar
let. The barons of the five portes bare the canopie
of cloth of estate. For to recite unto you the great
estates by name, the order of their going, the number
of the lords spirituall & tempozall, knights, esquiers,
and gentlemen, and their coslie and rich apparell of
seuerall deuises and fashions, who toke by his horse
best, or who was richest besene; it would aske long
time, and yet I should omit manie things, and faile
of the number, for they were berie manie: therefore
I passe ouer. But this I dare well saie, there was no
lacke of scarfitie of cloth of tissue, cloth of gold, cloth
of silver, boderie, or of goldsmiths worke: but in
more plentie and abundance than hath bene seene
or read of at anie time befoze, and thereto manie
and great members of chaines of gold, & banderikes both
masse and great.

Also befoze the kings highnesse rode two gentle
men richlie appareled, and about their bodies ouer
thwart, they bare two robes, the one of the duchie of
Guien, and the other for the duchie of Normandie,
with hats on their heads powdered with ermins, for
the estate of the same. Next followed two persons
of good estate, the one bearing his cloke, the other his
bat, appareled both in goldsmiths worke and bode
rie, their horses trapped in burned silver, & went o
uer with copes of grene silke and gold, the edges

and borders of their apparell being frettyed with gold
of damaske. After them came sir Thomas Brandon
master of the kings horse, clothed in tissue, bodered
with roles of fine gold, and ouerthwart his bodie a
great banderike of gold, great and masse; his horse
trapped in gold, leading by a raine of silke; the kings
spare horse trapped hard wise, with harnesse bodered
with bullion gold, curioullie wrought by goldsmiths.
Then next followed the nine children of honor, upon
great courcers, appareled on their bodies in blue vel
uet, powdered with foure delices of gold, & chaines
of goldsmiths worke, euerie one of their horses trap
ped with a trapper of the kings title, as of England
and France, Gascoigne, Guien, Normandie, An
glou, Cornewall, Wales, Ireland, &c: wrought by
on veluets, with imboderie, and goldsmiths worke.

Then next following in order, came the quenes
retinue, as lordes, knights, esquiers, and gentlemen
in their degrees, well mounted, and richlie appareled
in tissue, cloth of gold, of silver, tinsels, and veluets
imbodered, fresh and goodlie to behold. The quene
then by name Katharine, sitting in hir litter borne
by two white palfries, the litter covered and richlie
apareled, and the palfries trapped in white cloth of
gold; hir person appareled in white satin imbodered,
hir haire hanging downe to hir backe of very great
length, beautifull and goodlie to behold, & on hir head
a coronall set with manie rich orient stones. Next af
ter, sir honorable personages on white palfries all ap
pareled in cloth of gold, and then a chariot covered,
and the ladies therein all appareled in cloth of gold.
And another sort of ladies, and then another chariot,
then the ladies next the chariot, and so in order, euerie
one after their degrees in cloth of gold, cloth of silver,
tinsels, and velvet, with imboderies. Euerie couple
ment of the said chariots, and the draught harnesses
were powdered with ermins mixt with cloth of gold:
& so with much joy & honour they came to Westmin
ster, where was high preparation made, aswell for
the said coronation, as also for the solemne feasts and
iusts thereupon to be had and done.

The morow following being sundaie, and also
Whitsunmowe daie, this noble prince with his quene
at time convenient, vnder their canopies borne
by the barons of the five portes, went from the said pa
lace to Westminster abbaye upon cloth, called bul
garlie cloth of raie; the which cloth was cut and spo
led by the rude and common people, immediatlie af
ter their repaire into the abbaye; where, according to
the sacred obseruance & ancient custome, his grace
with the quene were annointed and crowned by the
archbishop of Canturburie, with other prelates of the
realme there present, and the nobilitie, with a great
multitude of commons of the same. It was deman
ded of the people, whether they would receiue, obte
ine, and take the same most noble prince for their king:
Who with great reuerence, loue, and desire, said and
cried: Aea yea. After the which solemnitie and coro
nation finished, the lords spirituall and tempozall did
to him homage, and returned to Westminster hall
with the quenes grace, euerie one vnder their cano
pies; where, by the lord Sparshall & his tipped stanes
was made ronne, and euerie lord, and other noble
men, according to their tenures, befoze claimed and
biewed, seene and allowed by the lords, and other of
his graces counsell, entred into such ronne and office
that daie, to execute their seruices accordinglie.

The kings estate on the right hand, & the quenes
on the left hand, the cupbord of nine stages, their no
ble personages being set: first, at the bringing of the
first course, the trumpets sounded. And in came the
duke of Buckingham, mounted upon a great con
ser, richlie trapped and imbodered, and the lord se
ward in likewise on an horse trapped in cloth of gold,
riding

The quenes
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The coronati
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riding before the seruice, which was sumptuous, with manie subtilties, strange deuises, with seuerall posers, and manie deintie dishes. At the kings feet vnder the table were certeine gentlemen; and in likewise with the queene, who there continued, during that long and roiall feast. What should I speake of wite of the sumptuous, fine, and delicate meats prepared for this high and honorable coronation, provided for aswell in the parties beyond the seas, as in manie and sundrie places within this realme, where God so abundantlie hath sent such plentie and foison? Of the honorable order of the seruices, the cleane handeling and breaking of meats, the ordering of the dishes, with the plentiful abundance: So that none of anie estate being there did lacke, nor no honorable or worshipfull person went vnfeste.

Sir Robert Dimmoche the kings champion.

The second course being serued: in at the hall doore entered a knight, armed at all points, his baces rich tissue embroidered, a great plume and a sumptuous of ostrich feathers on his helmet, sitting on a great courser, trapped in tissue, and embroidered with the armes of England, and of France, and an herald of armes before him. And passing through the hall, he presented himselfe with humble reuerence before the kings maiesty, to whom Cartier king of heralds cried and said with a loud voice; Sir knight from whence come you, and what is your pretense? This knights name was sir Robert Dimmoche, champion on to the king by tenure of his inheritance, who answered the said king of armes in effect after this manner: Sir, the place that I come from is not materiall, nor the cause of my repaire hither is not concerning anie matter of anie place or countrie, but onelie this: and therewithall commanded his herald to make an Oyes. Then said the knight to the king of armes; Now shall ye heare the cause of my coming and pretense. When he commanded his owne herald, by proclamation to saie; If there be anie person, of what estate or degree soeuer he be, that will saie or proue, that king Henrie the eight is not the rightfull inheritor and king of this realme, I sir Robert Dimmoche here his champion, offer my gloue, to fight in his quarell with any person to the utterance. Which proclamation was made in sundrie places of the hall: and at euerie time his gantlet cast downe, in the maintenance thereof.

The manner of the same knights tenure.

After these seuerall proclamations done, and offers made, the said knight or champion offones repaired to the kings presence, demanding drinke; to whom the kings grace sent a cup of gold with wine, whereof after this knight had drunke, he demanded the couer of the said cup, which to him also was deliuered: that done he departed out of the hall, with the said cup and couer as his owne. The manner of his tenure is this, that at the coronation of the king, he shall go to the armorie, and there take the kings best harness same one, the best and rich baces saving one, then of the plumes or other things for the garnishing of his creast or helme; and so to the stable, there taking the next courser or horse to the best, with like trappers, & so furnished, to enter (as afore) and his office done, to haue all these things with the cup of gold and couer to his owne vse. After the departure of the said champion, the king of armes with all the heralds and other officers of armes, made proclamations in seuerall places of the hall, crying loudly. Whiclike I passe ouer this high and long solemnitie of this honorable coronation and feast, more honorable than of the great Cesar, whom manie historiographers so highlie set out and magnifie.

Sir Stephen Genings mayor of London.

Now when the tables were voided, the waiters were brought. Then sir Stephen Genings that time mayor of London, whom the king before he sat downe to dinner had dubbed knight, which began the

earles table that daie, arose from the place where he sat, to serue the king with hypocras in a cup of gold: which cup, after his grace had drunken thereof, was with the couer giuen vnto the said sir Stephen, like as other his predecessors, maiors of the said citie, were wont to haue at the coronation of the king. Then after the turnap laied, and that the kings grace and the queene had washed, euerie of them vnder their cloths of estate, the tables being auoided, went vnto their chambers. For the more honour and ennobling of this triumphant coronation, there were prepared both iusts and turneis to be done in the palace of Westminster, where, for the kings grace and the queene, was framed a faire house, covered with tapestrie, and hanged with rich clothes of arrais, and in the said palace was made a curious founteine and ouer it a castell, on the top thereof a great crovone imperiall, all the imbattelling with roses and pomegranats gilded.

Under and about the said castell, a curious vine, the leaues and grapes thereof gilded with fine gold, the walles of the same castell coloured white & greene losengis, and in euerie loseng either a rose or a pomegranat, and a sheafe of arrowes, or else a gilded with fine gold, with certeine arches and turrets gilded, to support the same castell. And the targets of the armes of the defendants, appointed for the said iusts, thereupon sumptuously set. And out at seuerall places of the same castell, aswell on the daie of the coronation, as on the said daies of the iusts & turneis, out of the mouthes of certeine beasts or gargels bid run red, white, and claret wine. The enterprisers of these iusts, was Thomas lord Howard, heire apparent to the earle of Surrie, sir Edward Howard admerall his brother, the lord Richard brother to the Marques Dorset, sir Edmund Howard, sir Thomas Kaneuet, and Charles Brandon squire. The trumpets blew to the field, the fresh yong gallants and noble men gorgeously apparelled, with curious deuises of cuts and of emboideries, as well in their coates as in trappers for their horses, some in gold, some in silver, some in tinsel, and diuerse other in goldsmithes worke, goodlie to behold.

These first entred the field, in taking vp & turning their horses, netlie and freshlie. Then followed a deuise (caried by strength of men and other prouision) framed like a castell, or a turret, wrought with fine cloth of gold: the top whereof was spred with roses and pomegranats, hanging downe on euerie side of the said deuise; wherein was a ladie, bearing a shield of chisell named Dallas. After whom the said lord Howard with his companions followed, armed at all points, their baces and bardes, or trappers, were of greene veluet, beaten with roses and pomegranats of gold, broidered with fringes of damaske gold. The said deuise or turret, being brought before the king, the ladie Dallas presented the said persons, whom she named hir scholars, to the kings highnes, beseeching the same to accept them as hir scholars, who were desirous to serue him, to the increase of their honours; which said scholars had about them on foot to the number of an hundred persons, freshlie apparelled, in beluets of sundrie colours, with hose & bonnets according to the same. And further, the said ladie desired the king, that it might please his grace, that hir said scholars might be defendants to all comers, which request was granted.

Then came in an other band of horsemen, freshlie and well appareled in cloth of gold, in silver, in goldsmithes worke, & broiderie, to the number of threescore, with trappers according to their garments, with great banderikes, collars, and chaines of gold about their necks and trauerse their bodies, euerie man with a coife of gold on his head, and a great plume

Johnes and turnaments

Eight knights are met at all points.

The entrance of the knights.

Goodlie here & delightfull.

From head to foot.

Dimas knights.

Dallas knights the defendants.

3 comers or drunke of a parke with care, &c.

Another band of horsemen richlie armed

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Account of
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pate lully
An. 15.

plume of feathers thereupon, some of one colour and some of another, entering before into the field with drums and fises a great number, euerie man taking by his horse in his best manner, as well for their ladies, as also for laud or praise to be given them. After whome followed a good number of footmen, in velvet and other silkes, cut and embroidered, with hose to the same accordingle, and bonets and other furniture, after a fresh and lustie fashion. Pert to them came on horsebacke eight persons, whose names were, sir John Pechie, sir Edward Penell, sir Edward Guildford, sir John Carre, sir William Parre, sir Giles Capell, sir Griffith Dun, and sir Rowland, armed also at all points, with shields of their owne armes, with rich plumes, and other deuises on their head peeces, their bases and trapers of russe, cloth of gold, silver and velvet; and next before them, a gentleman on horsebacke, in a coat of blue velvet, embroidered with gold, and his horse trapped in the same sute, with a speare of gold on his thigh, and the same presented to the quene: saieing, that it was informed those knights of Pallas companie, how that dame Pallas had presented six of hir scholars to the king, but whether they came to learne, or to teach feats of armes they knew not.

He further declared, that his knights were come to do feats of armes, for the loue of ladies. Wherefore he besought hir grace, to licence those knights to proue themselves against dame Pallas scholars: and that in case hir scholars brake more speares on the said knights, by the view of the iudges, and the report of the heralds, than the same knights should do on them; then the said scholars of Pallas knights to haue the speare of gold for their prize. And if the knights brake more speares than dame Pallas scholars, the said knights to haue the christall shield. The which request to them granted, the iusts began, where euerie man did acquite himselfe well and valiantlie; but who had the prize of other, I know not. The night coming on, the iusts ended. The next daie approached the foresaid defenders, scholars to Pallas on horsebacke, armed a cape a pie, the one side of their bases and bards of their horses white velvet, embroidered with roses of gold and other embroideries; the other side greene velvet embroidered with pomegranats of gold, euerie one of them on his head pece had an heare of flat gold of damaske, and so presented themselves before the king readie to tourneie.

Then immediatlie on the other part came in the forenamed eight knights, readie armed, their bases and bards of their horses greene sattin, embroidered with fresh deuises of bzanble branches, of fine gold curiously wrought, powdered all over. And after than a great number of hoznes blowne, by men apperrelled in greene cloth, with caps and hosen of like sute, as foresters or keepers; & a pagent made like a parke, paled with pales of white and greene, wherein were certeine fallow deare, and in the same parke curious trees made by craft, with bushes, fernes, and other things in likewise wrought, goodlie to behold. The which parke or deuise, being brought before the quene, had certeine gates thereof opened, the deare ran out thereof into the palace, the greiehounds were let slip and killed the deare: the which deare so killed, were presented to the quene and the ladies by the foresaid knights.

Crochman, which the daie before brought in the speare of gold, there declared, that the same knights were seruants to Diana, and being in their pastime of hunting, newes were brought unto them, that dame Pallas knights were come into those parts, to do deeds of armes: wherefore they had left their hunting and chase, and repaired also thither, to en-

counter with the knights of Pallas, and so to fight with them for the loue of ladies, to the utterance: saieing, that if Pallas knights vanquished the other, or made them to leaue the field, then they to haue the deare killed, and the greiehounds that slue them. And in case Dianas knights ouercame the other, they to haue their swords, and none other thing more. Whereupon the quene and ladies sent to the king to haue his aduise and pleasure in this behalfe. His grace conceiuing that there was some grudge and displeasure betwene them, thinking if such request were to them granted some inconuenience might insue, would not thereto agree: so that for the appeasing thereof it was awarded, that both parties should tourneie together, giuing but some certeine strokes, which done they departed: and so these iusts brake vp, and the prizes giuen to euerie man after his deserts.]

The king pardoned the lord Henrie brother to the duke of Buckingham, committed to the Towre (as ye haue heard) upon suspicion of treason: but when nothing could be proued against him, he was set at libertie, and at the parlement after created earle of Wiltshire. Also this yeare the king ordeined fiftie gentlemen to be speares, euerie of them to haue an archer, a demilance, and a costrell; and euerie speare to haue three great hozses to be attendant on his person, of the which band the earle of Essex was lieutenant, and sir John Pechie capteine. This ordinance continued but a while, the charges was so great, for there were none of them, but they and their hozses were apparrelled and trapped in cloth of gold, silver & goldsmithes worke. This yeare also was a great pestilence in the towne of Calis, so that the king sent one sir John Pechie with three hundred men to tarrie there upon the defense of that towne till the sickness was ceased. Furthermore, this yeare the king summoned his parlement in the moneth of Nouember, to begin in the moneth of Ianuarie next ensuing: whereof sir Thomas Inglefield was chosen speaker.

At this parlement sir Richard Empson knight, and Edmund Dudley equier late counsellors vnto king Henrie the seauenth, were atteinted of high treason. They were charged with manie offenses committed in the late kings daies, as partlie before ye haue heard; who being brought before the counsell, as they were graue and wise personages, and both of them learned and skilfull in the lawes of the realme: so had they vterance verie trauertie thereby to deliuer the conceits of their minds with singular dexteritie, speciallie in a case of importance; in so much that when the said parties were conuented before the assemble of the lords, they alleged for themselves right constantlie (in their owne defenses) much good and sufficient matter, of whome Empson (being the elder in yeares) had these wordes.

A speech vttered by Empson to the lords of the counsell to find fauour.



Know (right honorable) that it is not vnknowne to you, how profitable and necessarie lawes are for the good preservation of mans life: without the which neither house, towne, nor citie can long continue or stand in safetie. Which lawes here in England, thorough negligence of magistrates, were partlie decayed, and partlie quite forgotten and worne out of vse: the mischance

The kings
wisdom in
preventing an
inconuenience

Henrie & duke
of Buckingham
his brother
created earle of
Wiltshire.

A great
plague in
Calis.

A parlement.

Empson and
Dudley at
teinted of
treason.

Polydor.

mischaſe whereof dailie increaſing, Henrie the ſeauenth a moſt graue and prudent prince wiſhed to ſuppreſſe, and therefore appointed vs to ſee, that ſuch lawes as were yet in uſe might continue in their full force; and ſuch as were out of uſe might againe be reuiued and reſtozed to their former ſtate; & that alſo thoſe perſons which tranſgreſſed the ſame, might be puniſhed according to their demerits. Wherein we diſcharged our dueties in moſt faithfull wiſe, and beſt maner we could, to the great aduantage & commoditie (no doubt) of the whole commonwealth. Wherefore we moſt humble beſeech you in reſpect of your honours, courteſie, goodneſſe, humanitie, and iuſtice, not to decree any grieuous ſentence againſt vs, as though we were worſthie of puniſhment; but rather to appoint how with thankfull recompenſe our paines & trauell may be worſthie conſidered.

Wherof the counſell thought that he had ſpoken well, and ſo as ſhod with great reaſon: but yet the greater number (ſuppoſing that the reuiuing of thoſe lawes had proceeded rather of a couctous meaning in the king and them, than of anie zeale of iuſtice, and hauing alſo themſelues felt the ſmart lately befoze for their owne offences and tranſgreſſions) had conceiued ſuch malice towards the men, that they thought it reaſon, that ſuch as had bene dealers therein, were worſthie to loſe their heads, in like ſort as they had cauſed others to loſe their monie. Whereupon, their accuſors were mainteined, and manie od matters narrowlie fought out againſt them, as by two ſeueral indiements framed againſt ſir Richard Empſon (the copies whereof I haue ſene) it may well appeare.

In the one he is charged, that to win the fauour and credit of the late king, not weieing his honoz nor the proſperitie of him, or wealth of his realme, hee had (in ſubuerſion of the lawes of the land) procured diuerſe perſons to be indicted of diuerſe crimes and offences ſurniſhed againſt them, and thereupon to be committed to priſon, without due proces of law; who not ſuffered to come to their anſwers, were kept in durance, till they had compounded for their fines, to their great importable loſſes, and utter impoueriſhment. Alſo diuerſe untrue offices of intruſions and alienations, made by ſundrie the late kings liege people, into manors, lands, and tenements were found; it being untruelie alleged, that they held the ſame of the king *In capite*. And when ſuch perſons as were thus beſet, offered to traueſſe thoſe offices, they could not be admitted thereto, in ſuch due and lawfull forme as in ſuch caſes the law prouideth, till they had compounded to paie great fines and ranſomes.

Moreouer the kings wards, after they had accompliſhed their full age, could not be ſuffered to ſue their ſueries, till they had paid exceſſiue fines and ranſomes, vnto their great annoyance, loſſe, and diſquieting, and to no leſſe contempt of the ſaid king. And further, whereas diuerſe perſons had bene outlawed, as well at the ſute of their aduerſaries, as of the ſaid late king; they could not be allowed to purchaſe their charters of pardon out of the chancerie, according to the law of the realme, till they were dzen to anſwer halfe the iſſues and proſits of all their lands and tenements by the ſpace of two yeares, which the king receiued to his uſe, by the ſaid Richard Empſons procurement, who informed him that hee

might lawfullie take the ſame, although he knew that it was contrarie to the lawes and cuſtomes of the realme. Whereupon the people, beſet and moleſted by ſuch hard dealings, ſoze grudged againſt the ſaid late king, to the great perill and danger of his perſon and realme, and ſubuerſion of the lawes and ancient cuſtomes thereof.

Alſo it was alleged againſt the ſaid Empſon, that he had ſent forth precepts directed vnto diuerſe perſons, commanding them, vpon great penalties, to appeare befoze him, and other his aſſociats, at certeine daies and times within his houſe in S. Wides pariſh, in a ward of London, called ſfarrington without: where they making their appearances, according to the ſame precepts, were impleaded afoze him and other his ſaid aſſociats, of diuerſe murders, felonies, outlawries, and of the articles in the ſtatute of prouidoz contained; alſo of willfull escapes of felonies, and ſuch like matters and articles appertaining to the ples of the crowne, and common lawes of the realme. And that done, the ſaid perſons were committed to diuerſe priſons, as the Fleet, the Tower, and other places, where they were detained, till they had fined at his pleaſure, as well for the comunoditie of the ſaid late king, as for the ſingular aduantage of the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon.

Moreouer, whereas the ſaid Empſon, being recorder of Countreie, and there ſate with the maiors and other iuſtices of the peace, vpon a ſpeciall gaole deliuerie within that citie, on the monday befoze the feaſt of ſaint Thomas the apoſtle, in the ſixteenth yeare of the late kings regnie; a priſoner that had bene indicted of felonie, for taking out of an houſe in that citie, certeine goods to the value of twentie ſhillings, was arreigned befoze them. And becauſe the iurie would not find the ſaid priſoner gilty, for want of ſufficient euidence (as they after alleged) the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon, ſuppoſing the ſame euidence to be ſufficient, cauſed them to be committed to ward, wherein they remained foure daies together, till they were contented to enter bond in forty pounds a pece, to appeare befoze the king and his counſell, the ſecond returne of the tearme then next enſuing, being *Quindena Hilary*. Whereupon they keeping their daie, and appearing befoze the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon, and other of the kings counſell, according to their bonds, were adiudged to paie exerie of them eight pounds for a fine, and accordingly he made payment thereof, as they were then thought well worſthie ſo to do. But now this matter ſo long paſt, was ſtill kept in memorie, and ſo earnest ſome were to inſorce it to the bittermoſt againſt the ſaid Empſon, that in a ſeſſions holden at Countreie now in this firſt yeare of this kings regnie, an indiement was framed againſt him for this matter, and thereof he was found gilty, as if therein he had committed ſome great and heinous offence againſt the kings peace, his crowne and dignitie.

Thus haue I thought good to ſhew what I find hereof, to the end ye may perceiue how glad men were to find ſome colour of ſufficient matter, to bring the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon, and maſter Edmund Dubleie, within danger of the lawes; whereby at length they were not onelie condemned by act of parlement, though malice of ſuch as might ſeeme to ſeake their deſtruction for priuat grudges; but in the end alſo, they were arreigned: as firſt the ſaid Edmund Dubleie in the Guildhall of London, the ſeuenteenth of Iulie; and ſir Richard Empſon at Northampton in October next enſuing: and being there condemned, was from thence brought backe againe to the Tower of London, where he remained till the time of his execution: as after ye ſhall heare.

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This yere the plague was great, and reigned in
diuerse parts of this realme. The king kept his
Christmas at Richmond. The twelfe of Januarie,
diuerse gentlemen prepared to iust, and the king and
one of his priue chamber called William Com
ton, secretly armed themselves in the little parke
of Richmond, & so came into the iustes, unknowne
to all persons. The king neuer ran openlie before,
and did exceeding well. Gaiffier Compton chanced
to be sore hurt by Edward Beuill esquier, brother to
the lord of Aburgauennie, so that he was like to haue
died. One person there was that knew the king, and
cried; God saue the king: and with that, all the peo
ple were astonied, and then the king discovered
himselfe, to the great comfort of the people. The king
some after came to Westminster, and there kept his
shrouetide with great banquettings, dancings, and
other iollie pastimes.

And on a time the king in person, accompanied
with the earles of Essex, Wilshire and other noble
men, to the number of twelue, came suddenlie in a
morning into the queenes chamber, all apparelled
in short coates of Kentish Kendall, with hodes on
their heads & hosen of the same, euerie one of them
his bow and arrowes, and a sword and a buckler,
like outlawes, or Robin Hoods men: Whereat the
queene, the ladies, and all other there were abashed,
as well for the strange sight, as also for their sudden
coming, and after certeine dances and pastime
made, they departed. On Shrouesundae the same
yeare, the king prepared a goodlie banquet in the pa
rlement chamber at Westminster, for all the ambas
sadors, which then were here out of diuerse realmes
and countries. The banquet being readie, the king
leading the queene, entered into the chamber, then
the ladies, ambassadours, and other noble men fol
lowed in order.

The king caused the queene to keepe the estate, and
then late the ambassadours and ladies, as they were
marshalled by the B. who would not sit, but walked
from place to place, making cheare to the queene and
the strangers: suddenlie the king was gone. And
shortly after, his grace, with the earle of Essex, came
in apparelled after the Turkie fashion, in long robes
of handekin, powdered with gold, hats on their heads
of crimsin veluet, with great rolles of gold, grided
with two swordes called ciminteries, hanging by
great bauderles of gold. Then next came the lord
Henrie earle of Wilshire, and the lord Fitzwater,
in two long gownes of yellow sattin, trauesed with
white sattin, and in euerie hand of white was a band
of crimsin sattin after the fashion of Russia or Rus
land, with furred hats of grate on their heads, either
of them hauing an hatchet in their hands, and boots
with pikes turned vp.

And after them came sir Edward Howard then
admerall, and with him sir Thomas Parre, in dub
lets of crimsin veluet, voided low on the backe,
and before the chanel bone, lased on the breasts
with chaines of silver, and ouer that short cloakes of
crimsin sattin, and on their heads hats after dan
lers fashion, with feaslants feathers in them: they
were apeared after the fashion of Russia or Spence.
The torchbearers were apparelled in crimsin sattin
and greene, like spozeshoes, their faces blacke: and
the king brought in a mummerie. After that the
queene, the lords, & ladies (such as would) had played,
the said mummers departed, and put off the same ap
parell, and some after entered into the chamber in
their vsuall apparell. And so the king made great
cheere to the queene, ladies and ambassadours. The
upper or banquet ended, and the tables voided, the
king in communication with the ambassadours,

Edw. Hall in
Hen. 8. fol. vij.
Running at
the ring.

the queene with the ladies toke their places in their
degrees.

Then began the dancsing, and euerie man toke
much heed to them that danced. The king perceiving
that, withdrew himselfe suddenlie out of the place,
with certeine other persons appointed for that pur
pose. And within a litle while after there came in a
dum and a life apparelled in white damaske & greene
hagynets, and hosen of the same sute. Then certeine
gentlemen followed with torches, apparelled in blue
damaske, portelless with amts greis, fashioned like
an albe, and hods on their heads, with robes and
long tipets to the same of blue damaske, in bisards.
Then after them came a certeine number of gentle
men, whereof the king was one, apparelled all in one
sute of short garments, little beneath the points, of
blue veluet and crimsin, with long sleeves, all cut
and lined with cloth of gold. And the bitter part of the
garments were powdered with castels and sheafes
of arrowes of fine duckett gold; the wyper parts
of their hosen of like sute and fashion, the nether parts
were of skarlet, powdered with tymbels of fine gold,
on their heads bonnets of damaske, with silver flat
twomen in the skole, & thereupon wygouth with gold,
and rich fetters in them, all with bisards.

After them entered sir ladies, whereof two were
apparelled in crimsin sattin and purple, embzodered
with gold, and by vinctels ran flour delices of gold,
with marvellous rich & strange tiers on their heads.
Then two ladies in crimsin and purple, made like
long floss embzodered and fret with gold after an
tike fashion: and ouer that garment was a short
garment of cloth of gold scant to the knee, fashioned
like a tabard all ouer, with small double rolles, all of
flat gold of damaske, fret with frised gold, and on
their heads skarfs and wyappers of damaske gold,
with flat pipes, that strange it was to behold. The
other two ladies were in kirtels of crimsin & purple
sattin, embzodered with a vinctel of pomegranats of
gold, all the garments cut compasse wise, hauing
but demie sleeves, naked downe from the elbowes,
and ouer their garments were bochets of pleasants,
rolled with crimsin veluet, and set with letters of
gold like characts, their heads rolled in pleasants and
tipets like the Egyptians, embzodered with gold.
Their faces, necks, armes, and hands, covered in
fine pleasants blacke: some call it Lumbardines,
which is marvellous thin; so that the same ladies se
med to be pigers or blacke spozes. Of these foresaid
sir ladies, the ladie Marie sister vnto the king was
one, the other I name not. After that the kings grace
and the ladies had danced a certeine time, they depar
ted euerie one to his lodging.

In this yere also came ambassadours, not onelie
from the king of Arragon and Castile, but also from
the kings of France, Denmarke, Scotland, and o
ther places, which were highlie welcomed, and noble
intertained. It happened on a daie, that there were
certeine noble men made a wager to run at the ring
and parties were taken, and which partie attained or
toke awaie the ring offnest with certeine courses,
shoud win the wager. Whereof the kings grace
hearing, offered to be on the one partie with sir com
panions. The ambassadours hearing thereof, were
much desirous to see this wager tried, and speciallie
the ambassadours of Spaine, who had neuer sene
the king in harnesse. At the daie appointed, the king
was mounted on a goodlie courser, trapped in purple
veluet cut, the inner side whereof was wygouth with
flat gold of damaske in the skole, and the veluet on
the other side cut in letters: so that the gold appeared
as though it had bene embzodered with certeine rea
sons or posies. And on the veluet betwene the let
ters were fastened castels and sheafes of arrowes of
duckett

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The ladie
Marie sister
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Edw. Hall in
Hen. 8. fol. vij.
Running at
the ring.

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bucket gold, with a garment, the sleeves compassed ouer his harness, and his bales of the same worke; with a great plume of feathers on his head pece, that came downe to the arlon of his saddle, and a great companie of fresh gentlemen came in with his grace richlie armed and decked, with manie other right gorgeouslie appareled; the trumpets before them goodlie to behold, whereof manie strangers but speciallie the Spaniards much reioiced; for they had neuer seene the king before that time armed.

On the other side came in another band of gentlemen freshlie appareled, and pleasant to behold, all appareled in cloth of gold, checkered with flat gold of damaske, powdered with roses; and so euerie man ran: but to conclude, the pise was given unto the king. Euerie man did run twelue courses, the king did beare away the ring fise times, and attened it there. And these courses thus finished, the Spanishe ambassadours desired to haue some of the badges of heretics, which were on the kings trapper. His grace therof knowing, commanded euerie of them to take thereof what it pleased them, who in effect took all on the more part; for in the beginning they thought they had bene counterfeit, and not of gold; as they were. On the next day then next following in the second yeare of his reign, his grace being young, and willing not to be idle, rose in the morning verie earlie to fetch maie of greene boughs; himselfe fresh & richlie appareled; and clothed all his knights, squiers and gentlemen in white sattin, and all his gard and peomen of the crowne in white sarcenet: and so went euerie man with his bow and arrowes shooting to the wood, and so repaired againe to the court, euerie man with a greene bough in his cap.

Now at his returning, manie hearing of his going on making, were desirous to see him shot, for at that time his grace shot as strong and as great a length as anie of his gard. There came to his grace a certaine man with bow and arrowes, and desired his grace to take the muster of him, and to see him shot; for at that time his grace was contented. The man put the one foot in his bosome, and so did shoot, and shot a verie good shot, and well towards his marke: whereof, not onelie his grace, but all other greatlie marvelled. So the king gaue him a reward for his so doing; which person afterwards of the people, and of them in the court, was called, foot in bosome. The same yeare in the feast of Pentecost, holden at Greenwich, that is to say, the thursdaie in the same weeke, his grace with two other with him, challenged all commers, to fight with them at the barriers with target, and casting the speare of eight foot long; and that done, his grace with the said two aides to fight euerie of them twelue strokes with two handed swordes, with and against all commers, none excepted being a gentleman; where the king behaued himselfe so well, and deliuered himselfe so valiantlie by his hardie prowesse and great strength, that the praise and laud was given to his grace, and his aides: notwithstanding that diuerse and strong persons had assailed him and his aides.

From thence the whole court removed to Windsor, then beginning his progresse, & exercising himselfe daillie in shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling, casting of the barre, plateng at the recorders, flute, virginals, in setting of songs, and making of ballads; he did set two full masses, euerie of them fise parts, which were song oftentimes in his chappell, and afterwards in diuerse other places. And when he came to Woking, there were kept both iustices and turneies: the rest of this progresse was spent in hunting, hawking, and shooting. A Doctor Colet deane of Poules erected a fre schoule in Poules church yard in London, and committed the oversight thereof to the ma-

sters and wardens of the mercers, because himselfe was borne in London, & was sonne to Henrie Colet mercer, sometime lord maior of the cite of London. On the thirdd summer night, the king came pryncelie into Cheape, in one of the cotes of his gard; and on saint Peters night, the king and queene came riding roiallie to the kings hed in Cheape, there to behold the watch of the cite.

Now when the said progresse was finished, his grace, the queene, with all their whole traine, in the moneth of October following, removed to Greenwich. The king not minded to see young gentlemen vnerpert in martiall feates, caused a place to be prepared within the park of Greenwich, for the queene and the ladies to stand & see the fight with battle axes that should be done there, where the king himselfe armed, fought with one Ciot a gentleman of Almaine, a tall man, and a good man of armes. And then after they had done, they marched alwaies two and two together, and so did their feats and enterprises euerie man verie well. Albeit, it happened the said Ciot to fight with sir Edward Howard, which Ciot was by him striken to the ground. The morow after this enterpryse done, the king with the queene came to the Towler of London. And to the intent that there should no displeasure nor malice be borne by anie of those gentlemen, which fought with the ar against other; the king gaue unto them a certeine summe of gold, valued at two hundred markes, to make a banquet among themselves withall. The which banquet was made at fishmongers hall in Thames street, where they all met to the number of foure and twentie, all appareled in one sute of liuerie, after Almaine fashion; that is to say, their bitter garments all of yellow sattin, yellow hosen, yellow shoes, girdels, scabberds, and bonnets with yellow feathers, their garments and hosen all cut & lined with white sattin, and their scabberds wound about with sattin. After their banquet ended, they went by torchlight to the Towler, & presented themselves before the king, who took pleasure to behold them.

From thence the eight day of November, his grace removed to Richmond, and willed to be declared to all noble men and gentlemen, that his grace with two aides, that is to wit, maister Charles Brandon, and maister Compton, during two daies would answer all commers; with speare at the tilt one daie, and at turneie with swordes the other. And to accomplish this enterpryse, on the thirtenth day of November, his grace armed at all peeces with his two aides entered the field, their bales and trappers were of cloth of gold, set with red roses, wrought with gold of broderie. The counterpart came in freshlie appareled, euerie man after his deuise. At these iustices the king brake more fraues than anie other, & therefore had the pise. At the turneie in likewise, the honour was his. The second night were diuerse strangers of Maritiman the emperours court and ambassadours of Spaine with the king at supper. When they had supped, the king willed them to go into the queenes chamber, who so did.

In the meane season, the king with diuerse other, appareled in Almaine iackets of crimsin and purple sattin, with long quartered sleeves, and hosen of the same sute, their bonnets of white velvet, wrapped in flat gold of damaske, with visards and white plumes, came in with a munumrie; and after a certeine time that they had played with the queene and the strangers, they departed. Then suddenly entered sir miquels richlie appareled, plaieng on their instruments; and then followed fourtene persons, gentlemen, all appareled in yellow sattin, cut like Almaine, bearing toches. After them came sir Disgust in white sattin and greene, embroidered and set

King Henrie
goeth a moun-
ting with o-
ther of his
courtiers.

The king a
good archer.

The king cha-
lengeth all
commers at
the barriers
with target
and casting
of the speare.

Abt. Fl. ex
I. S. pag. 894.
Poules schoule.

The king
pryncelie
into Cheape.

The king
fought with
a gentleman
of Almaine.

The birth of
the first be-
sonne of
the king Henrie
the eighth.

A goodlie de-
uise of a moun-
ting pageant.

The king
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aides, the
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The king
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with letters and cassels of fine gold in bulion, the garments were of strange fashion, with also strange cuts, curle cut knit with points of fine gold, and tassels of the same, their hosen cut and tied in likewise, their bonnets of cloth of silver wond with gold. The first of these sir was the king, the earle of Essex, Charles Brandon, sir Edward Howard, sir Thomas Annet, and sir Henrie Guilford.

Then part of the gentlemen bearing torches departed, and the Queene returned, after whom came in six ladies, apparelled in garments of crimsin sattin em-
broyered and trauesered with glosse of gold, cut in pomegranats and pokes, fringed after the fashion of Spaine. Then the said sir men danced with these six ladies: and after that they had danced a scalon, the ladies took off the mens visors, whereby they were known: whereof the queene and the strangers much praised the king, and ended the pastime: It is to be noted, that at this time the queene was great with child, & shortly after this pastime, she took her chamber at Richmond, for the which cause the king kept his Christmas there. And on the twetyeares daie the first daie of Januarie the queene was deliuered of a prince to the great gladnesse of the realme, for the honour of whome fieres were made, and diuers vessels with wine set for such as would take thereof in certain streets in London, and generall processions thereupon to laud God, As touching the preparation of the princes christening, I ouerpaste, which was honorable done, whose godfathers at the font were the archbishop of Canturburie, and the earle of Surrey, & godmother the lady Katharine countesse of Deuonshire, daughter to king Edward the fourth: his name was Henrie.

Against the twelſe date of the date of the Epiſ-
nie at night, before the banket in the hall at Rich-
mond, was a pageant deuſed like a mounteine,
glittering by night as though it had bene all of gold
and ſet with ſtones, on the top of which mounteine
was a tree of gold, the branches and boughes ſtred
with gold, ſpreading on euery ſide ouer the mount-
eine with roſes and pomegranats, the which mount-
eine was with vices brought vp towards the king,
and out of the ſame came a ladie appareled in cloth
of gold, and the children of honour called the bend-
men, which were freſhly diſguiſed, and danced a mo-
rice before the king; and that done, reentred the
mounteine, which then was drawen backe, and then
was the waſſail of banket brought in, and ſo brake
up Chriſtmaſſe. Shortlie after and before the queene
churching, the k. rode to Walingſham. The queene
being churched or purified, the king and ſhe removed
from Richmond to Weſtmiſter, where was prepa-
ration for ſolemne ſaiks in the hono^r of the queene;
the king being one, and with him three aides: his
grace being called Cure loial, the lord William erle
of Deuonſhire called Bon volcire, ſir Thomas Lancet
named Bon espoir, ſir Edward Penill called Va-
liant deſire, whoſe names were ſet vpon a goodlie
table, & the table hanged in a tree curioſlie wrought,
and they were called Les quater cheualiers de la for-
reſt ſaigne, theſe ſoure to run at the tilt againſt all
comers, with other certeine articles compriſed in
the ſaid table.

A place in the palace was prepared for the king and quene, richlie hanged, the inner part with cloth of gold, & the utter with rich cloth of arras. These feasts began the thirtenth daie of Februarie. Now after that the quene with hir traine of ladies had taken their places, into the palace was conducted a pageant of a great quantitie, made like a Forrest with roches, hills, and dales, with diuerse lundrie trees, flours, hartshornes, fern, and grasse, with six foresters standing within the same Forrest, garnished in cotes and hoods

of gréene beluet, by whome laie a great number of
speares; all the trees, hearbs, and floures of the same
forest were made of gréene beluet, gréene damaske,
& filke of diuerse colours, as sattin & farrenet. In the
middest of this forest was a castell standing made
of gold, and before the castell gate sat a gentleman
freschly apparelled, making a garland of roses for the
pysle. This forest was drawen as it were by
strength of two great beastes, a lion and an ante-
lop; the lion dogged all ouer with damaske gold, the
antelop was wrought all ouer with siluer of da-
maske, his beames or hories and tuskes of gold.

These beasts were led with certeine men appareled like wild men, or woodhouſes, their bodies, heads, faces, hands, and legs couered with graine ſlike ſlothed: on either of the ſaid antelop and lion ſat a lady richlie apparelled, the beaſts were tied to the pagant with great chaines of gold, as horſes be in the cart. When the pagant reſted befoze the queene, the forenamed foreſters blew their hozns, then the deuife or pagant opened on all ſides, and out iſſued the foreſaid foure knights armed at all peces, euerie of them a ſpeare in his hand on horſebacke with great plumes on their heads, their baſes and trappers of cloſh of gold, euerie of them his name embordred on his baſe and trapper. On the other part with great noiſe a ſwell of trumpets as of drums entered into the field, the erle of Eſſex, the lord Thomas Howard with manie other cleane armed, their trappers and baſes all of crimſin fatin embordred with branches of pomegranats of gold and poſies; with manie a freſh gentleman riding befoze them, their ſotmen well apparelled: and ſo the iuſts began and endured all that daye.

The morrow, being the thirteenth of Februarie after dinner, at time convenient, the queene with the ladies repaired to see the lusts, the trumpets sounded, and in came many a noble man and gentleman richly appparelled, taking vp their horses; after whom followed certeine lordes appparelled, they and their horses in cloth of gold and russet tinsell: knights in cloth of gold and russet velvet; and a great number of gentlemen on foot in russet sattin and pellois, and yeomen in russet damaske and yellow, all the nether part of euerie mans hosen scarlet and yellow caps. Then came the king vnder a pavilion of cloth of gold and purple velvet embrodered, and powdered with li. and ss. of fine gold, the compasse of the pavilion a-bone embrodered richly, and ballanced with flat gold, beaten in wire, with an imperial crowne in the top of fine gold, his haies and trappers of cloth of gold, fretted with damaske gold, the trapper pendant to the taile. A crane and chafon of Steele, in the front of the chafon was a godlie plume set full of musers or trembling spangles of gold. After followed his three aides, euerie of them vnder a pavilion of crimsin damaske and purple, powdered with li. and ss. of fine gold, ballanced and fringed with gold of damaske: on the top of euerie pavilion a great ss. of goldsmiths worke.

The number of the gentlemen and yeomen attending on foot, apparelled in russet and yellow, was an hundred, twelve score and eight. When next these pavilions came twelve children of honour, sitting currie of them on a great courser richlie trapped and embrodered in severall devises and fashions, where lacked neither byverie no; goldsmiths worke, so that a currie child and horse in device and fashion was contrarie to other, which was goodlie to behold. Then on the contrarie part entered fir Charles Brandon, first on horsebacke in a long robe of russet sattin, like a recluse or religious person, and his horse trapped in the same sute, without drum or noise of minnstrelle, putting a bill of petition to the quene, the effect wher

The foure
knights issue
out of the pa-
geant all ar-
med.

Goorgeous
shewes in
apparell.

The king build
der a pavilion
of cloth of gold
and purple
veluet, &c.

Str Charles
Brandon on
horseback in
a long robe of
russet satt. it
like a religi-
ous person.

of was, that if it would please hie to licence him to run in his presence, he would do it gladly; and if not, then he would depart as he came. After that his request was granted, then he put off his said habit, and was armed at all peeces with rich bases and horse also richly trapped, and so did run his horse to the tilt end, where diuerse men on foot apparelled in russet sattin waited on him.

Henrie Guilford esquier in russet cloth of gold, with his deuse.

The mar-
quess Dorset
and sir Tho-
mas Bullen
like pilgrims.

Next after came in alone yong Henrie Guilford esquier, himselfe and his horse in russet cloth of gold and cloth of siluer, closed in a deuse, or a pageant made like a castell or a turret, wrought of russet saycenet florence, wrought and set in gold with his word or posie, and all his men in russet sattin & white, with hosen to the same, and their bonets of like colours, demanding also licence of the queene to run; which to him granted, he took place at the tilts end. Then came next the marquess Dorset and sir Thomas Bullen like two pilgrims from saint James, in taberds of blacke velvet, with palmers hats on their helmets, with long Jacobs staves in their hands, their horse trappers of blacke velvet, their taberds, hats, and trappers set with scalop shels of fine gold, and strips of blacke velvet, euerie strip set with a scalop shell, their seruants all in blacke sattin with scalop shels of gold in their breeches. Some after came in the lord Henrie of Buckingham earle of Wiltshire, himselfe and his horse apparelled in cloth of siluer, embroidered with his posie or word, and arrows of gold in a posie, called La maison du refuge, made of crimfin damaske bordered with roses & arrows of gold, on the top a greibound of siluer, bearing a tree of pomegranats of gold, the branches whereof were so large that it ouerspyed the pageant in all parts.

Then entered sir Giles Capell, sir Rowland with many other knights richly armed and apparelled. And thus began the iusts, which was valiantly achieved by the king and his aids, among whom his grace attained the prize. These iusts finished, euerie man withdrew, the king was disarmed, and at time convenient he and the queene heard euensong, and that night all the ambassadoes supped with the king and had a great banquet. After supper, his grace with the queene, lords & ladies came into the White hall within the said palace, which was hanged richly, the hall was scaffolded and railed on all parts. There was an enterlode of the gentlemen of his chapel before his grace, and diuerse fresh songs: that done, his grace called to him a great man, or a lord of Ireland called O neall, whom in the presence of the said ambassadoes he made knight: then the minstrels began to plaie, the lords & ladies began to danse. Now in the midst of this pastime, when all persons were most attentue to behold the danfing, the king was suddenly gone, unknown to the most part of the people there, unlesse it were of the queene and certaine other. Within a little while after his departing, the trumpets at the end of the hall began to sound.

A pageant devised to run upon wheeles.

Then was there a deuse or a pageant upon wheels brought in, out of the which pageant issued out a gentleman richly apparelled, that shewed how in a garden of pleasure there was an arbor of gold, where in were lords and ladies, much desirous to shew pastime to the queene & ladies, if they might be licensed so to do: who was answered by the queene, how she & all other there were verie desirous to see them and their pastime. Then a great cloth of arras that did hang before the same pageant was taken away, and the pageant brought more nere. It was curiously made and pleasant to behold, it was solemne and rich; for euerie post or pillar thereof was couered with frised gold, therein were trees of bathorne, eglantine, roses, vines, and other pleasant flowers of diuerse

colours, with gilliflowers, and other hearbs all made of sattin, damaske, siluer and gold, accordingly as the naturall trees, hearbs, or flowers ought to be.

In this arbor were six ladies, all apparelled in white sattin and greene, set and embroidered full of gold, and of gold, knit together with laces of gold of damaske, and all their garments were replenished with glittering spangles gilt ouer, on their heads were bonets all opened at the four quarters, overfrised with flat gold of damaske, the orlelets were of rolles, twyethed on lampas hauche holow, so that the gold shewed through the lampas hauche; the hatts of their head set full of new devised fashions. In this garden also was the king and five with him apparelled in garments of purple sattin, all of cuts with gold, and a euerie edge garnished with frised gold, and euerie garment full of posies, made of letters of fine gold in bullion as thicke as they might be, and euerie person had his name in like letters of masse gold. The first Cure loial, the second Bon voloir, the third Bon espoir, the fourth Valiant desire, the fifth Bon foy, the sixth Amour loial, their hosen, caps, and coats were full of posies, with gold, & of fine gold in bullion, so that the ground could scarce appere, & yet was in euerie bold place spangles of gold. When time was come, the said pageant was brought forth into presence, and then descended a lord and a lady by couples, and then the minstrels which were disguised also danced, and the lords and ladies danced, that it was a pleasure to behold.

In the meane season the pageant was conveyed to the end of the palace, there to tarie till the dances were finished, & so to haue receiued the lords & ladies againe; but suddenly the rude people ran to the pageant, and rent, tare, and spoiled the pageant, so that the lord steward nor the head officers could not cause them to abstaine, except they should haue foughten and dauen bloud, and so was this pageant broken. When the king with the queene and the ladies returned to his chamber, where they had a great banquet, and so this triumph ended with much glories. At this solemnitie a shipman of London caught certaine letters, which he sold to a goldsmith for three pounds fourtene shillings & eight pence; by reason whereof it appeared that the garments were of a great value. After this great toy came a sorrowfull chance, for the yong prince which was borne upon felwpeares day last past, upon the two and twentieth daie of Februarie, being then the euen of saint Papathe, departed this world at Richmond, and from thence was caried to Westminster and buried. The king like a wise prince took this dolorous chance wonderous wiselie; and the more to comfort the queene he dissembled the matter, and made no great mourning outwardly: but the queene, like a naturall woman, made much lamentation; howbeit, by the kings good perswasion and behauiour, his sorrow was mitigated, but not shortlie.

In the moneth of Februarie this yeare came ambassadoes from the king of Arragon and Castile, to require an aid of sixtene hundred archers to be sent to the same king, hauing at that time war against the Moors, enemies of the christian faith. The king hearing their message gentlie granted their request. And because the lord Thomas Darcie a knight of the garter, made humble sute to the king to be generall of the crue that should be thus sent into Spaine, the king upon trust of his approued ballance granted his desire. There were appointed to go with him the lord Anthoine Greie brother to the marquess Dorset, Henrie Guilford, Weston Bolune, and William Stoneie esquiers of the kings house, sir Robert Constable, sir Roger Hastings, and sir Rafe Elderton, with other gentlemen to be captains.

The seventh
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Amplon and
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Dom. 1509

An. Reg. 23.

In this second yeare, the king being forth on his progresse, heard euerie daie more & more complaints of Empson and Dudley, set forth and advanced no doubt by the drift of their deadie enemies. Wherefore he sent writs to the Sherriffes of London, to put them to execution, and so the seuententh daie of August, they were both beheaded at the Tower hill, and both their bodies and heads buried, the one at the White friers, and the other at the Blacke friers. The king about this season was much giuen to plaie at tennis, and at the dise, which appetite certeine craftie persons about him perceiuing, brought in Frenchmen and Lombards to make wagers with him, & so lost much monie; but when he perceiued their craft, he eschued their companie and let them go.

¶ On the first daie of Maie the king accompanied with manie lustie batcheles, on great and well doing hollies rode to the wood to fetch Maie, where a man might haue seene manie a hollie raised on high with carrier, gallop, turne, and stop, meruellous to behold: where he & thre other, as Sir Edward Howard, Charles Brandon, and Edward Perell, which were challengers with the king, thifted themselves into coats of greene sattin garded with crimson velvet. On the other part the earles of Essex, of Devonshire, the marquesse Dorset, & the lord Howard were all in crimson satin, garded with a pounced gard of greene velvet. And as they were returning on the hill, a ship met with them under saile: the maister hailed the king and that noble companie, and said that he was a mariner, and was come from many a strange port, and came thither to see if anie deeds of armes were to be done in the countrie, of the which he might make true report in other countries. An herald demanded the name of his ship; he answered he is called Flame, & is laden with good Renowme: then said the herald, If you will bring your ship into the baie of Hardinesse, you must double the point of Gentlesse, and there you shall see a companie that will meddle with your merchandize. Then said the king, Shewens Renowme is their merchandize, let vs buie it if we can. Then the ship shot a peale of guns, and sailed forth before the kings companie, full of flags and banners, till it came to the tilt yard.

At after noone, the king and his thre fellows entered into the field, their bards and bases of crimson and blue velvet, cut in quadrant cuts, embzodered full of pomegranats, and all the waiters in silke of the same colour. The other partie were in crimson sattin and greene velvet. Then began the trumpets to sound, and the hollies to run, that manie a speare was burst, and manie a great stripe giuen: and so a truth the king excceeded in number of stanes all other euerie daie of the thre daies. Wherefore on the third daie, the queene made a great banket to the king and all them that had iustled: and after the banket done, she gaue the chiefe pisse to the king, the second to the earle of Essex, the third to the earle of Devonshire, and the fourth to the lord marquesse Dorset. Then the heralds cried; My lordes, for your noble feats in armes, God send you the loue of your ladies that you most desire. The king euer desirous to serue Mars, began another iusts the sixteenth daie of the said moneth. The king & his band were all in greene silke, and the earle of Essex and his band in blue, garded with gold, and all the speares were painted of the same colours. There was good running and manie a speare burst: but for all the sport euerie man feared least some ill chance might happen to the king, and saue would haue had him a looker on rather than a doer, and spake thereof as much as they durst: but his courage was so noble that he would euer be at the one end.

In this meane time, the lord Darcie and other ap-

pointed to the biage against the Mores, made such diligence, that the yans and all their people were readie at Wlthimouth by the middes of Maie, and there mustered their souldiers before the lord Wroke, and other the kings commissioners. The lord Darcie as capteine generall, ordeined for his prouost marshall Henrie Gullford esquier, a lustie yong man, & wel beloued of the king, for his manifold good seruice. On the mondaie in the Rogation weeke, they departed out of Wlthimouth haueu with foure ships roiall, and the wind was so fauourable to them, that the first daie of June, being the euen of the feast of Pentecost, he arriued at the port of Calis in south Spaine; and immediatlie by the aduise of his counsell, he dispatched messengers to the king, whom they found beside the citie of Ciuill where he then late, and declared to him, how the lord Darcie by the king their maisters appointment, was come thither with sixteen hundred archers, and late still at Calis to know to his pleasure. The king of Castile answered them gentle, that the lord Darcie and all other that were come from his louing sonne were welcome, and hartlie thanked them of their paines, requiting the messengers to returne to their capteine, and tell him that in all hast he would send certeine of his counsell to him.

¶ Hereupon they departed from the king, and made report to the lord Darcie, which kept his ship in great estate, and would not land, but onelie suffered such as were sicke and feeble, and few other to go a land. The Englishmen which went a land, fell to drinking of hot wines, & were scarce maisters of themselves, some ran to the selues, some brake hedges and spoiled orchards and vineyards, and oranges before they were ripe, and did manie outrageous deeds: wherefore the chiefe of the towne of Calis came to complaine to the lord Darcie in his ship, which sent forth his prouost marshall, who scarcelie with paine restrained the peoman archers, they were so hot and wilfull, yet by commandement & policie they were all brought on board to their ships.

Then upon saturdaye, the eight of June, a bishop and other of the kings counsell came to Calis, and there abode till wednesdaye, being the euen of Corpus Christi; at which daie, the lord capteine took land, and was honozablie receiued of the king of Aragons counsell, and on the morrow was highlie feasted at dinner and supper. And at after supper, the bishop declared the king his maisters pleasure, giuing to the lord capteine as heartie thanks for his pains and trauell, as if he had gone forward with his enterprise against the Mores. But whereas by the aduise of his counsell, circumspectlie considering the suertie of his owne realme, upon perfect knowledge had that the Frenchmen meant to inuade his dominions in his absence, he had altered his former determination, and taken an abstinence of war with the Mores, till an other time.

He therefore required the lord Darcie to be contented to returne home againe, promising him wages for all his souldiers; and if it should please him to come to the court, he should receiue high thanks of the king, and such chere as there could be made him. The lord Darcie was nothing pleased with this declaration, but sth he saw there was no remedie, he said, that whatseuer the king had concluded, he could not be against it, considering he was sent to him: but suerlie it was against his mind to depart home, without doing anie thing against Gods enemies, with whome he had euer a desire to fight. And as for his continuing to court, he said, he could not leaue his men whome he had brought out of their countrie, without an head; and as for the kings banket, it was not the thing that he desired.

Darcie and his companie readie at Wlthimouth.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. xij.

The burlesque behaviour of the Englishmen.

The lord Darcie honestly receiued of the king of Aragons counsell.

The lord Darcie discontented as the bishops declaration.

A shrewd
fraie begun
upon a small
occasion.

Edw. Hall.

On the next daie in the morning, monie was sent to paie the souldiers their wages for their conduct on againe into England, with diuerse gifts giuen to the lord Darcie, and other gentlemen, yet notwithstanding, he was highlie displeased: howbeit, like a wise man he dissembled the matter. The same daie, being the fourteenth daie of June, and fridaie, there chanced a fraie to be begun in the towne of Calis, betwixt the Englishmen, and them of the towne; by reason that an Englishman would haue had for his monie a loafe of bread from a maid that had bene at the bakers to buie bread, not to sell, but to spend in his mistress house. Howbeit the Englishman followed him, as making proffer not to be denied, in so much that the maid perceiuing what he went about, cried out; A force, a force. Then was the common bell rung, and all the towne went to harnesse, and those few Englishmen that were a land, went to their bowes. The Spaniards cast darts, and the Englishmen shot. But the captains of England, and the lords of the counsell for their part, took such paine, that the fraie was ceased; and but one Englishman slaine, though diuerse were hurt: and of the Spaniards diuerse were slaine. Thus of a sparkle was kindled a flame to the spoiling of manie; which is no rare thing to see, according to the scriptum est:

Concitat ingentes flammæ scintilla minuta.

After this, upon request made by the lords of Spaine, the lord Darcie and all his men the same night went aboard their ships, but Henrie Guilford, Weston Broome, and William Sidonie, young and lustie esquiers, desired licence to see the court of Spaine: which being granted, they went thither, where they were of the king highlie interteined. Henrie Guilford and Weston Broome were made knights by the king, who also gaue to sir Henrie Guilford a canton of Granada, and to sir Weston Broome an egle of Sicill on a chefe, to the augmentation of their armes. William Sidonie so excused himselfe, that he was not made knight. When they had sojourned there a while, they took their leaue of the king and quene, and returned through France into England.

The English
men desire to
see the Spa-
nish court.

The lord
Darcie return-
eth out of
Spaine.

The duchesse
of Saunoy se-
deth to king
Henrie for aid
against the
duke of Gel-
ders.

During which season, the lord Darcie made saile toward England, and arriuing at Plimmouth, came to the king at Windsor, and so this tourneie ended. During the time that the lord Darcie was in Spaine, the ladie Margaret duchesse of Saunoy, and daughter vnto Maximilian the emperor, and gouernour of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, & Zeland, & other the lowe countries appertaining to Charles the yong prince of Castile, sent in the end of Maie to the king of England, to haue sixtene hundred archers, to aid him against the duke of Gelders, which sore troubled the countries aforesaid. The king tenderlie regarding the request of so noble a ladie, most gentlie granted his request, and appointed sir Edward Poynings, knight of the garter, and comptroller of his house, a valiant capteine and a noble warrior, to be lieutenant and leader of the said sixtene hundred archers.

This gentleman accompanied with his sonne in law the lord Clinton, sir Mathew Broome, sir John Digbie, John Werton, Richard Wethill, & Schelie esquiers, with other gentlemen and yeomen, to the foresaid number of sixtene hundred, took their ships a mile beside Sandwich, the eighteenth daie of Iulie, and landed at Armele the nineteenth daie, not without some trouble, by reason of a little storme. From thence they were conducted to Barowe, whither the ladie Regent came to welcome them. On the sundae, being the seuen & twentieth of Iulie, they departed to Rosendale, and on thursdaie the last of Iulie they came to Walduke. And the next daie the

whole armie of the Almanax Flemings, and other appertaining to the said ladie, met with the English, men without Walduke, where they set forth in order, the ladie Regent being there present, which took his leaue of all the captains, and departed to Walduke.

The armie, to the number of ten thousand, beside the sixtene hundred English archers, passed forward; and the tenth daie of August, being saint Laurence daie, came before a little castle, standing on the higher side of the Mase, called Westmolt, belonging to the balliard of Gelderland. The same night, Thomas Hert, cheefe gouernour of the ordinaunce of the English part, made his approach; and in the morning, made batterie so, that the assault thereupon being giuen, the castelle was wonne, and the capteine with eightie and six men were slaine, and nineteene taken; of the which, eleven were hanged. John Foxton, capteine of one hundred Englishmen, and one Guiot an esquier of Burgognie, crying saint George, were the first that entered; at which assault, there was but one Englishman slaine. On thursdaie, the fourteenth of August, the armie feried ouer the riuer of Mase into Gelderland. The next daie, they came to a little towne called Aiske.

The people were fled, but there was a little castle raised, and cast towne, which was newlie built by on the side of the said riuer. Upon the twentieth daie of August, they burnt the foresaid towne of Aiske, and all the countrie about it, and came at the last to a towne called Straulle, being verie strong, double diked and walled. Within it were three hundred & fiftie god men of war, beside the inhabitants. At the first, they shewed good countenance of defence but when they saw their enemies approach nere vnto them with rampiers and trenches, they yielded by composition, so that the souldiers might depart with a little rike in their hands. But the towne men refused prisoners, at the will of the prince of Castile. And so on St. Bartholomewes day the admerall of Flanders, and sir Edward Poynings entred the towne with great triumph.

On the six and twentieth daie, the armie came before Wenlow, and sent an herald called Arthois, to summon the towne; but they within would not heare but shot guns at him. On the eight and twentieth daie, the armie remoued vnto the north side of Wenlow, and part went ouer the water, and made trenches to the water, & so besieged the towne as straitlie as their number would giue them leaue; but yet for all that they could do without, they within kept one gate euer open. At length, the English captains perceiuing that they late there in vaine, considering the strength of the towne, and also how the armie was not of number sufficient to entron the same on each side, wrote to the king, who willed them with all speed to returne, and so they did. Sir Edward Poynings went to the court of Burgognie, where he was receiued right honozable of the yong prince of Castile and of his aunt the ladie Margaret.

John Foxton, John Fog, John Scot, and Thomas Linde, were made knights by the prince. And the ladie Margaret perceiuing the souldiers coates to be woone and foule with lieng on the ground (for euerie man laie not in a tent) gaue to euerie peoman a coate of wollen cloth of pealowe, red, white, and graine colours, not to his little laud & passe among the Englishmen. After that sir Edward Poynings had bene highlie feasted and more praised of all men for his valiantnesse and good order of his people, he returned with his crue into England, and had lost by war and sickness not fallie an hundred persons. When the Englishmen were departed, the Gelders issued out of the gates of Wenlow, daile skirmished with

Thomas Hert
gouernour
of the English
ordinaunce.
The English
armie.

The tower of
Aiske burned.

Wenlow be-
sieged by the
English.

The duchesse
of Saunoy
showeth new
coats on the
English ships.

ding
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Fl. ex.
Hall in
fol. xvj.
The Scots
souldiers in
the bishop of
Ely's place.

Wenlow be-
sieged by the
English.

The duchesse
of Saunoy
showeth new
coats on the
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of Bourgo-
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with the Bargognions, and asked for their archers, and herewith winter began sharple to approach, and the river of Paze by abundance of raine rose so high, that it drowned up the trenches: so that all things considered, the captains without determined to raise their siege, and so they did, and after they had wasted all the countrey about Aenlow, they returned euerie man to his home.

In June the king being at Leicester, heard tidings, that one Andzew Barton a Scottishman and pirat of the sea, sailing that the king of Scots had warre with the Portingals, robbed euerie nation, and stopped the kings streames, that no merchant almost could passe. And when he took Englishmens goods, he bare them in hand that they were Portingals goods, and thus he haunted and robbed at euerie hauens mouth. The king displeased herewith, sent sir Edward Howard lord admerall of England, and lord Thomas Howard, sonne and heire to the earle of Surrie in all hast to the sea, which battell made readie two ships, and taking sea, by chance of weather were seuered. The lord Howard lieng in the dovnies, perceived where Andzew was making toward Scotland, and so fast the said lord chased him, that he overtook him; and there was a soze battell betwixt them. Andzew ener blew his whiffle to encourage his men, but at length the lord Howard and the Englishmen did so valiantlie, that by cleane strength they entered the maine decke. The Scots fought soze on the hatches: but in conclusion Andzew was taken, and so soze wounded, that he died there. Then all the remnant of the Scots were taken with their ship called the Lion.

All this while was the lord admerall in chase of the barke of Scotland, called Jemie Dithvine, which was wont to saile with the Lion in companie, & so much did he wish other, that he laid him aboard: and though the Scots manfullie defended themselves, yet the Englishmen entered the barke, slue manie, and took all the residue. Thus were these two ships taken, and brought to Blackewall the second of August [and all the Scots were sent unto the bishop of Exches place, where they remained at the kings charge, till other direction was taken for them. After this, the king sent the bishop of Winchester, and certeine of his counsell, to the archbishop of Porches place, where the Scots were prisoners: and there the bishop rehearsed to them, whereas peace was yet betwene England and Scotland, that they contrarie to that, as theues & pirats, had robbed the kings subiects within his streames. Wherefore they had deserved to die by the law, and to be hanged at the low water mark. Then said the Scots; We acknowledge our offense, and aske mercie and not the law. Then a preest which was also a prisoner, said; My lords we appeale from the kings iustice to his mercie.

Then the bishop asked him if he were authorized by them to saie so, and they cried all; Yea, yea. Then (said he) you shall find the kings mercie above his iustice. For where you were dead by the law, yet by his mercie he will rentue you; wherefore you shall depart out of this realme within twentie daies, by paine of death, if you be found after the twentieth daie; and praise for the king: and so they passed into their countrey. Thus was their captiuitie converted into libertie, and their liues saved by the kings mercie. The king of Scots hearing of the death of Andzew Barton, and the taking of the two ships, was wonderfull wofull, and sent letters to the king requiring restitution, according to the league and amitie. The king wrote to the king of Scots againe with brotherlie salutation, of the robberies done by the said Andzew, and that it became not a prince to

laie breach of peate to his confederat, for doing iustice vpon a pirat and theefe: and that all the Scots that were taken, had deserved to die by iustice, if he had not extended his mercie. And with this answer the Scottish herald departed.

About this season, the French king made sharpe warre against pope Iulie: wherefore the king of England wrote to the French king, that he should leaue off to vex the pope in such wise, being his friend and confederat. But when the French king seemed little to regard that request, the king sent him word to deliuer him his lawfull inheritance both of the duchie of Normandie and Guien, and the countreies of Anjou & Maine, and also of his crowne of France; or else he would come with such a power, that by fine force he would obtaine his purpose: but notwithstanding those writings, the French king still pursued his warres in Italie. Wherevpon the king of England, joining in league with Maximilian the emperor, and Ferdinando king of Spaine, with diuerse other princes, was resolved by aduise of his counsell to make warre on the French king and his countreies, and made preparation both by sea and land, setting forth ships to the sea for safegard of his merchants.

The foresaid pope Iulie, the kings confederat, was (before his aduancement to the popedom) cardinal of saint Petri ad Vincula, a man mightie in friends, reputation, and riches, who had giuene to him the voices of so manie cardinals, that entering the conclaue, he was with an example all new and without shutting the conclaue, elected pope the verie same night following the deceasse of his predecessor pope Pius (those that were of the contrarie opinion not daring to oppose against him.) He, either hauing regard to his first name Iulie, or (as coniectures were made) to signifie the greatnesse of his conceptions, or lastlie because he would not giue place to Alexander, no not in the excellencie of name, took vpon him the name of Iulie, the second of that name. Amongest all the popes that had passed, it was wondered that by so great consent, they had created for pope, a cardinal who was knowne to be of a disposition rigozous and terrible, and in whome was no expectation of rest and tranquillitie, hauing consumed his youth in continuall trauels, offended manie by necessitie, and exercised hatreds against manie great personages; a man to whose wit nothing was moze moze familiar, than the inuention of trouble, faction, and conspiracie.

But on the other side, the causes of his election to that degre appeared clerelie, and surmounted all other difficulties: for he had bene of long time a cardinal of great power and might, & with his magnificence, wherein he had alwayes excelled the residue, and with the greatnesse of his spirit, by the which he did great things, he had not onelie made himselfe mightie in opinion and friends; but by times and degrees had erected high his authoritie in the court of Rome, bearing the name, title, and dignitie of the principall defender of the ecclesiastike libertie. But that which serued most to his aduancement, was the promises immoderate and infinite which he made to the cardinals, princes, and barons, and to all others whome he might make profitable to him in that action. Besides, he had the meane to distribute monie, benefices, and spirituall dignities, as well such as were his owne, as those that were the rights of others; for that such was the hute & renoume of his liberalitie, that manie made willing offers to him to dispose as he best liked of their treasures, their names, their offices, and benefices.

They considered not that his promises were farre too great, than that being pope he was either able or

King Henrie
the eight taketh
the pope's part
against
the French
king.

Abr. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 14.
Cardinal S.
Petri ad Vin-
cula made
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Pope Iulie a
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low and an
ennemie to
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Indirect
means to at-
taine the popes
dome.

S. Jehan
burnt by the
English.

of Basen, to see and vnderstand the maner thereof: but perceiving that the Englishmen had desiered them, suddenly they returned. The Englishmen followed, & coming to the towne of S. Jehan de Lucie, they burnt and robbed it, & slue the inhabitants. Divers other villages they spoiled on the borders of Guen; but because they wanted both hostles of service, and hostles to draw forth their ordnance, they could not do anie such damage as they might and would have done, if they had bene furnished according to their desires in that point. Thus continued the English armie in such wearisome sort till the moneth of October, and then fell the lord marquisse sick, and the lord Howard had the chiefe governance of the armie.

Then were sent from the king of Spaine diverse lords of his privie counsell unto the said lord Howard, to excuse the matter for that he came not according to his promise, requiring them, that sith the time of the yeare to make warre was past, it might please them to breake up their campe, and to divide themselves abroad into the townes and villages of his realme till the spring time of the yeare, that they might then go forward with their first pretended enterprise. The lord Howard shewed well in words that the Englishmen could not thinke well of the king of Spaines falsh excuse, and unprofitable delays, to his much hono^r & their great hinderance & losse, having spent the king their master so much treasure, and done so little hurt to his adversaries. The Spaniards gave faire words; and so in courteous maner departed.

The English
campe in Biscaye
broke up.

The armie
dispersed into
diverse villages.

Then about the end of October. it was agreed amongst all the lords of the English host that they should breake up their campe, and so they did. The lord marquisse and his people went to saint Sebastian, the lord Howard and his retinue to Renod, the lord Willoughbie to Castang, and sir William Sands with manie other capitaines repaired to Fotherable, and so everie capitaine with his retinue was placed in one towne or other. The king of England advertised of the king of Spaine this meaning, sent an herald called Windsor with letters unto his armie, willing his men there to tarry, & promising to send over to them right hostlie a new supply, under the guiding of the lord Herbert his chamberlaine.

Unappreciable
rage amongest the
English soldiers.

When this letter was read, and the contents thereof notified, the soldiers began to be so highly displeased, and spake such outrageous words, as it was marvell to heare: & not contented with words, they were bent to have done outrageous deeds, insomuch that in their furie they had slaine the lord Howard and diverse others, if they had not followed their intents: and hereupon they were glad to hire ships, and so embarked themselves in the moneth of November. When the lord marquisse was brought aboard, he was so weake and feeble of remembrance through sickness, that he asked where he was. In the beginning of December they landed here in England, and were glad to be at home, and got out of such a countrey, where they had little health, little pleasure, and much losse of time. The king of Spaine seemed to be sore discontented with their departure, openly affirming, that if they had tarried untill the next spring, he would in their companies have invaded France.

The lord admiral
in Britaine.

About the same time that the marquisse went in to Spaine, that is to wit, about the middell of Maie, sir Edward Howard lord admiral of England, being on the sea afoze Portsmouth, made south againe to the sea, and directing his course towards Britaine on Crinitie sundae arrived at Bergham baie with twentie great ships, and suddenly set his men on land, and there was a bulwoke, which the Britains

kept and defended a while, but being overcome, fled out of their hold, & left it to the Englishmen. Then the lord admiral passed leaven miles into the countrey, burning and wasting townes and villages, and in returning, furnished with diverse men of armes, and slue some of them: and notwithstanding that the Britains fought valiantlie in defense of their countrey; yet they were put to the worse, and so the lord admiral returned to his ships.

On the thie & twentieth daie of Maie being mon, daie, he landed in the morning, and commanded to burne the house of the lord Piers Hoguns, with the towne of Conquet, & diverse other places, and chased the Britains into the castell of Brest: and notwithstanding all the assemblies and shewes that the Britains made, yet they suffered the English peace, able to returne with their priets and hosties. The first of June the Englishmen took land in Croston baie, and then the lords of Britaine sent word to the lord admiral, that if he would abide, they would give him battell. The admiral rewarded the messenger, and willed him to say to them that sent, that all that day they should find him in that place tarrying their coming.

Hereto encourage diverse gentlemen the more earnestlie to shew their valiance, he dubbed them knights; as sir Edward Bockie, brother to the lord Cobham, sir Griffith Dohone, sir Thomas Windham, sir Thomas Lucie, sir John Burdet, sir William Winton, sir Henrie Shirborne, and sir Stephan Bull. When the lord admiral saw the Frenchmen come, he comforted his men with pleasant words, thereby the more to encourage them. The whole number of the Englishmen was not much above 25 hundred, where the Frenchmen were at the least ten thousand; and yet when they saw the order of the Englishmen, they were suddenly astonished.

Then a gentleman of good experience and credit amongst them, advised the other capitaines not to fight, but to retire a little and take a strong ground, there to remaine till the Englishmen returned to ward their ships: and then to take the advantage. And so the capitaines began to retire, which when the commons saw, they all ran apace as fast as they might, supposing that the capitaines had some unknowne kind great perill at hand, because they were not willing to the purpose of their capitaines. The lord admiral seeing what happened, when the night came departed to his ships. After this the gentlemen of Britaine sent to the admiral for a safe conduct for diverse persons, which they meant to send to him about a treatie. The lord admiral was of his gentleness content to grant their request. Then certeine lords of Britaine took a boat, and came to the ship of the lord admiral, where he was set with all his counsell of the armie about him.

The request of the Britains was, that it might please him to increase his retell kind of warre, in burning of townes and villages; but the admiral plainly told them, that he was sent to make warre and not peace. Their they required a truce for six daies, which would not be granted; and to their request, the admiral told them, that gentlemen ought to defend their countrey by force, rather than to sue for peace. And thus making them a banquet he sent them a waite. And after hearing that there was ships of warre on the seas, he coasted from thence along the countrey of Normandie, still following the sea, so that no enimie durst appeare. And at length he came and late by the Ile of Wight, to see if anie enimies would appeare. During which time, divers ships were kept in the north seas, under the conduct of sir Edward Tschingham, John Welwes, John Luedate, and others.

Conquer and
diverse other
places burnt
by the English
admiral of
England.

Diverse gentlemen
dubbed by the
lord admiral.

At
Conquet
Fl. ex
Hall
Description
the French
circumstances
solemnity
held.

The king of
England to
the lord
admiral
about the
month of
June 1542.

The king of
England to
the lord
admiral
about the
month of
June 1542.

The English
armie in
Britaine.

The request
of the lord
admiral of
Britaine to
the lord
admiral.

A truce
granted
for six
daies.

An. Reg. 4.

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The request
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The French King in this meane while had prepared a number of his best ships in the haven of Brest, for these he ordeined a great Carricke of Brest, appertaining to the Queene his wife, called Cordelier, a verie strong ship, and verie well appointed. This came forth out of Brest the tenth of August, and came to Brittain bay, in the which the same day was the English fleet arrived. When the Englishmen perceived the Frenchment to be issued forth of the haven of Brest, they prepared themselves to battell, and made forth towards their enemy, which came hither to wards; and coming in sight of one another they shot off their ordnance so terrible together, that all the sea coast sounded of it. The lord Admiral made with the great ship of Brest; and killed his first Henrie Gilford, and also sir Charles Brandon made with the great Carricke of Brest, being in the Souveraigne, and laid them to stein to the Carricke, but by negligence of the master, or else by smoke of the ordnance, or otherwise, the Souveraigne was cast at the sterne of the Carricke, with which advantage the Frenchmen fought for joy.

60 be. In this parlement was granted to the king tene
fiftene, and foure demies; and head monie, of euery
duke ten markes, an earle five poundes, a lord foure
poundes, a knight foure markes, & euery man rated
eight hundred poundes in goods, to paie foure markes;
and so after that rate, till him that was valued a
fourtie shillings, paie twelue pence, and euery man
that toke fourtie shillings wages twelue pence, and
euery man and woman of fiftene peaces or by
ward foure pence. The steeple and lanterne of Wol-
church in Cheape was this yere finished. By this
this yere a great part of the kings palace of White-
minster, and the chappell in the Tower of London
and manie other places in England were burned.
In Aprill, the king sent a great nauie of twelue
thousand

1 Kings palace
1, at westmin=
D. Her burned.

160

Edmund de la Pole was beheaded on the Tower hill, his brother Richard was after slain in France.]

1547

1547 Hall in Hen. 8. fol. xxij. the description of a rich mount being a Christmasmasse house.

thousand men to the sea. On Maie even, Edmund de la Pole was beheaded on the Tower hill, his brother Richard was after slain in France.]

After this parlement was ended, the king kept a solemn Christmasse at Greenwich, with dances and mummeries in most princelie maner. And on the Twelfe daie at night came into the hall a mount, called the rich mount. The mount was set full of rich flowers of silke, and especiallic full of brome slips full of cods, the branches were greene sattin, and the flowers flat gold of damaske, which signified Plantagenet. On the top stood a goodlie beacon giuing light, round about the beacon sat the king and five other, all in cotes and caps of right crimsin velvet, embrodered with flat gold of damaske, their cotes full of spangles of gold. And foure woodhouses dzeto the mount till it came before the quene, and then the king and his companie descended and danced. Then suddenlie the mount opened, and out came six ladies all in crimsin sattin and plunket, embrodered red with gold and pearie, with French hoods on their heads, and they danced alone. Then the lords of the mount toke the ladies and danced together: and the ladies reentered, and the mount closed, and so was conueied out of the hall. Then the king shifted him, and came to the quene, and sat at the banquet which was verie sumptuous.

1547 Charles Brandon created vicount Lille.

The nauie set out againe.

The English nauie purposing to set upon the French in the haven, are defeated by a mischance.

After Candlemasse, the king created sir Charles Brandon vicount Lille. In March following was the kings nauie of ships roiall & other set forth to the number of fortie and two, beside other balangers vnder the conduct of the lord admerall, accompanied with sir Walter Deuereux, lord Ferrers, sir Wolstan Browne, sir Edward Ichingham, sir Anthoine Pointz, sir John Mallop, sir Thomas Willdam, sir Stephan Bull, William Fitz Williams, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sidneie esquires, and diuerse other noble and valiant captains. They sailed to Portsmouth, and there late abiding wind, and when the same serued their turne, they weied anchor, & making saile into Britaine, came into Berthram baie, and there laie at anchor in sight of the French nauie, which kept it selfe close within the haven of Wex, without proffering to come abroad.

The English perceiuing the maner of the French men, determined to set on them in the haven, and making forward in good order of battell, at their first entrie one of their ships, whereof Arthur Plantagenet, was capitaine, fell on a blind rocke, and burst in sunder, by reason whereof, all the other staid: and the English captains perceiuing that the haven was dangerous to enter without an expert lobesman, they cast about, and returned to their harborough at Berthram baie againe. The Frenchmen perceiuing that the Englishmen meant to assaile them, moored their ships so nere to the castell of Wex as they could, and placed bulwarks on the land on euerie side, to shoot at the Englishmen. Also they trapped together foure and twentie great hulkes that came to the baie for salt, and set them on a row, to the intent that if the Englishmen had come to assaile them, they would haue set those hulkes on fire, and haue let them dzue with the streame amongst the English ships.

The lord admerall would haue the king present in person at the encounter, and rebuked.

Dor: Jehan also laie still in Blanke sable baie, and plucked his gallies to the shoze, setting his bassilikes and other ordinance in the mouth of the baie, which baie was bulwarked on euerie side, that by water it was not possible to be wone. The lord admerall perceiuing the French nauie thus to lie in feare, wrote to the king to come thither in person, and to haue the honour of so high an enterpryse: which writing the kings counsell nothing allowed, for putting the king in leopordie vpon the chance of the sea.

Wherefore the king wrote to him Harple againe, commanding him to accomplish that which appertained to his duetie: which caused him to adventure things farther than wisdome would he should (as after ye shall heare) to his bitter vndoying and casting awaie, God hauing ordeined the means by his prouidence, which the pagans implied (though wanting the light of grace) in the name of destinie, of them counted ineuitable. [A destinie lamentable considering the qualitie of the person, with the maner of his dieng. Wherein although manie vaine dispute, that fortune led him to so miserable an accident: yet if we will lift vp our considerations to God, we shall find that he hath reserved such a prerogatiue ouer all things which he hath created, that to him onelie belongeth the authoritie to dispose all things by the same power wherewith he hath created them of nothing.] And yet the foolish world (doting in blind ignozance, but pretending a singular insight in matters of secrecie) bluseth not to talke of rather to asseuere, casualtie, chancemeble, misfortune, and such like foolish imaginations: whereas (indeed) the prouidence of God compasseth all things whatsoeuer, for nothing can be priuileged from the amplenesse of the same.

Dor: Jehan keeping him still within his hold, as a prisoner in a dungeon, did yet sometime send out his small foists to make a shew before the English nauie, which chased them to the baie. But because the English ships were mightie vessels, they could not enter the baie: and therefore the lord admerall caused certeine boats to be manned forth, which toke one of the best foists that Dor: Jehan had, and that with great danger: for the gallies and bulwarks shot so fresshly all at one instant, that it was maruell how the Englishmen escaped. The lord admerall perceiuing that the Frenchmen would not come abroad, called a counsell, wherein it was determined, that first they would assaile Dor: Jehan and his gallies lieng in Blanke sable baie, and after to set on the residue of the French fleet in the haven of Wex. When first it was appointed, that the lord Ferrers, sir Stephan Bull, and other, should go along with a conuenient number to assaile the bulwarks, while the admerall entered with row barges and little gallies into the baie, and so should the Frenchmen be assailed both by water and land.

The lord admerall by the counsell of a Spanis knight called sir Alfonse Charant, affirming that he might enter the baie with little leopordie, called to him William Fitz Williams, William Cobe, John Collete, and sir Wolstan Browne, as his chiefe and most trustie friends, making them pswade to his intent: which was to take on him the whole enterprise, with their assistance. And so on S. Markes daie, which is the five and twentieth of Aprill, the said admerall put himselfe in a small row barge, appointing three other small rowing ships, and his owne ship bote to attend him; and therewith vpon a sudden rowed into the baie, where Dor: Jehan had moored by his gallies tust to the ground: which gallies with the bulwarks on the land, shot so terrible, that they that followed were afraid. But the admerall passed forward, & as soone as he came to the gallies, he entered & dzoue out the Frenchmen. William Fitz Williams within his ship was sore hurt with a quarell. The baie was shallow, and the other ships could not enter, for the tide was spent.

Which thing the Frenchmen perceiuing, they entered the gallies againe with moxie pikes, and fought with the English in the gallies. The admerall perceiuing their approach, thought to haue entered againe into his row barge, which by violence of the tide was dzinen downe the streame, and with a pike he was

An. Reg. 5

Edward Howard marcell

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The lord Thomas Howard made marcell.

The earle of Hereford

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In Reg. 5.

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thowne ouer the bord, and so drowne, and also the
foynamed Alsonse was there slaine: all the other
boats and vessels escaped verie hardlie auaie: for
if they had taried, the tide had failed them, and then
all had bene lost. The lord Ferrers and the other
captains were right sorrowfull of this chance: but
when there was no remedie, they determined not to
attempt anie further, till they might understand
the kings pleasure, and so they returned into Eng-
land.

The Frenchmen perceiuing that the English
fleet departed from the coasts of Britaine and drelu
towards England, did come south of their hauens,
and the lord Jehan set forth his gallees and foists, and
drawing alongst the coasts of Normandie and Bri-
taine, coasted ouer to the borders of Souther with all
his companie, and there landed, and set fire on cer-
teine poze cotages. The gentlemen that dwelt nere,
raised the countrie, and came to the coast, and droue
the lord Jehan to his gallees. The king was right sozie
for the death of his admerall; but sorrowfullie
not when the chance is past. Therefore the king hea-
ring that the French nanie was abroad, called to
him the lord Thomas Howard eldest brother to the
late admerall, and sonne and heire apparant to the
earle of Surrie, whome he made admerall, willing
him to reuenge his brothers death. The lord Ho-
ward humbly thanked his grace of the trust that he
put in him, and so immediatlie went to the sea, and
scotored the same, that no Frenchman durst shew
himselfe on the coast of England, for he fought with
them at their owne ports.

The king hauing all his prouisions readie for the
warre, and meaning to passe the sea in his owne per-
son, for the better taining of the losse Frenchmen,
appointed that worthie counsellor and right redoub-
ted cheffaine, the noble George Talbot earle of
Shrewesburie, high steward of his household, to be
captaine generall of his foreward; and in his com-
panie were appointed to go, the lord Thomas Stan-
leie earle of Derby, lord Deuonshire prior of saint
Johns, sir Robert Kitchiffe lord Fitzwater, the lord
Hastings, the lord Cobham, sir Alice ap Thomas, sir
Thomas Blunt, sir Richard Sackeuell, sir John
Digbie, sir John Alkew, sir Lewes Bagot, sir Tho-
mas Coznewall, and manie other knights, esqui-
ers, and souldiers; to the number of eight thousand
men. These passed the sea, and came all to Calis a-
bout the middle of Maie.

The lord Herbert called sir Charles Sumner-
set, lord chamberleine to the king, in the end of the
same moneth followed the said earle of Shrewesbu-
rie, with sir thousand men: in whose companie were
the erls of Northumberland and Percie, of Kent Greie,
of Wilshire Stafford, the lord Doble, the lord De-
lauiare, and his sonne sir Thomas West, sir Ed-
ward Hulleie, sir Edward Dimmoche, sir David
Owen, with manie other knights, esquiers, and
gentlemen. After they had sojourned certeine daies
in Calis, and that all their necessaries were readie,
they issued south of the towne, so to begin their
campe. And first the earle of Shrewesburie and his
companie toke the field, and after him the lord Her-
bert with his retinues in manner of a reerward.
Then followed that valiant knight sir Alice ap Tho-
mas, with five hundred light horsemen and archers
on horsebacke, who ioined himselfe to the foreward,
a gentleman of such spirit and hardinesse, that he is
named the floure of the Welshmen, as the poet saith:

Ricinus Thomas flos Cambrobritanium.

These two lords thus imbattelled did remoue the
seuententh of June to Sandifield, and on the eighteenth
they came to Marguison, on the further side of the
water, as though they would haue passed straight

waies to Bullongne. But they meaning an other
thing, the next daie toke an other waie, and so coasted
the countrie with such diligence, that the two and
twentieth of June they came before the strong citie of
Teronan, and pight their tents a mile from the
towne. The same night (as certeine captains were in
counsell within the lord Herberts tent) the baron
Carew was slaine with a bullet shot out of the
towne; which sudden aduenture much dismayed the
assemblee, but the lord Herbert comforted them with
manlie words, and so his death was passed ouer. All
the countrie of Artois and Picardie fortified their
holds, and made thewes as the English armie pas-
sed, but they durst not once assaile them.

The citie of Terrouan was stronglie fortified
with walles, rampiers, bulwarks, and large ditches.
The lord Pontremie was gouernour within it, ha-
uing with him sir hundred horsemen, and 2500 Al-
mans, besides the inhabitants. The walles & towers
were full of ordinance, which oftentimes did much dis-
pleasure to the Englishmen. The earle of Shrewes-
burie planted his siege on the north west side of the
towne, and the lord Herbert on the east side, causing
great trenches to be made to couer his people with-
all: for on that side there was no hill to succour or
defend him. The Frenchmen and Almans would di-
uerse times issue out, but the archers were cuer rea-
die to beat them into the citie againe. The earle of
Shrewesburie got into an hollow ground or ballie
nere to the citie, and likewise the lord Herbert (by
reason of his trenches) approached likewise verie nere
to the ditches.

The seven and twentieth daie of June being mon-
daie, sir Nicholas Taur and sir Edward Belknap,
hauing with them foure hundred and thre score men
set from Guines to conduct foure and twentie carts
laden with vittels towards the siege at Terrouan;
but the duke of Glansome lieutenant of Picardie
with eight hundred horsemen set on them as they
passed through Ard, and found them so out of order,
that notwithstanding all that the English captains
could do to bring men into arraie, it would not be:
for the Frenchmen set on so readilie, that they kept
the Englishmen in sunder. Yet the horsemen of
Guines, being not past foure and twentie in all,
toke their speares and ioined with the Frenchmen
right manfullie, and likewise thre score archers shot
freshlie at their enemies; but the Frenchmen were so
manie in number, that they obtained the place, slue
eight gentlemen, and diuerse archers. Sir Nicholas
Taur and sir Edward Belknap fled toward Guis-
nes.

Thus were the vittels lost, and yet the French-
men went not auaie with cleere hands: for those few
archers that closed together, shot so egerlie, that they
slue and hurt diuerse Frenchmen; and on the field
late foure score and seuen great horses, which died
there in the place, and neuer went further. On the
fiftenth day of June the 13. departed from Craene-
wich, taking his iournete towards Douer, whither
he came by easie iournies, and the quene in his com-
panie. After he had rested a season in the castell of
Douer, and taken order for the rule of the realme in
his absence, he toke leaue of the quene, and entring
his ship the last daie of June, being the daie of saint
Ivanle: he sailed ouer to Calis, where he was recei-
ued with great top by the deputie sir Gilbert Talbot
and all other there. At his entring into Calis, all the
banished men entred with him, and were restored to
the libertie of the towne. The king laie in Calis a
certeine time, till all his prouisions were readie, but
the armie laie in campe at Peluham bridge.

On the one and twentieth of Iulie, the kings ma-
iestie passed south of Calis, and toke the field, din-
ding

The English
armie mar-
cheth into
Teruine.

The baron of
Carew slaine.

The lord
Pontremie
captaine of
Teruine.

Teruine
besieged;

The king in
person passeth
ouer into
France.

The order of
the kings ar-
mie.

ding the armie which he had there with him into three battells. The lord Little marshall of the host was cap-
taine of the fore-ward, and under him three thousand
men: sir Richard Carew with three hundred kept on
the right side of the same fore-ward as a wing there-
to: and the lord Darcie with other three hundred
men was a wing on the left hand. The fore-riders of
this battell were the Northumberland men on light
geldings. The earle of Essex was lieutenant gene-
rall of the speares, and sir John Perchie was vicego-
uernour of all the horsemen, and sir John Burdet
standard-bearer to the kings speares. An eight hun-
dred Almans went on a plume by themselves be-
fore the kings battell, and the duke of Buckingham
with six hundred men was on the kings left hand, e-
quall with the Almans, in like maner as sir Edward
Poynings was on the right hand, with other six hun-
dred men equall with the Almans.

* This man
was after-
ward carpe-
nter.

In the kings battell, there was the standard of the
armies of England borne by sir Henric Guilford, 20
there were three thousand; & the lord of Aburgauenie
with eight hundred men was wing on the right
hand, and sir William Compton with the retinue of
the bishop of Winchester, and of maister * Wolfeie
the kings almoner, being in number eight hundred
was in manner of a reere-gard. Sir Anthoine Dugh-
tred and sir John Penill with the kings speares that
followed were four hundred, and so the whole armie
contained eleven thousand and three hundred men.
The number of the cariages were thirtene hundred,
and the number of them that attended the same
were nineteen hundred men, and all these were re-
cruited in the battell: but of good fighting men & sol-
diers appointed for the purpose, there were not full
nine thousand. In this order the king with his armie
marched forward through the confines of his eni-
mies to the siege of Terrouan, entering into the
French ground the five and twentieth of Julie being
mondaye. On the morrow after as the armie mar-
ched forward, by negligence of the carters that mi-
stake the waie, a great curtall (called the John Ce-
uangelist) was ouerthrowne in a deepe pond of wa-
ter and could not quicklie be recovered.

The French
armie appro-
cheth, & their
number.

The king being aduertised that the Frenchmen
approched to fight with him, left the gun (because the
maister carpenter undertooke to weie it thorowly out
of the water) & set forward, passing on by Tornohan,
which he left on his right hand, and a little beyond pi-
ched downe his field abiding for his enemies, the
which (as he was informed) were not far off. On the
morrow after being Wednesdaye, the reliefe of the
speares brought word that they had ascried the
French armie comming forward in order of battell,
to the number of eleven thousand footmen, and four
thousand horsemen. Captains of this armie were
the lord de la Palice, the lord de Wyennes, the duke
of Longuile, the earle of S. Paule, the lord of Flo-
ringes, the lord of Cleremont, & Richard de la Pole
a banished man, son to John duke of Suffolke. They
came within two miles of the kings armie, and there
the footmen staled, and came no further.

The northern
pickers place
the men.

But certeine of the horsemen to the number of
three thousand came forward, and at the end of a wood
shelved themselves in open. Out of the English ar-
mie. And thus they stood countenancing the Eng-
lishmen. Some of the northerne pickers made to
them, and in skirmishing with them, took some of
them prisoners. About none the same daie, that ba-
liant Welsh knight sir Rice ap Thomas with his re-
tinue of horsemen being departed from the siege of
Terrouan came to the king, and freightwaies was
sent to the earle of Essex, which with two hundred
speares was laid in a scale, if the Frenchmen had
come naxer, When they were ioined together, they

drew about the hill, having with them sir Thomas
Guilford, with two hundred archers on horsebacke,
meaning to set on the Frenchmen: which percei-
uing that, and doubting least more companie had fol-
lowed, they suddenlie drew backe, and ioined them
with their great battell.

Then the earle of Essex and the English horse-
men followed them, till they came nere to the armie
of France, and then scaled and sent forth light horse-
men to biew the demerces of the Frenchmen. When
the Frenchmen of armes were returned to their
battell, then both the horsemen and footmen with-
drew in order of battell, and still the English curraes
followed them for the space of three leagues, and then
returned to the earle, making report to him of that
they had scene, who then brake by his scale, and came
to the king, declaring to him how the Frenchmen
were gone backe. This was called the daye Wednesdaye,
for the daie was wonderfull hot, and the king
with his armie stood in order of battell, from six of the
clocke in the morning till three of the clocke in the af-
ter none. And some died for lacke of moisture, and
generallie euerie man was burned about the mouth
with heat of the stomack; for drinke lacked, and wa-
ter was not nere.

After this the king remoued toward Terrouan,
and as he was setting forward, the lord Malon of
Flanders came to him with his horsemen, which
were already in the kings wages. As the armie pas-
sed, by negligence the same daie in a lane was o-
uerthrowne one of the kings bombardes of iron, cal-
led the red gun, and there left. The king lodged that
night two miles from saint Omers on the north side
of the towne. On the Thursdaye, being the eight and
twentieth of Julie, the maister carpenter with an hun-
dred carpenters and labourers, without knowledge
of the marshall, went to weie up the great gun that
was in the pond (as ye haue heard) and by force of
engins drew it up, and carted it ready to bring a-
waie: but suddenlie there came an eight hundred
Frenchmen with speares, crossbowes, and hand-
guns, which set on the labourers so fiercelie, that not-
withstanding their manfull defense, the most part of
them were slaine and the residue taken, and both they
and the peece of ordinance conueied to Bullangne.

The Frenchmen glad of this chance, assembled a
great number to fetch the other gun, which lay yet in
the lane. But the lord Berners being captaine of the
pioners, and hearing all these things, prepared to re-
cover that gun, and so in the morrow went to fetch it.
There were appointed to go backe to see him safe con-
ducted, the earle of Essex with his companie of
speares, sir Rice ap Thomas with his retinue, and
sir John Penill with the Northumberland men. The
Almans also were commanded to retire backe to the
succours of them that were gone for the gun. The Al-
mans went forth, till they came within two miles of
the place where the gun lay, and further they would
not go. The Frenchmen to the number of nine or
ten thousand men (as some esteemed) were abroad,
and came toward the place where the Englishmen
were carting the peece of ordinance.

The Northumberland horsemen having espied
them, gaue knowledge to the residue of the English
men; who prepared themselves to defend their
ground against the enemies: and the earle of Essex
sent to the lord Malon, willing him with his compa-
nie to come to his aid: but the lord Malon sent word
again, that he was come to ferre the king of Eng-
land more than for one daie, and therefore he wished
that all the Englishmen would returne, with that
with the great power of France they were not able
to match. This answer was much displeasing to the
earle of Essex and the other captains. In this maner
time

The king
was in the
siege.

The king in-
comprehend
the siege.

The king in-
comprehend
the siege.

The bomb
called the re
gun car-
ried downe.

The Hall in
the 8. fol. 28.

The great
gun gotten
the French
by the fauor
of the maister
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The lord was
son towards
the earle of
Essex, who
that he is
come to ferre
the king of
England.

time the foreriders of the French part were come to the hands of the Englishmen, and so they fell in skirmish very hotlie: but at length all things considered, and specially the small number of the Englishmen, and bring not above seven hundred horsemen, it was thought best that they should returne and follow the gun, which they had sent forward.

Whereupon they retreated in order, and not in any strong manner, still following the gun. The Frenchmen perceiving that, pitched forward to the number of two thousand horsemen, & came in to the backs of the Englishmen, who there with cast about, and made returne to the Frenchmen. Sir William Eller and Sir John Sharpe were the first that charged, and after all the other Englishmen. The Frenchmen fled immediately so fast backe, that happie was he that might be foremost. The whole host seeing their horsemen thus had in chase, suddenly returned. The earle of Essex withdrew to an hill, and there caused his trumpet to blow to the standard for feare of subtle dealing; and when his men were come in, and gathered together, he returned. On the same daie being fridaie, the nine and twentieth of Julie, the king came to Arkes, & there incamped; whither the earle of Essex came to him, and declared that had bene done that daie, the king thanking him and other the capitaine for their paines and diligence.

The king late here at Arkes till mondaie the first of August, and then removed to a village midwaie between Terwine and saint Omers, where he lay till thursdaie the fourth of August, and came that daie in good order of battell before the citie of Terwine, & there pitched by his tents and pavillions in most royal manner, sending his campe right stronglie with ordinance and other warlike deuises. [The king for himselfe had a house of timber with a chimney of iron, and for his other lodgings he had great and goodlie tents of blew water worke garnished with pelloie and white, diuerse comes within the same for all officers necessarie. On the top of the pavillions stood the kings beasts holding fanes, as the lion, the dragon, the grehound, the antelope, the dun cow: all within the lodging was pointed full of the sunnes rising, the lodging was one hundred and five and twentie fote in length.]

The king lieng before Terwine, his great ordinance did soe beat the towne walles, & they within likewise shot ordinance out of the towne, and due diuerse Englishmen in the trenches, among which shots they had one gun that euerie daie and night was ordinance shot at certaine houres without faile: this gun was of the Englishmen called the whistling gun, but it neuer did harme in the kings field. The siege thus lieng before the citie of Terwine, Sir Alexander Batnam a capitaine of the miners, caused a mine to be enterprised to enter into the towne: but the Frenchmen perceiving that, made a countermine, and so destroyed the other mine, and diuerse miners slaine within the same. The French armie houred euery farre to take the Englishmen at advantage, as they went a foraging; and manie a skirmish was done, and manie good feates of armes achieved on both sides, and diuerse prisoners taken. Among the Frenchmen were certaine light horsemen called Stradiots, with short stirraps, better hats, small speares, and swords like cinniteries of Turkie: diuerse times the northerne light horsemen under the conduct of Sir John Penill skirmished with these Stradiots and took diuerse of them prisoners, and brought them to the king.

While the king laie thus before Terwine, the capitaine of Bullongne knowing by his espials, that manie of the garrison of Calis were with the king at the siege, and also that vittells were daily brought

out of England to Calis to succour the campe, imagined a great enterprise, and sent for all the men of warre under his dominion and rule, and declared to them what honour they should obtaine if they hurted or spoiled the out parts of Calis, the king of England on that side of the sea. The men of warre perceiving the good courage of the capitaine, assented to his purpose, and so with all diligence they, to the number of a thousand men, in the evening set forward, & came to Betonam bidge by three of the clocke in the morning, and found the watchmen that kept the bidge asleepe, & so entered the bulworke and slue the watchmen, and took the ordinance of the bidge, and then let the bidge fall, so that all entered that would.

The capitaine of Bullongne kept six hundred men for a sale at the bidge, & sent the other into the marshes and medows to fetch afoote the beasts and cattell which they should find there. This was done, and some of them came so nere the walles of Calis, that they were eiesied. And about a six score coupers, bankers, shipmen & other which laie without the towne, hearing the alarme, got together, & setting on those Frenchmen which were advanced so nere the towne, slue them downe that abode, chased them that fled euen into Betonam bidge, and recovered the same, and put backe their enemies. About five of the clocke in the morning, the gate of Calis called Bullongne gate was opened, and then by permission of the deputie, one Culpeper the under-marshal with two hundred archers under a banner of saint George issued forth.

All these in great hast came to Betonam bidge, where they found the other Englishmen that had borne the bidge of the Frenchmen, and so altogether set forward to assaile the Frenchmen that kept the sale, and taried till the residue of their companie which were gone a foraging unto Calis walles were come: for the other that had spoiled the marshes were returned with a great bootie. At the first, when the Frenchmen saw the Englishmen approach, they thought they had bene their owne fellows. But when they saw the banner of saint George, they perceived how the matter went, & so determined to defend themselves against their enemies; but the Englishmen set so fiercelie on, that finally the Frenchmen were discomfited, and foure and twentie of them slaine, beside twelue score that were taken prisoners, and all the ordinance and bootie againe recovered.

These prisoners were brought to Calis, & there sold in open market. [Among all other, a couper of the towne of Calis bought a prisoner of this bootie that dwelt in Bullongne, and had of the prisoner an hundred crowns for his rancome. When the monie was paid, the Frenchman praised the couper to see him safe deliuered, and to conduct him out of danger. The couper gentlie granted, and without any knowlledge of his friends, all alone went with the Frenchman till he came beyond the causeie, & there would haue departed: but the Frenchman perceiving that the couper was aged, and that no rescue was nie, by force took the couper prisoner, and carried him to Bullongne, & made him paie two hundred crowns for his rancome: thus thorough follie was the poore couper deceived. Wherefore it is wisdome for a man to hold fast his possession, and to supplie his want of strength by subtiltie; imitating therein the fox, which although in force he be inferior to the lion, as not able to beate the perking of his taile, or a pelt of his paw; yet in craft he goeth beyond that boisterous beaust, and so escapeth danger, which otherwise he might suffer.]

On the eleuenth day of August, being thursdaie, the king lieng at the siege of Terwine, had knowlledge that Maximilian the emperor was in the towne of Aire.

watchmen
found sleeping
serued mistle.

Culpeper under-
marshal
of Calis.

Abr. Fl. ex
Ed. Hall in
H. 8, fol. xxviii;

The follie of
a couper.

1. Dom. 1513

An. Reg. 5.

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The effect of the Scottish kings letter to H. Henrie the eighth, p. 295, and Edw. Hall, in H. 8. fol. xxix, xxx.

The king of France a day without reason, and so.

The king of England a day without reason, and so.

Subscribed by a day without reason, and so.

Subscribed by a day without reason, and so.

Subscribed by a day without reason, and so.

The emperor Maximilian a day without reason, and so.

The king of France a day without reason, and so.

their adherents, being by generall counsell expellie
excommunicated & interdicted, trusting in time con
venient to remember his friends, & requite his foes.
Whereover, he willed him to set before his eyes the
example of the king of Spaurre, who for assistance
giuen to the French king was now a king without
a realme. And as touching answers to be made to
the manifold griefs in the Scottish kings letters fur
nished, if law or reason could haue remoued him from
his sensall opinions, he had borne manie times al
readie answered sufficientlie to the same; vnlesse to
the pretended griefs therein amongst other compai
sed, for denieng of a safe conduct to the Scottish an
balladour to haue bene lastly sent vnto him. Where
vnto thus he answered; that the same safe conduct
had bene granted, if the Scottish herald would haue
taken it with him.

And finally, as touching the Scottish kings re
quest, to desist from further attempting against the
French, he signified to him, that he knew him for
no competent iudge of so high authoritie, as to re
quire him in that behalfe, and therefore God willing
he ment with the aid and assistance of his confede
rats & allies to prosecute his begun attempt. And as
the Scottish king should doe to him, & to his realme,
so it should be hereafter remembred and acquitted.
These letters were written in the campe before
Teruine the twelue of August, and giuen vnder the
kings signet, and therewith deliuered to Lion king
of armes, who had of the king 100 angels in reward.

Then departed he with his letters into Flan
ders, there to take ship to saile into Scotland, but per
he could haue a vessel and wind for his purpose, his
maister was laine, as after ye shall heare. In this
meane while the Frenchmen being assembled and
lodged in campe at Blangie on this side Antiena,
the French king appointed that all the hoisemen to the
number of eight thousand (as Paulus Iopius recoz
deth) should go with vittels vnto Teruine, and
put the same into the towne, if by any meanes they
might, for that those within stood as then in great
necessitie for want of vittels.

The charge of this conuete was committed vnto
Honsieur de Biennes, because he was lieutenant
of those marches: notwithstanding there were a
mongst the number, other noble men of more high
degree in honor, and also of great prowesse, fame, and
experience, furnished with sundrie bands of men at
armes of long appoyued valiance, and used to go a
waie with victorie in manie a dangerous conflict and
battell, wanting at this present nothing but their old
accustomed good fortune. Whilst the Frenchmen
were thus prepared to come with vittels to Ter
uine, the emperor Maximilian came from Aire to
the kings campe before Teruine the twelue of Au
gust, wearing a crosse of saint George as the kings
souldier, & receiuing of him salarie for seruice; which

Anglorum praelia noteth as noteworthie, saieing:
Sub rege Anglorum magnus meret induperator.

The emperor was honourable received, and lod
ged in a rich tent of cloth of gold prepared for him,
according as was conuenient for his estate. He tar
ried until sundae being the fourteenth of August,
and then returned to Aire: and on the morrow after
came againe being mondae the fiftenth of August,
on which daie there chanced a great frate betwixt the
Almans of the kings campe, and the Englishmen,
insomuch that manie were laine. The Almans ran
to the kings ordinance and toke it, and imbattelled
themselues, and bent the ordinance against the king
and his campe. The English prepared their bowes,
and the Almans made redie their pikes: but the cap
tains toke such paines in the matter, that the fraie
was appeased.

Now as this trouble was in hand, the emperor
came from Aire, and saw all the demeanour of both
parts, and was glad to behold the discret behauiour
of the capitains. After that the emperor was thus
come to the kings field, the king called a counsell, at
the which the emperor was present, where it was de
bated, by what meanes they might best constreine
them within to deliuer vp the towne, and especial
lie how to keepe them from vittels & other succours,
which the French armie (as it was knowne) want
verie thortlie to minister vnto them. Some were of
this mind, and namelie the emperor; that bridges
should be made ouer the riuer, to passe ouer a part of
the armie to besiege the towne on that side; where o
therwise the French armie might hitell the towne
at their pleasures.

Others were of a contrarie mind, doubting what
might happen, if the armie should be so diuided, least
the Frenchmen setting on the backe of the one part
of the armie, and they within the towne to fallie out
in their faces, some misfortune might happen per the
other part could passe the riuer to the succour of the
fellowes. Yet at length the former purpose was al
lowed as most necessarie; and therefore commande
ment was giuen to the maister of the ordinance,
that in all hast he should cause fise bridges to be
made ouer the water for the armie to passe. The car
penters so applied their worke that night, that the
bridges were made by the next morrow, and all the
hoisemen first passed ouer, and then the king with
his whole battell, and the great ordinance followed
and passed ouer to the other side of the water. This
was on the sixteenth daie of August being tuesday.

On the same morning the Frenchmen were com
ming with their conuete of vittels to refresh the
towne, hauing appointed one part of their troops to
keepe on that side the riuer where the English armie
was first incamped, and where the earle of Shrewes
burie still kept his field; that in offering the skir
mish on that side, the residue of the hoisemen might
with more ease and safetie put the vittels and other
necessarie things into the towne on the other side.
Here might a man haue sene of what force in wars
sudden chance is oftentimes. For the king thus with
his battell passing the riuer, meaning to besiege the
towne on euerie side, and the Frenchmen at that
same instant hauing also passed the riuer with other
carriages laden with vittels, purposing to releue
the towne on that side, caused no small doubt to be
conceiued of ech others meaning, on both parts, least
that the one, hauing knowlege of the others purpose,
had bene prepared for to hinder the same.

And yet was it nothing so, for neither the king
knew of the Frenchmens approach that daie, neither
they of his passing ouer the water. But when the
king had aduertisement giuen him (by the light
hoisemen that were sent abroad to discover the
countrie) how the Frenchmen were at hand; he pre
pared himselfe to the battell, and first set forth his
hoisemen, and then followed himselfe with his bat
tell of footemen. The French capitains being hereof
advised, determined not to fight without their foot
men; and therefore with all speed sent backe their
carriages, and staled with their hoisemen, until the
carriages might haue leasure to get out of danger.
In the meane time the Englishmen advanced for
ward, and their hoisemen mounted by the hill,
where the French hoisemen were in troope, with
thirtie and thre standards sped, & might see the Eng
lishmen comming, and the kings battell marching
forward with the Almans.

There were amongst the Frenchmen certeine
companies of Estradiots, which being placed before
the French host, as they came downe the hill to
the k k k.

The king and the emperor confer which wayes were best to besiege Teruine, to prevent the bittelling of it.

Five bridges made in one night for the armie to passe ouer the riuer at Teruine.

Polydor. The force of sudden chance in warre.

Edw. Hall, Polydor.

The king with his battell of footmen.

The Estradiots mita-
king footmen
for horsemen
led first.

skirmish with the Englishmen saw where the banners of the English horsemen were coming, and the kings battell following upward, wearing verelie that all had bene horsemen, whereupon they cast themselves about and fled. The Frenchmen were so fast in arraie, that the Estradiots could not enter; and so they ran still by the ends of the Frenchmens ranks. Herewith the English horsemen set on, and about an hundred archers on horse-backe, being lighted beside their horses, and set by an hedge all alongest a village side called Bomie, shot freshlie at their enemies; & also certeine culuerings being placed on the top of an hill were discharged amongst the thickest prease of the Frenchmen; so that finally the French were discomfited: for those that were behind saw the fall of some of their standards, which the Englishmen overthrew, and their Estradiots also (in whome they had great confidence) returned.

A great over-
throw given
to the French,
king Henrie
in person be-
ing present.

They that were furthest off fled first, and then the Englishmen & Burgognian horsemen, which were with them, egerlie followed the chase, in the which were taken the duke of Longue, brother to the earle of Dunois that had married the daughter and heire to the marquesse of Rothlois, the lord of Clermont, capteine Baiard, monsieur de Buse, and other, to the number of twelue score prisoners, and all brought to the kings presence with six standards, which were likewise taken. The Burgognians brought not their prisoners to fight. Monsieur de la Palice, and monsieur de Imbreccourt being taken of them and knowne, were put to their ransomes, and licenced maintenanthe to depart vpon their word. Thus was the power of the French horsemen by the sharpe encounter of the English horsemen, and full flight of the battels of the footmen, following in arraie at the backs of the horsemen, and the discharging of certeine culuerings amongst them, quickelie put to flight without any great resistance.

The emperor
courageously
his Almans
to play the
men.

The emperor Maximilian was present with the king, and wore saint Georges crosse, greatlie encouraging the Almans to shew themselves like men, with the place was fortunate to him and them, to trie the chance of battell in: as they might call to remembrance by the victorie there obtained against the Frenchmen a foure and twentieth yeares past. This encounter chancing thus on the sixteenth daie of August, being tuesday, in this fift yeare of king Henries reigne, which was the yeare after the incarnation 1513, was called the battell *Des espours*, by the Frenchmen themselves, that is to saie, the battell of spurs: forsomuch as they in stead of sword and lance used their spurs, with all might and maine to pike forth their horses to get out of danger; so that in them was verified the old proverbe, One paire of heles is worth two paire of hands.

The battell of
spurs.

That wing of the horsemen also, which was appointed to skirmish with the Englishmen on the other side the river, whilest the other might have conveyed the vittels into the towne, was fiercelie beaten backe by the martiall prowesse of the valiant erle of Shrewesburie, sir Alice ap Thomas, and other worthy capteins, which laie on that side the water. The duke of Alancon, the earle of saint Paule, and monsieur de Florences, had the leading of those Frenchmen. They within the towne were in great hope of succour this daie, and when they saw the French power approach, they sallied forth on that side where the lord Herbert laie, and skirmished with his people verie proudly, but they were repelled to the gates of their towne, and manie of them slaine by the high valiancie of the said lord Herbert and his capteins.

After that the Englishmen were returned from

the chase of the Frenchmen, whome they had followed a thre long miles from the field, the king made sir John Bedeie a baneret, and John Care knight, which was sore hurt: sir John Bedeie had his gubdon taken, and diuers of his men hurt, they followed so farre in the chase. After this overthrow of the French horsemen, the king compassed the towne more streightlie on eche side, and the batterie was brought so nigh the walls as might be, with breaches were made in sundrie places, by meanes whereof the lord Pontremie despairing any long time to keepe the towne, fell to a composition, and yielded it vp to the kings hands. This encounter and overthrow, with the giving vp of Teruine, is extant to the knowledge of foreyn nations (to be read) recorded as followeth:

*Francorum pugnax equitatus praelia miscet,
succurritque suis, sed frustra infirmior arma
Turba capit; palmam bellando potentior Anglus
Aufert, latibifera transfusus hostibus hastis.
Diruta turris fragis bombardis mania prebent
Brutigena ingressum facilem, Gallique timorem
Injuunt, tandem Terronana deditur Anglis.*

Wherewith this yielding vp of the said towne was with condition, that the souldiers might depart with horse and armour, & that such townesmen as would there remaine, might haue their liues and goods saved. Thus (I saie) was the citie of Teruine deliuered vp to the king of England, with all the ordinance and munitions then being found within the same. This was on the eighteenth of August. The earle of Shrewesburie entered the same night, and caused the banner of saint George to be set vp in the highest place of the towne in signe of victorie. When the lord Pontremie, and all the souldiers were departed, and that the earle of Shrewesburie had searched all the towne to see that euerie thing was sure, he called the townesmen afoze him, and swore them to be true to the king of England. The foure and twentieth of August the king himselfe entered the towne with great and roiall triumph, and dined in the bishops palace. At after none he returned to his campe, and on the six and twentieth daie of August he remoued againe to Cotingate, where he first incamped after the chase of the French horsemen.

Here it was determined in counsell, that the walls and fortifications of Teruine should be razed, which was done, and the towne burned; except the cathedrall church and the palace. All the ordinance was sent to Aize to be kept there to the kings vse. After this, it was concluded that the king should laie siege to the citie of Coignate; whereupon he set forward in thre battels: the earle of Shrewesburie leading the backward, the king and the emperor governing the battell, and the lord Chamberleine following with the reerward. The first night they incamped beside Aize. Diuerse Englishmen tarieng behind at Teruine for pilage, were surprised by the Frenchmen, which slew some of them, & cast some into the fire. Those that fled escaped verie narrowlie. The king with his armie passed forward towards Coignate, and by the waie visited the young prince of Castile and the ladie Margaret, gouernor of the prince, in the towne of Lille, whilist his armie laie abroad in the fields beyond Pont Amandien.

There was appointed to attend the king vnto Lille the duke of Buckingham, the lord marquesse Dorset, the earle of Essex, and the lord Aile, with diuerse other; the charge of his campe he committed for the tyme to his counsell. Then mounted the king vpon a conser, his apparrell & hard were cloth of siluer of small quadzant cuts trauesed and edged with cut cloth of gold, and the bozard set full of red roses, his armour fresh & set full of ietwels. The matter of his horse sir Henrie Guilford, and the henchmen followed.

John
Bedeie
baneret
John
Care
knight.

Teruine
deliuered
vp to
the king.

The citie
of Teruine
deliuered
vp to
the king
of England.

Teruine
burnt.

King Henrie
marcheth on
southward
to deliuer
Coignate.

The king
goeth to
Lille
with
the
young
prince
of Castile.

King Henrie
marcheth on
northward
to deliuer
the
castle.

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King Henrie
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Southward
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Cozaine.

The king
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followed (as you haue heard before) and the coursers
richly apparelled, and so were manie captains that
waited on the king: by the waie met the king the
lord Kamester with manie noble men. And a mile
without the towne there met with him the burge
ses of Lille, and presented to him the keyes of the
towne, saleng, that the emperour their soueraine lord
had so commanded them to do.

The king praised their obedience to their soue
reigne, and thanked the emperour and them for so
high a present as the keyes of such a towne. Fewer
thelike, he had such confidence in them, that he trust
ed them no lesse than his owne subiects, and so deli
uered the keyes to the prouost of the towne, which
was well accompanied. Then met the king a great
number of nobles of Flanders, Babant, Holland,
and Henand, which noble received him. After them
came the countie Palatine of Rhalgrane, one of
the electors of the empire, with thirtie horses, all his
men gorgeouslie apparelled after the fashion of his
countie, and humbly saluted the king. At the gate
of Lille the capitaine of the towne stood with a gar
rison in armes well appointed, all the streets were set
on both sides with burning torches and diuerse good
lie pageants pleasant to behold. Thus he passed thro
ugh the towne with his sword and maces boine be
fore him, and alighted at the hall doore with his sword
borne, where met with him the emperour, the prince
of Castile, and the ladie Margaret, and humbly salu
ted him.

Then for reuerence of the emperour, the king
caused his sword to be put up, and his maces to be
laid downe; & so was the king and all other nobles
lodged and feasted according to their degrees. In the
towne of Lille was a noise that three gunners with
handguns should haue slaine the king: for which ru
mor manie were attached, but nothing proued. But
when these tidings came to the campe, they were ne
uer merrie till they saw the king againe. Great was
the chere, with bankets, plates, comedies, maskes,
and other pastimes that were shewed to the king in
the court of Burgognie, and so in solace he sojourned
there sundae and mondae the nineteenth daie of
September. On the twentieth daie he sent word that
his armie should remoue toward Cozaine, and so
they remoued to a place conuenient betwene Coz
naie and Lille, and certeine capitaines were appoin
ted to keepe the passage at the bridge of Amanden.

After that the king had taried at Lille three daies,
and had well repored himselfe, he took his leave, and
thanked the emperour and the young prince, the la
die Margaret & all the ladies for all his high chere
and solace; and about six of the clocke at night, he de
parted out of Lille, and the noble men brought the
king forth and so returned, and then the capitaine shut
the gates. When the king was a mile and more out
of the towne, he asked where his campe laie: And
no man there could tell the waie, and guide had they
none, the night was so darke & mistie. Thus the king
taried a long while, and wist not whither to go; at last
they met with a bitteler comming from the campe,
which was their guide and brought them thither. The
maister of the ordinance shot diuerse peeces of ordi
nance, but they were not heard; but in safetie the
king with all his companie returned.

On the one and twentieth daie of September the
king remoued his campe toward Cozaine, and lod
ged within three miles of the citie, on a soine ground
by the riuer. On which night came to the king the
emperour and the Rhalgrane, which were lodged in
rich tents, and noble serued of all viands and things
necessarie. The people about Cozaine were with
their goods fled to the citie, and yet the citie had no
men of warre to defend it, but with multitude of in

habitants the same was well replentished. The king
commanded Sir Rice and his horsemen to vield one
quarter, and the earle of Essex and his companie an
other quarter; and the lord Mallon and the lord
Lignie the other quarters. Then the two and twen
tith daie of September, these foure capitaines at one
time were sone openlie with banners displayed be
fore the towne, and there made a long scale, and re
turned.

Then the king sent Cartier king of armes to sum
mon them to yeld it ouer into his hands, to whome
they made answer, that they receiued no citie of the
king of England to keepe, nor anie would they ren
der him, with which answer he departed. Then they
fortified their walls, and made prouision for vittels,
corne, wine, and artillerie, and for all fortifications
that might be gotten. And the citie of it selfe was
strong, well walled, and furnished with good bul
works and defences. But when they saw the king
with such a puissance draw nere the citie, they were
soze abashed, and called a generall counsell. When
the prouost said; Wethzen, you know how that the
king of England sent an herald to summon vs to
render vp to him this citie, or else he would put it
and vs to the sword, fier, and blood. We answered
we would be at defense. Now he is come in our
sight to fulfill the message sent by the herald, & now
is come the time of our defense.

Howbeit in this matter standeth three mischees,
one is our bounden duetie and allegiance that we
owe to our soueraine lord king Lewis of France;
the second the liues of vs, our wiues, children, and
neighbores; the third how to defend the small destruc
tion of this ancient citie, now likelie to fall, which
citie was neuer conquered. Now our citie is whole,
your liues in safetie, your goods your owne; deter
mine whether you will haue war or peace. Then said
the prouost, Take compassion of wiues and children
and of the old folke; consider if you haue no quicke
rescue, you cannot continue against ponder puis
sance, although your courages were neuer so great,
this the wisest of the citie and I haue considered.
When suddenly was there in the counsell a vaunt
parler, a botcher, which hearing this, called a great
number of his affinitie, and went out of the counsell
and so out of the gates, and set fire of the suburbs on
all sides. When the counsell saw the minds of the
commons, and that their waies might not be follo
wed, they comforted the people, and maintained them
for their defense.

After this the king approached the citie with his
whole armie, and they of the citie issued forth to pro
fer the skirmish: but the archers beat them backe.
Also the carriage men that came with the herbi
gers, saw where certeine wagons were entring the
citie, unto the which they ran, and take some of them.
At this skirmish the horse of the lord John Grate
was slaine vnder him, as he came to defend the car
riage men; but he himselfe had no hurt. The king
with his battell planted his siege on the north side the
citie. The earle of Shrewsburie with the fore
ward lodged toward the south side of the riuer, and
there laie that night. The lord Herbert with the rear
ward incamped himselfe on the west side, and beat
the walls and towers of the citie with the great ordi
nance. The next daie after their comming thither,
being the three and twentieth of September, the earle
of Shrewsburie with the foreward passed the riuer,
& planted his siege on the southside of the citie, stre
ching to the east end, and bent his ordinance against
the walles. And thus was the citie of Cozaine besie
ged on all parts.

On the five and twentieth daie of September, the
king

Cozaine sum
moned by
Cartier king
of armes,

The prouost
of Cozaines
words to the
distressed
townemen

Cozaine be
sieged by king
Henrie.

See Hall in
Henrie. 8. fol.
37. 38. & histo-
rie of Scot-
land. pag. 297.
298.

Abr. Fl. ex
Edw. Hall in
Hen. 8. fol. xliij.
xlv.
The citie of
Tornate on
all sides be-
sieged.

The pzonoff
swores to the
townesmen.

The pzonoff
with eleven
more submit
themselves &
paid by the
citie to the
king.

king receiued letters from the earle of Surrie with the Scottish kings gantlet, whereby he was certified of the slaughter of the said king, and how all things had bene handled at the battell of Floddon, whereof hereafter ye shall find further mention. The king thanked God of the newes, and highlie commended the pzonesse of the earle, and other the captiues: howbeit he had a secret letter, that Chet thiremen and other fled from sir Edmund Howard in the battell, which letter caused great hartburning, and manie words: but the king toke all things in good part, and would that no man should be dispai- sed. On the fir and twentieth daie, fiers were made in the hoast, in token of that victorie against the Scots, and on the seauen and twentieth daie being tuesday, masse was song by them of the kings chappell, with *Te Deum*, and the bishop of Rochester made a sermon, declaring the death of the king of Scots, and lament- ing his euill hap and pericure. But now to our pur- pose of the siege of Tornate.

The king of England lieng afront before To- rnate, caused his great ordnance to be planted round about the citie, and diuerse trenches were cast, and rampiers made, and the lord Aulse and the lord Willoughbie were appointed to mainteine the ordnance with their bands, and the earle of Kent was lodged before the gate called port Valencien; so that the ci- tizens could not issue out, nor no aid could come in. The ordnance daile beat the gates, towres, & wals, which made a great batterie: and a few Englishmen assaulted the port coquerell, but they were too few in number; and if they had bene more in number, they had taken the towne, as the Tornatins confessed after. The citizens of Tornate considering their estate came together to counsell, and there the pzonoff said in effect as followeth. Friends and brethren of this noble citie, I cannot too much praise your trust and fidelitie to your soueraigne lord the king of France; considering how manfully you haue defen- ded this citie since the beginning of this siege.

But alas! although it be written on the gates gra- tien in stone, *Iammes ton ne a perdu ton pucelage*, that is to saie; Thou hast neuer lost thy maidenhead: yet if this citie had not bene well furnished and euer at the daie appointed sure of rescue, it could not haue continued. Now you see that rescue faileth, our gates be rased, our towres beaten downe, our chiefe tower like to fall, so that if this perillous siege continue, or else if our enemies assault vs, we be not able to de- fend vs: wherefore now, all these things considered, I would know whether you will treat with the king of England or abide the chance. Then they which at the last counsell cried War, war; now cried Peace, peace: yet all were not agreed. Then one wise man said, Sirs if the towne be assaulted once againe with a great number, suerlie it will be taken: you saw the experience at the last assault, and then consider if it be taken by force, who is there that can saie he is sure of his life: but by intreatie, the king of England is so mercifull that we may fortune to saue both life and goods. When finally all agreed to treat.

Then the pzonoff sent to the king a trumpet, besir- ring a safe conduct for him & certaine other to come and to speake with him: which request was to him granted. Then the pzonoff of the citie, accompanied with eleven with him of the best of the citie, came to the armie, & spake with the lords of the counsell, and after were led to the kings presence. The pzonoff kneeled downe and all his companie, and said: Right high and mightie prince, although the citie of To- rnate is strong, well walled, well replenished with people, bittels, artillerie, yea and the people in feare and dread of nothing: yet we know that against your great puissance it can not continue long, although it

were ten times as strong as it is. Wherefore we knowing by report your honor, your wisdom, your iustice, & noble hart, are content to become your sub- iects & vassals, so that we may haue and inioy our old lawes, customes, liberties, and franchises, vnder you; as we haue before this done vnder other princes.

Then said the king; We haue well heard your petition, we will common with our counsell & make you answer. And when he had communed with his counsell, he answered saing: Sirs, he that asketh mercie of vs, shall not be denied; and seeing you come to treat, we remit you to our counsell. Then they went into the tent of counsell, & there the To- rnatins fell at a point, and in conclusion they yielded the citie and ten thousand pounds sterling for the re- demption of their liberties, and so departed to the ci- tie, making relation of the king and his noble con- rage. On thursdaie the nine and twentieth daie of September, the king was in his rich tent of cloth of gold vnder his cloth of estate, to whome came the ci- zens of the citie, and were swozne to him, and became his subiects.

Then the king appointed the lord Aulse, the lord A- burgaunie, & the lord Willoughbie to take posses- sion, which with six thousand men entered the citie, and toke the market place and the wals, and searched the houses for feare of treason. Then maister Thomas Wolffe the kings almoner called before him all the citizens yong and old, and swore them to the king of England, the number whereof was foure score thou- sand. Thus the king of England by conquest came to the possession of the citie of Tornate. On sundae the second daie of October, the king entered the citie of Tornate at port founteine, and foure of the chiefe of the citie ouer him bare a canopie with all the armes of England. Euerie person was in his best apparell, the ladies & gentlewomen late in the win- dows beholding the king and his nobilitie, euerie citizen had in his hand a staffe torch. The king him- selfe was richlie apparelled in rich armour on a bar- bed courser, his henchmen bearing his peeces of war, as ar, speare, and other, their coursers were barbed with the armes of England, France, Ireland, and o- ther the kings dominions all richlie broidered. Thus the king with his nobilitie all richlie apparelled with his sword bozne before him, his heralds and serge- ants of armes with trumpets and minstrelle enter- red the citie, and came to our ladies church, and there *Te Deum* was song.

Then the king called to his presence, Edward Gullford, William Fitz Williams, John Danie, William Ellier, John Sharpe, William Husse, John Savage, Christopher Carnish, and diuerse other ball- ant esquires, and gaue to them the order of knight- hood, and then went to his lodging, and at after none he came to the market place, where was prepared for him a roome. Then he caused a proclamation to be made in his name king of England & France, that no man should greve the citizens. During which pro- clamation the Tornatins scarce looked by, nor shew- ed once to him any amiable countenance, which was much marked. The crie finished, the king departed to his campe, leaving the citie in safe keeping. This weeke the king rode to see the castell of Apoton, and there his grace toke great pleasure. The king re- membryng the great chere that the prince of Castile and the lady Margaret had made him at Aulse, which was but twelue miles English from Tornate, desir- ed the said prince & ladie, with diuerse other to come to him to his citie of Tornate, and made preparation for the same, and appointed a fests, whereof he him- selfe would be orie, and caused a tilt to be made in the market place.

While these things were preparing, the king and his

Edward of
Domingo
made licence
of Tornate.

James held
the prince
of the prince of
Castile & the
duchess of
Burgundy.

The prince of
the duchesse
returne to
Aulse.

The king re-
turne into
England.

Montcaliste.

An. Reg. 5.

Mr. Edward
Harrington
and his wife
and of 20
year.

John held
a Commission
to appoint a
Magistrate of
Catholics & the
Bishop of
Lyon.

The prince
of Luchesse
returns to
Lucca.

**Get King
length in
England.**

3. **enteritis.**

825

10

36

3. *cu*

6

* Accipit ecce novas Henrico principe leges.

**Vrbs Tornacis*.

Englishmen
assault the
Scots.

Scots put
to flight.

Lord cham
berleine ef-
capeth.
The ill roa

7. Northham castle
still besieged

Northampton
Stell deliever

The earle
Surrie lie
tenant of t
north rale
an armie.

The lord a
merall ioin
with the e
of Hurrie
his father.

The lord
ward adm
rall captai
of the fore
ward.

kkk.kff.

five

the sea, as others. First the lord Clifford, the lord Conyers, the lord Latimer, the lord Scrope of Wap-
sall, the lord Dgle, the lord Lomlie, sir Nicholas Ap-
pleyard master of the ordnance, sir Stephan Bull,
sir Henrie Shyrburne, sir William Sidneie, sir Ed-
ward Ichingham, sir William Bulmer, with the
power of the bishopricke of Durham, sir William
Cascotigne, sir Christopher Ward, sir John Curing-
ham, sir Thomas Metham, sir Walter Griffith, and
manie others.

Of the wing on the right hand of the fore-ward,
was capteine sir Edward Howard knight marshall
of the host, & with him Brian Lunsall, Rafe Wear-
ton, John Laurence, Richard Bold, esquiers: sir
John Booth, sir Thomas Butler, knights: Ri-
chard Done, John Bigod, Thomas Fitz Williams,
John Clarus, Brian Stapleton, Robert Marcop,
Richard Cholmele, with the men of Hull, and the
kings tenants of Hatfield, and others. Of the wing
on the left hand, was capteine sir Parmaduke
Constable, with his sonnes and kinsmen, sir Will-
iam Persie, and of Lancashire a thousand men. Of
the rere-ward was capteine the earle of Surreie
himselfe, and with him the lord Scrope of Bolton, sir
Philip Elmete, sir George Darcie, sir Thomas
Berkleie, sir John Koccliffe, sir Christopher Pike-
ring, Richard Tempest, sir John Stanleie, with the
bishop of Elies servants, sir Brian Stapleton, Li-
onell Persie, with the abbat of Whitbies tenants,
Christopher Clapham, sir William Cascotigne the
penger, sir Guie Dawneie, maister Hagmus, mai-
ster Dalbies servants, sir John Pormanulle, the citi-
zens of Porke, sir Pinian Parkanulle, sir John
Willoughbte, with others.

Of the wing on the right hand, was capteine the
lord Darcie with his power. Of the left hand wing,
was capteine sir Edward Stanleie knight, with the
residue of the power of the two counties palantine
of Gesser and Lancaster. Thus was the host appoint-
ed and divided into wards and wings at the first,
though afterward (upon occasion) this order was
somewhat altered. And now that euerie man knew
what to do, the earle of Surreie with his power com-
ming toward the place where he thought to find the
Scottish host, was informed how king James be-
ing remoued sir miles from Forham, late imbat-
telled upon a great mountaine called Floddon, a
place of such strength, as it was not possible for the
Englishmen to come nere him, but to their great
disadvantage: for at the foot of the same hill on the
left hand, there was a great marshy ground full of
reed and water.

On the right hand it was defended with a riuer
called Till, the course thereof being so swift, and the
chanell in some places so deepe, that it might not con-
uenientlie be passed. On the backe halfe there were
such craggie rocks and thicke woods, that it was not
possible to assaile him to anie advantage that waie
forth. And on the forepart of the campe, where na-
ture had left anie easie entrie for men to come to the
same, all his ordnance was planted aloft upon the
sides of such trenches, as he had caused to be cast for
defense on that part. The earle of Surreie hereupon,
considering with himselfe, that unlesse he might de-
uise some policie to cause the Scottish armie to de-
scend the hill, it were not possible for him to accom-
plish his desire, he called about him his counsell,
and with them toke advise in this point.

At length it was concluded and determined a-
mong other things, to send Rouge Crosse, purseuant
at armes, with a trumpet to the king of Scots, with
a message and certeine instructions: which in sub-
stance was, to shew and declare unto the said king
of Scots, that where he (contrarie unto his oath and

league, and unnaturallie against all reason and con-
science) had entered and invaded this his brothers
realme of England, and done great hurt to the same,
in casting downe castles, towers, and houses, bur-
ning, spoiling, and destroying the same, and cruelle
murdering the king of England his brothers sub-
jects; he the said earle would be readie to trie the
rightfulnesse of the matter with the king in battell,
by first daie next comming at the furthest, if he of his
noble courage would giue him taring and abode.
And the same did the said earle promise, as he was
a true knight unto God & the king of England his
maister.

And before Rouge Crosse should depart with the
said instructions, the lord admerall gaue him in cre-
dence to shew the said king of his comming, and part
of his companie from the sea with him, and that he
had sought the Scottish nauie then being on the sea,
but he could not meet with them, because they were
sied into France by the coast of Ireland. And in as
much as the said king had diuerse and manie times
caused the said lord to be called at daies of truce, to
make redresse for Andrew Barton a pirat of the sea,
long before that vanquished by the same lord adme-
rall, he was now come in his owne proper person, to
be in the vant-gard of the field, to iustifie the death of
the said Andrew against him, and all his people, and
would see what could be laid to his charge the said
daie.

Furthermore, that he no; none of his companie
should take no Scottish noble man prisoner, no; anie
other, but they should die if they came in his danger,
unlesse it were the kings owne person; for he said he
trusted to none other courtessie at the hands of the
Scots. And in this manner he should find him in the
vant-gard of the field, by the grace of God, and saint
George, as he was a true knight. Yet before the de-
parting of Rouge Crosse, with the said instructions
and credence, it was thought by the earle & his coun-
cell, that the said king would faine and imagine some
other message, to send an herald of his with the
same, onelie to view and ouersce the manner and or-
der of the kings rotall armie, ordnance, and artillerie
then being with the earle; whereby might haue
insued great danger to the same.

And for the eschuing thereof, he had in comman-
dement, that if anie such message were sent, not to
bring anie person comming therewith within thre
or two miles of the field at the night, where the said
earle would come, and heare what he would saie. And
thus departed Rouge Crosse, with his trumpet, appa-
relled in his coat of armes. On mondai the first
daie of September, the earle toke his field at Bol-
ton in Glendale, as he had appointed, where all the
noble men and gentlemen met him with their retin-
ues, to the number of six and twentie thousand men.
And about midnight next insuing came the trumpet
which went to Rouge Crosse, and declared how the
king of Scots, after the message done to him by
Rouge Crosse, according to his instructions, the said
king detained him, & sent one Flaie an herald of his
with him unto the earle, to declare to him the kings
pleasure; to whom the earle sent Porke herald at
armes, to accompanie the said Flaie, at a billage cal-
led Gpslo, two miles from the field, untill the com-
ming thither of the said earle the next morow.

On the first daie of September, earlie in the mor-
ning, the earle accompanied with the most part of the
lords and knights, and gentlemen of the field, euerie
man hauing with him but one seruant to hold his
horse, rode vnto the place: and so the said herald
met with the earle, and with blunt reuerence decla-
red to him that he was come from his maister the
king of Scots, which would know whether the earle
sent

The strength
of the place
where king
James lay in-
camped, called
Floddon.

An herald
sent from the
earle of Surre-
ie to king
James.

The lord ad-
merall was
sent to the
king of Scots.

Andrew
Barton, a
pirat of the
sea, whom
Rouge Crosse
had taken.

What it is
among the
Scots.

A good pe-
lice.

Flaie and
Porke her
retinues.

The Scot
herald is
tremed of th
English.

n. Dom. 1513.

id con- others same, but, cunctie's sub- the attell, of his abode, re was and his

with the in cre- nd part that he he sca, y were in as times ruce, to the sea, admie, rson, to eath of le, and be said

npanie to: anie ianger, said he s of the in the de- uctions coun- ne some uth the and o: artille, bt haue

mmant, not to in the said ate. And et, appa- the fist at 1501. all the it reti- nd men. rumpet oio the him by the said d of his e kings rald at age cal- e com- he mo: t of the euerie old his i herald e decla- for the e earle sent

An. Reg. 5.

For Scotland's interest to

The lord and merals wof- sage to the king of Scots.

Andrew Barton, of whom minute on before pag. 811.

William Barton, of whom minute on before pag. 811.

A good po- licie.

Flate and yorke her ralds.

The Scottish herald is de- much of the English.

sent anie such message by Kouge Crosse. The earle notified the same, saing further; that Kouge Crosse had the same message of him in writing, signed with his owne hand. Whereunto the said Flaie said: As to the abiding for battell betwene that and fridaie then next following, the king his maister bade him shew to the earle, that he was as welcome as anie noble man of England vnto the said king, and that if he had bene at home in his towne of Edinburgh, there receiuing such a message from the said earle, he would gladlie haue come, and fulfilled the said earles desire.

And the herald assured the earle, on the king his maisters behalfe, that the same king would abide him battell at the daie prefixed. Whereof the said earle was right iolous, and much praised the honorable agreement of an high and honorable courage, promising the herald, that he, and good suertie with him should be bound in ten thousand pounds sterling, to keepe the said daie appointed; so that the king would find an earle of his, and thereto a good suertie with him to be bound in like summe, for the performance of the same. And furthermore the earle bade the herald to saie vnto his maister the king; that if he for his part kept not his appointment, then he was content that the Scots should baffall him, which is a great reproch among the Scots, and is vfed, when a man is openlie perjured, and then they make of him an image painted, reuerfed, with his heeles vpiward, with his name, wondering, crieng, and blowing out on him with hornes, in the most despitesfull manner they can, in token that he is worthe to be eriled the companie of all good creatures. Then Flaie deliuered to the earle a little schedule written with the kings secreta- ries hand vnsigned, as followeth.

The tenor of the said schedule.

AS to the causes alledged of our comming into England against our band and promise (as is alledged) thereto we answere; our brother was bound as farre to vs, as we to him. And when we sware last before his ambassador, in presence of our counsell; we expressed especiallie in an othe, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else. We sweare our brother brake first vnto vs. And since his breach we haue required diuers times him to amend; & lateste we warned our brother, as he did not vs, yet he brake. And this we take for our quarrell, and with Gods grace shall defend the same at your affixed time, which with Gods grace we shall abide.

And forsomuch as the king kept Kouge Crosse with him, who was not yet returned, the same earle caused the same Flaie to be in the keeping of Sir Humfre Lile and Yorke herald in the same vil- lage; untill the time that a seruant of the same Flaie might ride in all hast to the king of Scots, for the deliuering of the said Kouge Crosse. Then the earle iolous of the kings answer, returned to his campe, and set forward five miles, to a place called Woller Hangh, in such order of battell, as euen then he should haue fought, and there lodged for that night, three little miles from the king of Scots. And be- twene the king & him was a goodlie & large comen field called Spillfield, which was a conuenient & faire

ground for two hostes to fight on: there either host might perceiue other. The earles desire was to procure the Scots to descend the hill into some euen ground, where he might fight with them without dis- aduantage of place.

But the king, though he had a great desire to fight, yet vpon diuerse considerations, by aduise of his counsell he still kept his ground, and meant not to remoue at all out of his strength. Wherevpon the earle of Surrie not able long to continue in such grounds of disadvantage, by reason of mires, and marishes, amongst the which he lodged with his ar- mie that was almost famished for lacke of sufficient vittels, which could not be recovered in such a barren countrie, determined to take all waies possible, if he might constrain the Scottish king to come downe beside the hill. He therefore raised his campe, and leauing his enimies on the left hand, and passing ou- er the water of Till, he dyed into a more com- dious ground, at the end of Barmoze wood; to the end he might refresh his souldiers somewhat hereby after they had bene toiled for the space of thre daies together in cloggie mires, and foule filthie waies, to their discafe and wearinesse.

The earle of Surrie being thus lodged, the wa- ter of Till ran betwixt the two campos of Scots and Englishmen, diuiding them in sunder: and still by reason the one was within the shot of a culuering of the other, they ceased not to beskow shot and pou- der either at other, though without doing anie great hurt at all. For the English campe on that part which late toward the Scots, was couered with an hill rising from the hither banke of Till water, with an easie steepnesse to the height of a miles space or thereabouts. Thomas lord Howard sonne and heire to the earle of Surrie, from the top of this hill beholding all the countrie on euerie side about him, declared to his father, that if he did effoons remoue his campe, and passe the water of Till againe in some place a little above, and by fetching a small com- passe come & shew himselfe on the backe halfe of his enimies, the Scottish king should either be enforced to come downe forth of his strength and giue battell, or else be stoped from receiuing vittels or anie other thing out of Scotland.

The earle of Surrie desirous of nothing so much as to ioine with the Scots in battell; after he vnder- stood that his sonne had informed him nothing but truth, he raised his field: and marching a thre miles vpiward by the riuer side, passed ouer his armie in two parts at two seuerall brydges, all at one time. King James when he saw this manner of his eni- mies, and perceiuing what their meaning was, by coniecture of their doings, thought it stood not with his hono: to sit still, and suffer himselfe to be forestal- led forth of his owne realme: and againe, that it might soe diminish the opinion of his princelie pow- er, if he seemed to remaine as it were besieged with- in a fortesse, hauing more confidence in strength of the place, than in the manhod of his people: where- vpon immediatlie he raised his campe, and got an hill, which he doubted least the enimie should haue ta- ken before him.

But by such diligence as he vfed, and by reason of the great smoke which was raised and spread ouer all the countrie, by burning of the litter and cabbins wherein the Scots had lodged, purposelie set on fire to the same intent, he was got to the place whither he intended, before the Englishmen knew for anie cer- teintie that he was dislodged, though they were as then within a mile of him. Thus king James keep- ing the tops of the hills, the earle of Surrie with the English armie came to the foot of the same hills, and staing there a while, for so much as he saw how the

The earle of Surrie re- moueth his campe ouer the water of Till.

The lord How- ard taketh view of the Scottish ar- mie.

The earle of Surrie retur- neth againe ouer the wa- ter of Till.

The baliant
determination
of the earle to
incounter the
Scots.

hill to the which the Scots were gotten, was neither
stepe nor hard to ascend, he determined to mount
the same, and to fight with the Scottish host per they
should haue leasure to fortifie their campe.

Herewith calling his people together, he made
vnto them a breife oration, declaring vnto them
both what necessitie there was for them to shew their
manhood, and what iust causes they had also to fight
against those enemies, that against both the lawes of
God and man had most cruellie invaded the reime
of England, in the quarrell of a schismaticke, and one
that was accursed and excommunicated by the cen-
sures of the church. The Englishmen kindled with
desire to fight, the more thorough those words of the
earle, required incontinentlie to be led forth against
the Scots, that they might shew what earnest wills
they had to be reuenged; not onelie of new receiued
wounds, but also of ancient iniuries; for there should
neither heighth of hill, nor anie other obstacle hinder
them, but they would either returne with victorie, or
else lose their liues in the paine.

The ordering
of the Eng-
lish armie.

The earle of Surrie conceiued no small hope
of victorie in this chearefull readinesse of his souldi-
ers, and thereupon with all speed (as the occasion then
moued him at that instant) diuided his armie into
three battels, or rather sours: vnto the vant-gard
whereof, the lord Howard was capteine, his brother
sir Edmund Howard was ioined as a wing; the
earle himselfe led the middle ward, and the reere-ward
was guided by sir Edward Stanleie, afterwards
created lord Mounteagle. The lord Dacres with a
number of horsemen was set apart by himselfe to
succor where need should seme to appeare. The ordi-
nance was placed in the front of these battels, & in
places betwene, as was thought expedient. In this
order, forward they made with manlie courages to-
wards the Scots a good marching pace.

The Scottish
kings thought
at the view of
the English
armie.

In the meane time, king James beholding all
the demeanour of the Englishmen, from the heighth of
the hill, thought with himselfe, that there was offered
him that daie a goodlie occasion of victorie, if he
might come to fight with the enemies at such aduan-
tage of place and number. And therefore, being hasti-
ned forward through the strenable force of destinie,
or rather Gods ordinance, he commended his stand-
ards to be raised and sped, and euerie man to resort
to his appointed place, that they might forthwith in-
counter the enemies, that presumed thus to seke bat-
tell. And herewith turning him to the lords and cap-
teins that stood about him, he spake vnto them ma-
nie comforttable words touching the occasion offered
them at that present, to gaine both a famous victo-
rie, and to reuenge so manifold iniuries and displea-
sures, as they had sustained diuerse waies forth at
the Englishmens hands.

King James
and all the rest
alight from
horsebacke.

He had scarce made an end of his tale, but the sol-
diers with great noise and clamor cried; forward,
vpon them; shaking their weapons in signe of an
earnest desire they had (as then they shewed) to bu-
kle with the Englishmen. Whereupon, without de-
laie, king James putting his horse from him, all o-
ther as well nobles as meane men did the like, that
the danger being equall, as well to the greatest as
to the meaneest, and all hope of succour taken awaie,
which was to be looked for by sight, they might be the
more willing to shew their manhood, with their safe-
gard onelie rested in the edges and points of their
weapons. Then was the whole armie diuided into
five wards or regiments, to this intent, that the bat-
tell therein the king himselfe stood with his standard,
might be inclosed as it were with two wings, on ei-
ther side one. In the right wing, the earles of Hunt-
leie, Crawford, and Montrose, were placed as chiefe
leaders thereof; and in the left, were the earles of

The order of
the Scottish
host.

Lenor, and Argile, with the lord Hume, lord cham-
berleine of Scotland, being men of great skill in
warlike affaires, as was reported.

Moreover, in euerie band (almost generallie thro-
roughout) there was a knight appointed for capteine
and guider, and amongst them certaine French cap-
teins, the which king Lewes had sent ouer into Scot-
land latelie before, to traine the Scots in the practise
of warres. The ordinance was lodged in places most
conuenient; though by reason they marched downe
the hill, their shot did small damage to the English-
men comming bywards towards them, and yet they
bestowed it freshlie on either side one vpon an other.
Herewith sir Edmund Howard with his wing was
got by on the hill side, with whom the lord Hume
and the two foresaid earles of Lenor and Argile in-
countered with such violence, that this battell of
Scots with speares on foot on that part, beat downe
and broke that wing of the Englishmen, in such wise
that sir Edmund Howard was in maner left alone,
and felled to the earth, that (had not bassard Heron
come to his succours at that instant) he had bene
slaine there without all remedie.

On the other part, the lord Dacres watching to
aid where need appeared, came in on the sides of the
Scots, & gaue a charge on them with his horsemen,
whereby sir Edmund Howard being some what relie-
ued, escaped to the English vant-gard, which was led
(as before is mentioned) by his brother, lord How-
ard, who being now also got aloft on the hill, pressed
still forward to renew the battell, & to succour those
whome he saw put to the worke, so that thereby they
tooke new courages, & laid about them againe. Here-
with the earles of Crawford & Montrose came with
their battell of speares also on foot, and incounting
with the said lord Howard, after some fight on both
sides continued, with more malicious hatred than
force of the parties, both the said earles were slaine,
besides a great number of other; the whole battell
which they led being put to flight and chased out of
the field, maimed, wounded, and slaine. And though
they did what they could to the uttermost resistance,
in hope to haue bathed their blades in English blood;
yet the contrarie came to passe, as in stories is left
recozded, to the honour of the English; namely:

Sustinet infictos duris umbonibus istis,

Imbuat & gladius manante cruore Britannia.

On the left hand at the same instant, sir Edward
Stanleie hauing begun to incounter with the Scots
on that side, forced them to come downe into a more
euen ground; and brought to that point with such in-
cessant shot of arrowes as his archers bestowed a-
mongst them, that to auoid the danger of that force
and sharpe strome, the Scots were constrained to
breake their arrate, & to fight not closed together in
order of battell, but insunder one separated from an-
other, so that their standards began to thinke here
and there. Which thing when sir Edward Stanleie
perceiued, forthwith bringing about three bandes;
which he had kept in store for such like purpose; he in-
uaded the open sides of his enemies by a fresh onfet,
and put them in such disorder, that they were not able
anie longer to abide the violence of the Englishmen
mightilie pressing vpon them: so that taking them-
selues to flight, and running headlong downe the
stepe descent of the mountaine, they escaped to the
woods and there saved themselves. But the earles of
Argile and Lenor, doing what they could to save
their people from running awaie, were slaine in the
same place.

In the meane time, the king, who a little before had
ioined with the earle of Surrie, perceiuing that the
wings of his battell were distressed, and that his e-
nemies began to inclose him on eith side, he bathed
nothing

An. Dom. 1547.

An. Re.

The Scottish
kings magna-
nimitie.

French cap-
teins in the
Scottish host.

The battell
is begun, and
sir Edmund
Howard in-
countered with
the earles of
Lenor and
Argile.

The king
beeth him-
selfe right ba-
nished.

The stout
courage of king
James.

The Scots
put to the
worke in the
right wing.

He is slaine.

Two battels
of Scots
might not,
but gaue the
winning on.

Pan. Iouius.
Edw. Hall.

The left
wing of the
Scots is be-
comfused.

When col-
lisions call
downe soldiers
help.

An. Dom. 1513.

An. Reg. 5.

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to Scot.
practise
es most
downe
English
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bathed
nothing

French capti
tains in the
Scotish host.

The battell
is begun, and
fir Edmund
Howard in
countred with
the earles of
Lenox and
Argyle.

Thos hath
lous, al-
though Hall
saith, that the
lord Dacres
stod still all
day vnfoight
ten with,

The Scots
put to the
woozle in the
right wing.

Two battels
of Scots
fought not,
but gene the
loking on.

Two battels
of Scots
fought not,
but gene the
loking on.

The list
wing of the
Scots is be
countred.

From cont-
raunges called
theen listers &
bays.

nothing at the matter, but with assured countenance
exhorted thoe that were about him to flicke to him,
and to remember their woorthie ancelloz, in commit-
ting nothing that might anie waies forth found to
their reproch. And herewith rushing against his en-
mies, a new battell moze egre than the first began to
arise; for that battell being well appointed and armed
passed litle for the Englishmens arrowes, in so much
that perking the earles battell, they entred well nere
so farre within the same, that they were at point to
haue ouerthrowne his standards.

There were on either part a number of fall men
of bodie, chosen forth of purpose by the capteins, for
the good opinion conceiued of their hardie valiance,
the battell betwixt them seemed long time doubt-
full and variable, now one while fauourable to the
one part, and an other while to the other. The king
himselfe on foot euen in the foremost ranke, fought
right balliantlie, encouraging his people, as well by
example as exhortation, to do their deuoirs. Bet-
ther did the earle of Surrie for his part faile in the
dutie of a right woorthie generall. But while the bat-
tell was thus foughten in most earnest uauer about
the standards with doubtfull chance of victorie, the
lord Howard and sir Edward Stanleie hauing ban-
quished the enemies in either wing, returned to the
middle ward, and finding them there thus occupied,
they set on, in two parts severallie, with great vio-
lence.

At the same time, the lord Dacres came with his
hozemen upon the backs of the Scots; so that they
being thus assailed behind and before, and on either
side, were constrained (as mistrusted about) to fight
in a round compasse. King James as he beheld sir A-
dam Forman his standard-bearer beaten downe,
thought suerlie then, there was no waie for him but
death, and that euen out of hand. Wherefore to deli-
uer himselfe from such despitefull reproch, as was
like to follow, he rushed forth into the thickest prease
of his enemies; and there fighting in most desperat
wise, was beaten downe and flaine. And a little be-
side him, there died with like obstinate wilfulnesse,
or (if ye list so to terme it) manhood, diuerse honorable
prelats, as the archbishop of saint Andrews, and two
other bishops, besides foure abbats; also of lordes and
knights of honoz a fix and thirtie.

The lord Hume and the earle of Huntleie got
horses, and escaped awaie together with certeine
bands, placed in two the hindermost wards, which of
all that daie neuer came to handstrokes, but stod still
and gaue the looking on. Thus thorough the potuer
of God, on fridaie being the ninth of September, in
the yeare 1513 was James the fourth of that name,
king of Scots, flaine at Bannockton, and his armie
discomfited by the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to
Henrie the eight king of England, which a little be-
fore had toone the towne of Perwaine, and was then
preparing to go to besiege Cornate. There were
flaine in this battell on the Scotish party, of all sorts,
the number of eight thousand persons at the least:
some saie twelue thousand, besides prisoners that
were taken, as sir William Scot, chancelloz to the
said king, and sir John Forman his sergeant porter,
with diuerse others. Also in manner, all the Scotish
enignes were taken, and a two and twentie peeces
of great ordinaunce, amongst the which were seauen
culuerings of a large adize, and verie saire peeces.
King James named them (for that they were in ma-
king one verie like to an other) the seauen sisters.
This conflict with egernesse on both sides was con-
tinued thre full houres, as *Anglorum prelia* saith:
Iam tres integras pugnamus est communis horae.

Though the victorie thus remained with the Eng-
lishmen, yet they bought it dere, loosing no small

number of their people, as well of those that were
flaine in the field, as of others that were taken pris-
oners; for the Scots fought verie stoutlie, and gaue it
not ouer for a litle, inso much that there were taken
and flaine about fiftene hundred men, as appeared
by the booke of wages, when the soldiers were paid.
Manie Englishmen that followed ouer rashlie in
the chase of the Scots, went so farre, that they wist
not which waie to returne, and so were taken of the
Scots that were in the two battels that went awaie
with cleare hands, and neuer fought. Also, diuerse
were taken by the lord chamberleine, which fought
with the wing of sir Edmund Howard, and were ca-
ried awaie by him and his companie into Scotland,
as John Fittou esquier, and others. During the
time of the fight, and the night after, manie English-
men lost their hozles, and such stoffe as they left in
their tents and pavillions, by the robbers of Tindale
and Tuidale.

When the field was done, and that the skouts
brought word that there was no moze appearance of
the Scots, but that they were all auoided and gone,
the earle gaue thanks to God, and called to him cer-
teine lordes and gentlemen, and them made knights;
as sir Edmund Howard his sonne, the lord Scrope,
sir William Perrie, sir Edward Gorge, and diuerse
others. The earle and the lord admerall departed to
Bermar wood, & there lodged that night, leauing sir
Philip Tlneie knight and diuerse other woorthie cap-
teins, with a conuenient power of men, to keepe the
place where the field had bene fought, for safeguard of
the ordinaunce. The bodie of the king of Scots was
not found untill the next daie, and then being found
and knotone by the lord Dacres, there appeared in
the same diuerse deadlie wounds, and speciallie, one
with an arrow, and an other with a bill. But some
saie he died of two, both which were inflicted upon
him to his deadlie bane (and well woorthie for) truce-
breaking by the sword; as *Anglorum prelia* reporteth:
Pulueribus Scotus acceptis cadit ense duobus,
Perfidia meritis fuso dans sanguine penas.

The same daie, there appeared some Scots on a
hill, but one William Blackenall that had the cheefe
rule of the ordinaunce, caused such a peale to be shot off
at them, that the Scots fled; or else the lord admerall,
which was come to view the field, had bene in great
danger; as was supposed. But now that the Scots
were fled, and withstowne, all the ordinaunce was
brought in safetie to Cstall, and there remained for a
time. After that the earle of Surrie had taken order
in all things, and set the forth parts in good quiet, he
returned to the queene with the dead bodie of the
Scotish king cered. When the king was returned
into England from his conquest made in France of
the cities of Perwaine and Cornate, he forgot not
the good seruice of those that had bene with the earle
of Surrie at the battell at Bannockton: wherefore he
wrote to them his louing letters, with such thanks
and fauourable words, that euerie man thought him-
selfe well rewarded.

On the daie of the Purification of our ladie, at
Lambeth, the king created the earle of Surrie duke
of Suffolke, with an augmentation of the armes
of Scotland, and sir Charles Brandon vicount Lis-
le he created duke of Suffolke, and the lord How-
ard high admerall he created earle of Worcester:
and after this, he also made sir Edward Stanleie (for
his good seruice shewed at Bannockton field) lord
gounteaigle: and in March following was master
Thomas Wolle the kings almoner, consecrated bi-
shop of Exeter. This man was bozne at Ipswich, wolle des
and was a good philosopher, verie eloquent and full of
wit; but passinglie ambitious, as by his doings it
well appeared. In the time of king Henrie the sea-
venth

Edw. Hall.
The English
mens ouer rash
hardinesse
turnes them
to hurt.

The bodie of
king James
found hauing
diuerse dead-
lie wounds.

Scots fle at
the peale of
guns.

The kings
thankfulness
signified to
his good ser-
uitors in war.

1514.

nenth it was agréed betwixt the said king and Philip king of Castile that Charles king Philips eldest son should marrie the ladie Marie, daughter to the said king Henrie, with a dowry to be appointed: but for want of sufficient assurance of the dowry, the rest of covenants were made void, and yet had the king by his provision for the sending of his over, now after his coming from Tornaie.

This yeare the citizens of London, finding themselves grieved with the inclosures of the common fields about Hington, Horton, Shorhitch, and other places nere to the citie, whereby they could not be suffered to exercise their bowes, nor other pastimes in those fields, as before time they had bene accustomed, assembled themselves on a morning, and went with spades and shovels into the same fields, and there (like diligent workemen) so besetted themselves, that within a short space, all the hedges about those towne were cast downe, and the ditches filled. The kings counsell coming to the grate fiers, to understand what was meant by this doing, were so answered by the mayo: and council of the citie, that the matter was dissolved: and so when the workemen had done their worke, they came home in quiet maner, and the fields were neuer after hedged.

Inclosures of the fields about London, cast downe & ouerthrowne.

Anno Reg. 6.
Abr. Fl. ex l. S.
pag. 902.

George Donor for this yeare Mayo: of London, of his goodlie disposition reedified the decayed steeple of the parish church of Walthamstow, in the countie of Essex, adding thereunto a side Ale, with a chappell, where he lieth buried. And on the northside of the churchyard there, he founded a faire large almshouse for an almshouse priest or schoolmaster, and thirtene poore almes folke, eight men, and five women, appointing to the said almes priest or schoolmaster for his yearelie wages, six pounds thirtene shillings foure pence; and to euerie one of the said almes folke seven pence a weeke, and five pounds to be bestowed yearelie amongst them in coles. And ordeined that the said almes priest should on sundaies and festiual daies, be helping and assistant to the vicar or curat there in celebration of diuine seruice, & on the weeke daies frelie to applie and teach yong children of the said parish, to the number of thirtie, in a scholehouse by him there builded for that purpose. Moreover, he gaue to the parish cleark there for the time being, a yearelie stipend of twentie six shillings eight pence, for euer, and a chamber by the said almes house, to the intent he should helpe the said schoolmaster to teach the said children. And hath giuen faire lands and tenements in the citie of London, for the perpetual maintenance of the premises to Gods glorie for euer. He also for the great commoditie of travellers on foot, made a continuall canlie of timber ouer the marshes from Walthamstow to Locke bridge towards London.

Free schole at Walthamstow.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. 46.
The king and the new duke of Suffolke defenders at the tilt against all commers.

In the moneth of Maie, the king and the new duke of Suffolke were defenders at the tilt against all commers. The king was in a scolaparie mantle, an hat of cloth of siluer, and like a white hermit, and the duke apparelled like a blacke hermit, all of blacke velvet, both their berds were of damaske siluer: and when they had ridden about the tilt, & shewed themselves to the quene, then they threw off their apparell, and sent it to the ladies for a largesse. Then was the king in blacke, and the duke in white, with blacke stauces, on the stauces was written with white letters, Who can hold that will away: this posie was indged to be made for the duke of Suffolke, and the duchesse of Sanoie. At these times were the duke of Longuile, & the lord Cleremont, and there the king & duke did so balliantlie, that they obtained the prize. At these times were broken an hundred and fourtene speares in a short space. The king at this season sent againe into Flanders, for the performance of the

marriage of the yong prince of Castile, and the faire ladie Marie his sister, and shewed how he had prepared all things necessarie and conuenient for such an high estate. The counsell of Flanders answered, that they would not receiue him that yeare, with manie subtill arguments, by reason whereof, the perfect loue betwene England and the low countries was much slaked.

On the nineteenth daie of Maie was receiued into London a cap of maintenance & a sword, sent from pope Iulie, with a great companie of nobles and gentlemen, which was presented to the king on the Sunday then next ensuing, with great solemnitie in the cathedrall church of saint Paule. Touching this pope (saith Guicciardine) disappointed of so manie hopes, we may late him in comparison with that which is written by the poets of Anteus, that being famed by the forces of Hercules, as often as he was throlone to the ground, so often did appeare in him a greater strength and courage; such waning had the pope amidst his aduersities, for when he seemed most abused and oppressed, it was then that he did most lift by him selfe with a spirit more constant and resolute, promising better of his fortune than euer.

After he had plaied all his troublesome pageants, and had got by sundrie aspiring practices I trust not what pœrelesse primasie, he fell sicke. And haplic he was then more full of high conceits and travelling thoughts than at any time before: for notwithstanding he had brought his fortune to be equal with his desires, & obtained the thing he aspired unto, yet his deuises and plots did nothing diminish, but grew increasing by the same meane which should haue satisfied them. He had determined in the beginning of the spring and first opening of the yeare, to send to the enterprise of Ferrara which he so much desired, and his opinion was, that that state was able to make no resistance, both for that it was naked of all succours; and because the Spanishe armie was to ioin with his companies: he had secretlie bought of Cesar for the price of thirtie thousand duckets, the citie of Sienna for the behoofe of the duke of Arbin, to whome (except Desera) he would neuer giue any thing of the estate ecclesiastike, to the end to reserve to himselfe the whole glorie to haue simple and one lie studied for the exaltation of the church. He agreed to lend to Cesar fortie thousand duckets, receiuing Spodona in gage. He threatened them of Luquio, who in the heat of the affaires of the duke of Ferrara, were become lords of Caragnana; making in France that they would deliver it to him.

He was out of conceit with the cardinal of Medici, for that he thought him to cleaue more to the king catholike, than to him. And because he knew he was not able to dispose of the citie of Florence as he thought, he studied alreadie new plots, and new practises to alter that estate: He was ill contented with the cardinal of Solon, from whome he took the name of legat; and intoided him to come to Rome, for that in the duchie of Milan he had appropriated to himselfe a yearelie rent of more than thirtie thousand duckets, of the estates and goods of diuers persons. The better to assure the duke of Arbin of Sienna by intelligences of his neighbours, he had of new taken into his pate Charles Bailion, to chafe out of Verona: John Paule, who by amitie was verie nere ioined to the sonnes of Pandolfe Petrucchio successors to the greatnesse of their father. He would of new create duke of Genes, Dauidan Fregosa, deposing Janus from that dignitie: an action whereunto did consent the others of the house of Fregosa, because for the degree that his ancestors held in that state, it seemed best to apperteyne unto him.

A cap of maintenance to the king from the pope.

Abr. Fl. ex Guicciardine Pope Iulie compared to Anteus.

Guicciardine

The purposes of pope Iulie the second by his death.

The pope a real contrail

The king of England inclosed Christ Church by the pope.

Against the pope's claim by the pope.

Whom the pope's daughter by request.

The description of pope Iulie, and his properties.

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A cap of man-
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Abr. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 490
Dope Julie
compared to
Antena.

Guic. pag. 671

The purpose
of pope Julius
the second
his death.

The pope's
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The desire
of pope
Julius and his
negoties.

He studied continually either how he might
take out of Italie the Spanishe armie, or cut it in
pieces by the aid of the Swizzers, whom above all
others he exalted and embraced. In this deuise he
had this intention, that the kingdome of Naples be-
ing occupied by him, Italie should remaine free from
strangers; a speech that often passed out of his
mouth: and to that end he had hindered that the
Swizzers did not confederate with the king catho-
like. And yet, as though it had bene in his power to
batter all the world at one time, he continued his ac-
customed rigour against the French king. And not-
withstanding he had hard a message from the queene,
yet he stirred by to make warre, the king of Eng-
land, to whom he had transferred by publike decree
of the conncell of Lateran, the name of *Christianissimo*,
whereof there was already a bull written, and in it
likewise was contained the pination of the digni-
tie & name of the king of France, giving his king-
dome to who could occupie it.

In these conceptions, no lesse strange for their
varietie, than great for the importance they drew,
and perhaps in other thoughts more secret and singu-
lar (for in a mind so fierce and terrible, all sorts of
imaginations, how great and daime so euer they be,
are not incredible) after the continuation of his sick-
nesse for manie daies, he declined towards death:
and feeling the end of his mortalitie to hasten on,
and the same to prevent the execution of his high
thoughts, he caused to call together the consistorie,
which albeit he could not assist in person by reason of
his disease; yet by the authoritie of it, he caused to be
confirmed the bull which he had published before a-
gainst such as by simonie would clime by vnto the
pope-dome. He declared, that the election of his suc-
cessor appertained to the college of cardinals, and not
to the councell: and that the cardinals schisma-
tikes could haue no presence or communitie there, to
whom he protested there to pardon the injuries they
had done him, and prayed to God to forgive them the
wrongs they had done to his church. After this he be-
sought the college of cardinals, that in his fa-
uor, and for his sake, they would grant to the Duke
of Cleu his nephew, the citie of Bescra in patro-
nage or vicarage, alledging the consideration, that
by meane of the duke it had bene recovered to the
church after the death of John Sforce. In no other
matter he expressed anie private or particular af-
fection.

Inasmuch as Madame Felice his daughter (to-
ning with hir the petitions of manie others) beseech-
ing him with great importunitie, to create cardi-
nall Guido de Montfalcon being hir brother by the
mothers side, he answered roundlie, that he was not
worthie of that degree. He made not his affections
conformable to their desires. In that last action of
life he shewed no parcialitie in worlde causes: his
present debilitie could diminish nothing of his an-
cient resolution, but expressed in all things the same
constancie and seueritie, together with that iudge-
ment and force of mind which he had before his sick-
nesse: in which firme estate and disposition of spirit,
he receiued deuoutlie the offices of the church, and the
one and thirtieth daie of Februarie he ended his
course of these mortall and present paines. He was
a prince of incredible constancie and courage; but so
full of furie & brutish conceptions, that the reuerence
that was borne to the church, the respect of princes,
the exhortations of times, did more to keele him from
his crime, than either his moderation or his discreti-
on; wothie no doubt of great glorie, if either he had
bene a prince secular, or if that care and intention
which he had to raise the church into temporall great-
nesse by the meane of warre, had bene imployed

to exalt it by the meane of peace in matters spiri-
tuall.

Heuerthelesse, he was lamented about all his
predecessors, & no lesse esteemed of those, who hauing
either lost the true consideration of things, or at least
ignorant how to distinguish and pesse them rightlie,
iudged it an office more due to appertaining to popes
to increase the inuidition of the see apostolike by
armes and blood of christians, than by good example
of holie life and due caring and correction of corrupt
manners, to trauell for the sauing of those soules, for
whom they glorie so much that Iesus Christ hath na-
med them his vicars in earth: and therefore it is a
god consequent that he is a brand or rather a brand
of the diuell, as one concludeth against him, saying:

*Impius est igitur natus eacodemone papa,
Turpibus & genij est homicida satius.*

Antich. Christi. &
page pag. 26, 28.

About the same time the warres yet continuing
betwene England & France, Prior Jehan (of whom
ye haue heard before in the fourth yeere of this kings
reigne) great capteine of the French nauie, with his
gallies and foists charged with great basiliiks and o-
ther artillerie, came on the borders of Souther in the
night season, at a poze village there called Bight-
helmston, & burnt it, taking such goods as he found.
But when the people began to gather, by firing the
becons, Prior Jehan sounded his trumpet, to call his
men aboard, and by that time it was daie. When cer-
teine archers that kept the watch folowed Prior Je-
han to the sea, and shot so fast, that they beat the gallie
men from the shore, and wounded manie in the foist,
to the which Prior Jehan was constrained to waide
and was shot in the face with an arrow, so that he
lost one of his eyes, and was like to haue died of the
hurt: and therefore he offered his image of war be-
fore our ladie at Bullongne, with the English arrow
in the face for a miracle.

Brighthelm-
ston in Suf-
sex burnt.

Prior Jehan
capteine of the
French gallies
shot into the
eye with an
arrow.

The lord admerall offended with this proud part
of the Frenchmen, in making such attempt on the
English coasts, sent sir John Wallop to the sea
with diuers ships, which sailing to the coasts of Nor-
mandie, landed there, and burnt one and twentie vil-
lages and totones, with diuerse ships in the haven of
Trepont, Staples, and other where. Men marvelled
greatlie at the manfull doings of sir John Wallop,
considering he had not past an eight hundred men,
and toke land there so often. In June sir Thomas
Lowe was sent ouer to Calis with six hundred men
to strengthen that totone, and other the fortresses
within the English pale, for doubt of anie sudden at-
tempt to be made by the Frenchmen; because mon-
sieur de Pontremie, with a mightie armie and great
ordnance was come downe nere to Ard: howbeit
he taried not long, but raised his campe within a
while after his comming thither, and returned with-
out anie more doing. The French king perceiving
that losses he had sustained by the warres against
England; and doubting least one euill lucke should
fall follow in the necke of an other, determined to
make sute for peace; and first agreeing with pope Lea,
desired him to be a meane also for the procuring of
some agreement betwixt him and the king of Eng-
land.

Sir John
Wallop in
Normandie.

The French
king procu-
reth the pope
to be a meane
for peace be-
twene king
Henrie and
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This pope Lea, of that name the tenth, before his
election, cardinal of Medice, bare but seauen and
thirtie yeeres of age, which albeit was so much the
more maruellous and wonderfull, by how much the
election was contrarie to custome; yet the yong car-
dinals were the principall causers of it by their in-
bustrie, hauing long time afore secretlie agreed a-
mongst themselves to create the first pope of their
number. The most parts and nations of christen-
dome reioiced much at this election, euerie one in-
terteining an assured expectation of his vertues, as
well

Abr. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 633.
Creation of
pope Lea the
tenth.

well by the present and grane memoire of the baloy of his late father, as for an vniuersall reputation that went of his owne inclinations and liberalities. To this estimation was ioined a generall opinion of his continencie and life not atteinted, together with a glad some hope, that by the example of his father, he would be a furtherer of learning, and beare sauoy to wits disposed to studie and knowledge. So that vnto these hopes was much helping the manner of the election, being made in his person sincerelie, and without simonie or suspicion of other corruption.

Coronation
of pope Leo
the tenth.

The first act of this new pope was his coronation, which was represented according to the vage of his predecessors in the church of saint John de Lateran. The pompe was so great both of his familie and his court, and also of the prelates and multitudes that were there, together with the popular and vniuersall assemblies of people, that by the opinion and iudgement of men, the pride and maiestie of that action did farre surpasse all the celebrations done in Rome since the tyrannies of the Goths and sauage nations. In this same solemnitie the Consalon of the church was caried by Alfonso de Este, who hauing obtained a suspension of his censures & paines, was come to Rome, with great hope, that by the clemencie and facilitie of the pope, he should be able to compound for his affaires. The Consalon of the religion of Rhodes was borne by Iulio de Medicis mounted vpon a statelie courser armed at all points: by his nature he bare an inclination to the profession of armes; but by destinie he was drawen to the life ecclesiastike, in which estate he made serue as a wonderfull example of the variation of fortune.

Pope Leo a
poore prisoner
the verie
same date
twelve moneth
of his election
and in
thronization.

One matter that made the memoire of that date wonderfull, was this consideration; that the person who then in so high & rare pompe was honozed with the most supreme and soveraigne dignitie of the world, was the päre before, and on the verie same date miserable made prisoner. The great magnificence that appeared vpon his person, and his expences, confirmed in the generalitie and multitude of men, the expectation that was had of him; euerie one promising that Rome should be happye under a pope so plentifullie indued with the vertue of liberalitie, whereof that date he had given an honozable experience, his expences being aboue an hundred thousand duckats. But wise men desired in him a greater grauitie and moderation: they iudged that neither such a maiestie of pompe was conuenient for popes, neither did the condition of the present time require, that he should so vnprophitablely disperse the treasures that had bene gathered by his predecessour to other viles.

The marriage
concluded.

The vessell of amitie betwene the king of England & the French being first broched by this popes letters, the French king by an herald at armes sent to the king of England, requiring of him a safe conduct for his ambassadoys, which should come to intreat for a peace and attonement to be concluded betwixt them and their realmes. Upon grant obtained thereof, the French king sent a commission with the president of Rome and others, to intreat of peace and alliance betwixt both the princes. And moreover, because they understood that the marriage was broken betwene the prince of Castile and the ladie Marie, they desired that the said ladie might be ioined in marriage with the French king, offering a great dowrie and forties for the same. So much was offered, that the king moued by his counsell, and named by Wolsey the bishop of Lincolne, consented vpon condition, that if the French king died, then the should, if it stood with his pleasure, returne into England againe with all his dowrie and riches.

After that they were accorded vpon a full peace,

and that the French king should marrie this young ladie, the indentures were drawen, ingrossed, & sealed, and peace therevpon proclaimed the seventh daie of August; & the king in presence of the French ambassadoys was swoorne to keepe the same: and likewise there was an ambassage sent out of England to see the French king sweare the same. The dowrie that was assigned vnto the bride to be receiued after his husbands decesse, if she suruiued him, was named to be 320000 crownes of yearelie reuenues, & to be receiued out of certeing lands assigned for that purpose during all his naturall life. And moreover, it was further agreed & couenanted, that the French king should content and paie yearelie vnto king Henrie, during the space of five yeares, the summe of one hundred thousand crownes. By conclusion of this peace was the duke of Longue with the other prisoners deliuered, paying their ransoms, and the said duke assied the ladie Marie in the name of his maiester king Elwes.

In September following the said ladie was conueied to Douer by the king his brother & the queene, and on the second daie of October she was shipped, and such as were appointed to giue their attendance on her, as the duke of Suffolke, the marquesse Dorset, the bishop of Durham, the earle of Surreie, the lord de la Ware, the lord Berners, the lord Pontefract, the four brethren of the said marques, sir Maurice Berkeley, sir John Pechie, sir William Sands, sir Thomas Willeine, sir John Car, and manie other knights, esquires, gentlemen and ladies. They had not sailed past a quarter of the sea, but that the wind arose and seuered the ships, diuining some of them to Calis, some into Flanders, and his ship with great difficultie was brought to Bullen not without great seopardie at the entering of the haven, for the maiester ran the ship hard on shoze.

But the boats were readie, and receiued the ladie out of the ship, and sir Christopher Gurnith stood in the water and toke her in his armes, and so caried her to land, where the duke of Wandolme, and a cardinall, with manie other great estates receiued her with great honor. From Bullen with easie iourneis she was conueied vnto Abulle, & there entered the eighth of October [where she was receiued by the Dolphin with great honor, she was apparelled in cloth of siluer, her hoshie was trapped in goldsmiths worke be-ric richlie. After her followed 6 ladies all their palfries trapped with crimsin velvet emboidered. After them followed one chariot of cloth of tisse, the second cloth of gold, & the third crimsin velvet emboidered with the kings armes & hers, full of roses. After them followed a great number of archers, and then wagons laden with their stuffe. Great was the riches in plate, iewels, monie, apparell, and hangings that this ladie brought into France.]

On the morrow following being mondaie, and s. Denise day, the marriage was solemnized betwixt the French king and the said ladie, with all honour, joy, & roialtie, both apparelled in goldsmiths worke. Then a great banquet and sumptuous feast was made, where the English ladies were honozable interlined, according to the dignitie of the persons, and to the contentment of them that had no deges of malice or mistaking settled in their hearts. For vnpossible it is, that in a great multitude meeting together, though all about one matter, be it of pleasure and delight, there should not be one of a repugnant disposition, and (though not apparantie perceived) travelling with grudge, malignant mind; as we see some apples vnperished and other some wormeaten, albeit one bough beare them, and one tree giue them sap. On the Tuesday being the tenth daie of October, all the Englishmen, except a few that were offi-

An. Dom. 1514.

An. Reg.

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Edw. Hall's
He. 8. folio 100.

The marriage
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between the
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and the ladie
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Abt. H. 8.
Edw. Hall's
H. 8. folio 100.

Henrie the eight.

An. Dom. 1514.

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Edw. Hall in
H. 8. fol. 211.

An. Reg. 5.

cers with the said queene, were discharged, which was
a great sorrow for them, for some had served hir long
in hope of preferment, & some that had honest comes
left them to serve hir, and now they were without
service, which caused them to take thought, in so much
some died by the waie returning, and some fell mad,
but there was no remedie. After the English lords
had done their commission, the French king willed
them to take no longer paine, and so gaue to the
god rewards; and they took their leaue of the queene
and returned. Then the Dolphin of France called
lord Francis duke of Valois, and by his wife duke of
Britaine, for the more honour of this marriage before
the Englishmen departed from Abouille, caused a so-
lemne iusts to be proclaimed, which should be kept at
Paris in the moneth of Nouember next ensuing.

Amelie, that he with his nine aids should an-
swer all comers, being gentlemen of name and of
armes. First to run five courtes at the tilt with pe-
ces of aduantage, & also five courtes at random with
sharpe speares, and twelue strokes with sharpe
swords; and that done, he and his aids to fight at the
barriers with all gentlemen of name and of armes.
First for foines with hand speares, and after that
eight strokes to the most aduantage if the speare so
long held, and after that twelue strokes with the
sword: and if anie man be vnbossed or felled with
fighting on foot, then his houlle and armour to be ren-
dered to the officers of armes: and euerie man of
this chalenge must set up his armes and name vpon
an arch triumphant, which shalbe made at the place
where the iusts shalbe, and further shall write to what
point he will answer, to one or to all.

When this proclamation was reported in Eng-
land by the noble men that returned from the ma-
riage: the duke of Suffolke, the marquesse Dorset,
and his four brethren, the lord Clinton, Sir Ed-
ward Penell, Sir Giles Capell, Thomas Cheney, and
other sued to the king to be at the chalenge, which re-
quest he gracionlie granted. Then the lords and
knights prepared all things necessarie for their en-
terpryse, and shipped there houlles and harnesse, and
did so much by tourneie, that they came to Paris at
the end of October, which were hartlie welcomed of
the king and the Dolphin: but most of all of the
French queene which then late at saint Denise, and
was not yet crowned nor entered into Paris. The
Dolphin desired the duke of Suffolke and the lord
marquesse Dorset, to be two of his immediat aids,
which thereto assented.

Wherefore was erected an arch of widdnesse at the
tornels beside the street of saint Anthoine, breacilie
before the bassell, on the which were set four targets
or scutchions, the one silver, and he that set his name
vnder that shield, to run at tilt according to the ar-
ticles. He that put his name vnder the golden target
should run with the sharpe speares and fight with
sharpe swords. They that put their names to the
blacked shield, should fight on foot with speares and
swords for the one hand. And he that touched the sa-
nie shield should cast a speare on foot with a target on
his arme, and after to fight with a two hand sword.
On this arch aboue stood the armes of the king & the
queene, and beneath them stood the armes of the Dol-
phin and his aids, and underneath stood the four scut-
chions that you haue heard of, and vnder them all the
armes and names of such as set their names to anie
of the said four scutchions.

While all these things were preparing, the ladie
Marie of England the first daie of Nouember, then
being iudaie, was with great solemnitie crowned
queene of France in the monastrie of S. Denise,
and the Dolphin all the season held the crowne ouer
his head, because it was of great weight to his gree-

uance, at which coronation were the lords of Eng-
land, all according to their degrees well intertel-
ned. On mondaie the first daie of Nouember, the said
queene was receiued into the citie of Paris after the
order that followeth. First the gard of the citie met
with hir without saint Denise all in coats of gold-
smiths worke, with ships gilt, and after them met hir
all the priests and religious, esteemed to be three thou-
sand. The queene was in a chaire couered about (but
not ouer hir person) in white cloth of gold; the horses
that drew it, in cloth of gold; on hir head a coronall all
of great pearles, hir necke and brest full of iewels.

Before hir went a gard of Almans after their
fashion, and after them all noblemen, as the Dol-
phin, the duke of Alanson, the duke of Bourbon, the
duke of Wandosme, the duke of Longeuille, and the
duke of Suffolke, the marquesse Dorset, five card-
inals, and a great number of estates; about hir person
rode the kings gard, which were Scots. Thus was
this queene receiued into Paris, and so conueied to
the cathedraall church, and there offered, & from thence
to the palace, where she offered at the holie chappell;
and from thence she went to hir lodging for that
night: for whome was provided a great supper, and
the heralds cried a largesse, and had to them giuen a
ship of silver and gilt, and other plate, to the value of
two hundred marks, and after supper began danc-
ing and pastime. On the morrow began the iusts, and the
Dolphin with his aids entered the field, the apparell
and barbs were cloth of gold, cloth of silver, and crim-
sin velvet kanteled together all in one sute, they
shewed themselves before the king and queene, who
were on a goodlie stage, and the queene said so that all
men might see hir, and wondered at hir beautie: but
the king was feeble & laie on a couch for weakenesse.

Then entered the counter part by a raille for com-
bing the place. These iusts continued three daies, in
the which were answered three hundred and five men
of armes, and euerie man ran five courtes, and with
sharpe speares; bluerse were slain & not spoken of.
At the random and turneie the duke of Suffolke hurt
a gentleman, so that he was like to die. The Marques
Dorset stroke monsieur Grue an Albanois with his
speare, peried his headpiece, and put him in iecopar-
die. The duke of Suffolke in the turneie ouerthrew a
man of armes, houlle & man; and so did the lord Mar-
quesse another, and yet the Frenchmen would in no
wise praise them. At this turneie the Dolphin was
hurt in the hand, so that he could not performe his
chalenge at the barriers, and put one of his aid in his
roume. The next daie after began the fight at the bar-
riers. And because the Dolphin was not present, the
duke of Suffolke and the lord Marques Dorset that
daie began the field, and took the barriers with
speares in his hand abiding all comers.

The Dolphin brought a man secretlie, which in
all the court of France was the tallest & the strong-
est man, and he was an Alman, and put him in the
place of an other person to haue had the duke of Suf-
folke rebuked. The same great Alman came to the
bars sterrelie with face hid, because he would not be
knowne, and bare his speare to the duke of Suf-
folke with all his strength, and the duke him receiued
and for all his strength put him by strong strokes
from the barriers, and with the but end of the speare
strake the Alman that he staggered: but for all that
the Alman strake stronglie and hardlie at the duke,
and the iudges suffered manie more strokes to be
foughten than were appointed; but when they saw the
Alman reele and stagger, then they let fall the raille
betwene them. The lord marquesse Dorset at the
same time, even at the same barre fought with a
gentleman of France that he lost his speare, and in
maner withdrew. When the raille was let fall, these

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two noble men put by their visers and toke aite, and with swoords, the points and edges abated, they came to the barriers.

The duke
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The Alman fought sore with the duke, which imagined that he was a person set on for the nonce, but the duke by pure strength toke him about the necke, and pomeled him so about the head that the bloud issued out of his nose, and then they were parted, and the Alman was conuected by the Dolphin least he should be knowne. These two noblemen of England that daie fought valiantlie diuerse feats, and the Frenchmen likewise noblie them defended. But it happened the lord Marquesse on a time to put for his aid his yongest brother called the lord Edward Greie of the age of nineteene yeare, and to him was put a gentleman of France of great stature and strength, to the intent to plucke him ouer the barres, but yet the yong lord was of such strength, power, & policie, that he so stroke his aduersarie that he disarmed him, all the face bare. Thus were these enterprises finished to the land of all parties, & the Englishmen receiued much honoz and no spot of rebuke, yet they were pitulie set at & in manie ieopardies.

The yong
lord Greies
prowesse.

For the declaration of this triumph, he that saw it can tell how goodlie the couriers trotted, bounded, and quicklie turned: how valiantlie the men of armes behaued themselves, and how the duke of Burbons band was apparrelled and balled in fatunie beluet, and cloth of siluer clondie, the band of the earle of saint Paule apparrelled and barded in purple beluet all to cut on purple sattin, the infant of Arragon, sonne to Frederike last king of Naples, and his band all in cloth of gold and siluer paled. This lord was but yong, but yet verie toward. The duke of Gandouine and his band in cloth of gold and plauket beluet. The Dolphin and his aids were euerie daie new apparrelled at his cost, one daie in siluer and gold, another in crimsin beluet and yelow beluet, and another daie in white beluet and greene, some daie mixed with sattin, some daie embroidered, some daie pounced with gold, and so euerie daie in change as the workes fantasie could deuise, but the Englishmen had euer on their apparrell red crosses to be knowne for loue of their countrie.

A description
of the poyne
and brauerie
in apparell at
this solenne
tilt.

At this triumph the countie Galeas came into the place on a genet trapped in blew sadden, and he himselfe likewise apparrelled, and ran a course with a speare, which was at the head five inches on euerie side square, that is twentie inches about, and at the butt nine inches square, that is six and thirtie inches, this speare was massie timber, and yet for all that he ran cleane with it a long course and slightlie avoided it to his great honour. Also there was another gentleman called Antonie Bounarime, which came into the field all armed, and on his bodie brought in eight ten speares, that is to wit, three speares set in euerie stirrop forward, and vnder euerie thigh two speares backward, and the tenth in his hand; and when he came before the queene, he let his horse run, and neuer stopped till he had taken euerie speare after another and broken it on the ground, and he neuer stopped his horse till all were broken. This gentleman was highlie praised, and so he was worthy. When all this great triumph was done, the lords of England toke their leaue, and were highlie thanked of the king, queene, Dolphin, and all the lords, and so departed and came into England before Christmas. In Nouember the queene was deliuered of a prince which liued not long after.]

Antonie
Bounarime
with his ten
speares all at
once about
him.

Touthing the accord of peace betwene England and France, you shall heare the report of Guicciardine, which to this place maketh passage to knowledge, as sile giurth maintenance of light to the

lampe. [At the first opening of this practice for peace, there fell out manie difficulties, for that the king of England demanded Bullongne in Picardie, with a great summe of monie: but at last all the differences fell vpon the towne of Lozmaie, the king of England struing to retaine it, and the French obiecing some difficultie: in so much as the king of England dispatched in post to the French king the bishop of Tricarco, whome he charged, without imparting in what nature of particularitie considered the difficultie, to declare to the king from him, that in regard of so great a benefit, he should not stand vpon so manie subtle difficulties, but to consider that in a prince reason should heare more imperie than passion.

The French king, because he would neither do wrong to his crowne, nor ill content his people, the towne of Lozmaie being verie noble and tollall to the crowne of France, caused the matter to be debated in full counsell, wherein was an assistance of the principals of his court, who advised him with one voice to embrace peace, yea vnder the condition offered. And yet in that time the king catholike did what he could to breake it, offering the king manie plots and deuises, but speciallie to minister to him all his means and fauours to conquer the duchie of Spillan. But the answer being returned into England, that the French king stood content with the resolution of Lozmaie, the peace succeeded & was concluded in the beginning of August betwene the two kings during their liues, & a yeare after their death.

In the capitulation it was expessed, that Lozmaie should remaine to the king of England, to whom the French king should paie six hundred thousand crownes, and that in such sort of distribution, that the French king should make payment of an hundred thousand frankis euerie yeare, untill the full payment was satisfied: that they should be bound to defend their estates mutuallie and reciprocally with ten thousand footmen if the warre went by land, and with six thousand onelie if the warre were made by sea: that the French king should be bound to serue the king of England in all his affaires with twelue hundred lances, and the king of England likewise to minister to his seruices with ten thousand footmen: the expenses to be defraied by either of them that should haue need of the men: both the one and the other of them named the Scotish king, the archduke, & the empre: but Cesar and the king catholiks were not named: the Switzers had a nomination, but it bare a condition, that whosoener would defend against the French king, the estate of Spillan. Venes, or Als, should be excluded out of the nomination.

This peace, which was made with a wonderfull readinesse, was confirmed by the marriage of the kings sister of England with the French king, vnder condition, that he should acknowledge to haue receiued foure hundred thousand crownes for his dowrye: the contract of handfastings were made in England, where the king catholiks ambassadoz was not in presence, for the great hatred the king of England bare to the king his master. And euen vpon the conclusion and resolution of this peace, came to the court of France the instrument of ratification which Cesar had made, together with his commission, and the king catholiks, for conclusion of the marriage that was solicited betwene Ferdinando de Austria and the second daughter of France not yet foure yeares of age: but the practice of that marriage vanished presentlie by reason of the peace that was now established: and the French king to satisfie better the king of England, gave order that the duke of Suffolke, capitaine generall of the lance knights that were in his paie, should depart the dominions of France, in whome the honours and recompenses

An. Dom. 1518.

Abt. Flm.
Guicciardine
writing about
the practice of
peace.

An. Reg. 6.

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11. Reg. 6.

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compenseth that the king made to him, overcame all occasions of discontentment, the bountie and liberallie of the one being no greater than the affabilitie and disposition of the other.]

In December, one Richard Hun a merchant tailor of London, that was laid in Lollards tower by commandment of the bishop of London, called Richard Fitz James, and his chancelor doctor Hozie, was found dead, hanging by the necke in a girdle of silke within the said tower. That ye male understand the cause of his imprisonment, the beginning was this. The same Hun had a child that died in his house, being an infant; the curat claimed the bearing of it for a mortuarie. Hun answered, that the infant had no propertie in the sheet. Whereupon, the prelat ascerted him in the spirituall court. He taking to him counsell, sued the curat in a prementie: and when this was knowne, meanes was found, that Hun being accused of heresie, was attached, and laid in Lollards tower, where he was found dead, as ye have heard. Such adu was made about his death, for the bishop and the chancelor said, that he hanged himselfe.

But manie of the tempozaillie affirmed, that he was murdered, greatlie lamenting the case: for he was well beloved, and namelie of the poe, which cried out against them that were suspected to haue made him awaie. He was a good almes-man, and greatly releued the needie. The question of his death was so farre put forth, that upon the suspicion he should be murdered, twelve men were charged before the coroner. After they had taken view of the bodie, the same was burned in Smithfield by the bishopps appointment: notwithstanding the coroners quest indicted doctor Hozie, with one John Spalding, otherwile called Belringer, and Charles Fogges the summoner of the murdered; howbeit, upon his arraignment, through great sute and corruption of monie (as manie iudged) the kings attorneie declared doctor Hozie not to be giltye.

This Christmasse on Newyears night, the king, the duke of Suffolke, & two other were in mantels of cloath of siluer lined with blew velvet, the siluer was pounst in letters that the velvet might be seene thorough, the mantels had great capes like to the portingall hoods, and all their hosen, dublets, and coats were of the same fashyon cut, and of the same stuffe. With them were foure ladies in gowns, after the fashon of Sauoie, of blew velvet, lined with cloath of gold, the velvet all cut, and mantels like tipets knit together all of siluer, and on their heads bonets of burned gold, the foure torch-bearers were in sattin white and blew. This strange apparell pleased much euerie person, and in especiall the queene. And thus these foure lords & foure ladies came into the queenes chamber with great light of torches, and danced a great season, and then put off their visors, and were all well knowne, and then the queene hartlie thanked the kings grace for hir goodlie pastime and dispos.

Likewile on the Twelue night, the king and the queene came into the hall of Greenwich, & suddenlie entered a tent of cloath of gold; and before the tent stood foure men of armes, armed at all points with swordes in their hands; and suddenlie with noyse of trumpets entered foure other persons all armed, and ran to the other foure, and there was a great and a fierce fight. And suddenlie came out of a place like a wood eight wildmen, all appareled in greene molle, made with leued silke, with ouglie weapons & terrible visages, and there fought with the knights eight to eight; and after long fighting, the armed knights drove the wild men out of their places, and followed the chase out of the hall: and when they were depar-

ted, the tent opened, and there came out six lords and six ladies richlie appareled, and danced a great time: when they had danced their pleasure, they entered the tent againe, which was conueied out of the hall; then the king & the queene were serued with a right sumptuous banquet.

On the third day of February, the king made a solemne iusts, and he and the marquesse Dorset would answer all comers, their apparell and barres were of blew velvet and cloath of siluer, all to cut in subtil knots, richlie embroidered, all the scrutours in white & blew silke. The counterpart, which were foure, seene in number, richlie appareled in velvet, cloath of gold, and embroidery, euerie man after his owne devise. The king was that date highlie to be praised, for he brake thre and twentie speares beside atteints and bare downe to ground a man of armes and his horse: the lord marquesse and all other did ballantlie, and had much praise, for euerie man did passing well, which is selde seene in such a case. But the king for a suertie excused all other.

On the fourth date of October, the king removed to Lambeth, and on the morow began the high court of parlement, sir Thomas Speuill was then speaker. In this parlement were diuerse acts made, but in especiall two, which were much spoken of: the one was the act of apparell, and the other act for labourers: of these two acts was much communing, and much businesse arose. For the labourers would in no wise labour by the date, but all by taske & in great, and therefore much trouble fell in the countrie, and in especiall in harvest time, for then husbandmen could scarce get workemen to helpe in their harvest. This parlement continued untill Easter, in the which diuerse subsidies were granted to the king, toward his great costs and charges that he had bene at in his viage roiall to France.

After Easter the nineteenth date of the moneth of Aprill, the king deliting to set forth yong gentlemen, called Nicholas Carew, and Francis Winton, and caused diuerse other yong gentlemen to be on the counterpart, and lent to them horse and harness to incourage all youth to seeke deeds of armes. This yeare died at Rome by poison (as was reported) the archbishop of Poike and cardinall, called doctor Benbrike, who was the kings ambassadour there: this was a wiseman and of a tollie courage. The king then gaue the said archbishop like to Thomas Wolle, then bishop of Lincolne, who at that time bare all the rule about the king, and what he said was obeyed in all places. Now when he was once archbishop, he studied daie and night how to be a cardinall, and caused the king, and the French king to write to Rome for him, and at their request he obtained his purpose, as you shall heare afterward.

At this time was much communing, and verelie (as it appeared) it was intended, that the king in person would passe the sea to Calis, and there on the marches of the same, the French king and queene to come and see the king their brother: and for the same iournie manie coslie woorks were wrought, much rich apparell provided, and much preparation made against the next spring; but death which is the last end of all things let this iournie. For before the next spring the French king died at the cite of Paris, the first date of Januarie, when he had bene married to the faire ladie Marie of England foure scoze and two daies (whom he so feruentlie loued, that he gaue himselfe ouer to behold too much hir excellent beautie bearing then but eightene yeares of age, nothing considering the proportion of his owne yeares, nor his decayed complexion; so that he fell into the rage of a feauer, which drawing to it a sudden stup, ouer came in one instant the life, that nature gaue ouer

The king and the marquesse Dorset make a challenge at iusts.

A parlement wherein sir Thomas Speuill was speaker.

Doctor Benbrike archbishop of Poike and cardinall poisoned at Rome.

The king in person purposed to passe the sea to see the French king his brother.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 684.

to preferue anie longer. He was a king iust & much beloued of his people, but touching his condition, neither before he was king, nor after he had the crowne he neuer found constancie nor stabilitie in either fortune.

For, rising from a small duke of Orleans with great happinesse to the crowne, and that by the death of Charles yonger than he, and two of his sonnes, he conquered with a verie great facilitie the duchie of Millan and the kingdome of Naples, and almost all the residue of the regions of Italie, being gouerned for manie yeares by his direction: he recovered with a verie great prosperitie, the state of Genes that was in rebellion: and vanquished with no lesse glorie the armie of the Venetians, being in person at both those victories. But on the other side, euen when he was in his youth and best disposition of bodie, he was then constrained by king Lewes the eleuenth to marrie his daughter that was both barren and deformed; and yet could neuer get the good will nor countenance of his father in law.

And after his death, such was the greatnesse of the laue of Warbon, that he could neuer get the institution of the new king, being then in minority, being almost compelled to retire himselfe into Brittain: where being taken in the battell of saint Aubin, he liued two yeares in the calamitie of a prisoner. To these afflictions maie be added the sieg and famine of Pauarte, the manie discomfites he had in the realme of Naples, the losse of the estate of Millan, Genes, and all the townes which he had taken from the Venetians: and lastlie the greuous warre he had in France against verie mightie enemies, his eyes beholding into what lamentable perills his realme was brought: neuertheless, before he died it seemed he had conquered all his aduersities, and fortune shewed good tokens of his reconciliation, both for that he had defended his kingdome against mightie enemies, and also established a perpetuall peace and alliance with the king of England, with whom by how much his amitie was great and assured, by so much it gaue him hope to be able to reconquer the duchie of Millan.]

The king of England being aduertised of the French kings death, caused a solemne obsequie to be kept for him in the cathedra church of S. Paule, with a costlie hearfe: at which manie nobles were present. After this he sent a letter to comfort the queene his sister, requiring to know hir pleasure, whether she would continue still in France, or returne into England. And when he was aduertised of hir mind (which was to returne into England) the duke of Suffolke, sir Richard Wingfield deputie of Calis, and doctor West, with a goodlie band of gentlemen and yeomen, all in blacke, were sent into France, and comming to Paris, were well receiued of the new French king, Francis the first of that name [who was the next heire male of the blood roiall and of the same line of the dukes of Orleans: he was preferred to the succession of the kingdome before the daughters of the dead king by vertue and disposition of the law Salike, a law verie ancient in the realme of France, which excludeth from the roiall dignitie all women; so long as there is anie issue male of the same line,

The world had such a hope in his vertues, and such an opinion of his magnanimitie, and such a conceipt of his iudgement and wit, that euerie one confessed, that of verie long time there was none raised by to the crowne with a greater expectation. He was made the more agreeable to the families of men, by the consideration of his age bearing then but two and twentie yeares; his excellent stature and proportion of bodie, his great liberalitie, and generall hu-

manitie, together with the ripe knowledge he had in manie things. But speciallie he pleased greatly the nobilitie, to whom he transferred manie singular and great fauours. Unto this king Francis de Angouleme did the foresaid English nobilitie declare the effect of their commission, which was to receiue the queene Dowager, according to the contents of the marriage.]

The counsell of France (by the kings appointment) assigned forth hir dowrie, and the duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then was the queene deliuered to the duke by indenture, who behaued himselfe so towards hir, that he obtained hir good will to be hir husband. It was thought, that when the king created him duke of Suffolke, he perceiued his sisters good will towards the said duke; and that he meant then to haue bestowed hir vpon him; but that a better offer came in the waie. But howsoeuer it was now, he won hir loue; so as by hir consent, he wrote to the king hir brother, meekelie beseeching him of pardon in his request, which was humble to desire him of his good will and contentation.

The king at the first said, but after long sute, and speciallie by meane of the French queene his selfe, and other the dukes friends, it was agreed that the duke should bring hir into England vnmarrried, and at his returne to marrie hir in England: but for doubt of change he married hir secretly in Paris at the house of Clugnie, as was said. After he had receiued hir with hir dower appointed, & all hir apparell, iewels, and household stuffe deliuered, they toke leaue of the new French king, and so passing thorough France, came to Calis; where she was honourable interteined, and after openlie married with great honour vnto the said duke of Suffolke. Doctor West (as then nominated bishop of Elie) remained behind at Paris, to go thorough with the full conclusion of a new league betwixt the king of England, and the new French king.

The court lieng at Grénewich, the king and the queene, accompanied with manie lords and ladies, rood to the high ground of Shoters hill to take the open aire; and as they passed by the waie, they espied a companie of tall yeomen, clothed all in greene with greene hoods, and bowes and arrowes, to the number of two hundred. Then one of them, which called himselfe Robin hode, came to the king, desiring him to see his men shot; and the king was content. Then he whistled, and all the two hundred archers shot and lofed at once; and then he whistled againe, and they likewise shot againe; their arrowes whistled by craft of the head, so that the noise was strange and great, and much pleased the king, the queene, and all the companie. All these archers were of the kings garde, and had thus apparelled themselves to make solace to the king.

Then Robin hode desired the king and queene to come into the greene wood, and to see how the outlawes liued. The king demanded of the queene a hit ladies, if they durst aduenture to go into the wood with so manie outlawes. When the queene said, that if it pleased him she was content. Then the homes blew, till they came to the wood vnder Shoters hill, & there was an arbor made of boughes with a hall, and a great chamber; and an inner chamber verie well made and covered with flowers & sweet hearbs, which the king much praised. Then said Robin hode; Sir, outlawes breakfasts is venison, and therefore you must be content with such fare as we vse. When the king and queene sat downe, and were serued with venison and wine by Robin hode and his men, to their great contentation.

Then the king departed and his companie, and Robin hode and his men them conducted; and as they were

The variable-
nelle of his
fortune.

The duke of
Suffolke and
others sent
into France
to bring the
French
queene into
England.
Abr. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 685.
Francis the
first comes to
the crowne.

This praise-
worthy pro-
perties.

The king
Suffolke
the good will
of the queene
Dowager
France.
Polydor.
Edw. Hall.

Anno Reg.
The French
queene mar-
ried to the
duke of
Suffolke.

Edw. Hall in
Hen. 8. folio.
Robin hode
and his men
hundred men
present them-
selves to the
king & queene
in a morning.

Cardinal
Wolsey made
lord chan-
cellor.

Edw. Hall in
Hen. 8. fol. liij.

The crowd
was bet re-
turned by the
Mentgen.

These of two
dances in a
rich chariot
dressed twice
their horses.

The king and
certaine no-
bles ran their
horses de-
lant.

The archbi-
shop of York
elected card-
inal.

Parlement
at Westminster
the 20th of
May.

Cardinal
Wolsey made
lord chan-
cellor.

Edw. Hall in
Hen. 8. fol. liij.

The crowd
was bet re-
turned by the
Mentgen.

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Three of two were returning, there met with them two ladies in a rich chariot drawn with five horses, and every horse had his name on his head, and on every horse sat a lady with his name written. On the first courser called Cande, sat Humidite, or Humide. On the second courser called Spemcon road ladie Mer. On the third called Pheton sat ladie Vegetive. On the fourth called Limphon sat ladie Pleasant. On the fifth called Lampace sat sweet Odour. And in the chaire sat ladie Paic, accompanied with ladie Floza, richlie apparelled, and they saluted the king with diuerse goodlie songs, and so brought him to Crænewich. At this making was a great number of people to behold it to their great solace and comfort.

The same after none, the king, the duke of Suffolk, the marquess Dorset, and the earle of Essex, their barbes and bases of greene velvet and cloth of gold, came into the field on great coursers, on whom waited diuerse gentlemen in like of the same colour. On the other side entered sirtene lords and gentlemen, all apparelled richlie after their deuises, and so valiantlie they ran their courses appointed: after that, they ran volant one as fast as he might overtake another, which was a goodlie sight to see: and when all was done they departed, and went to a goodlie banquet. This summer the king took his progress westward, and visited his townes and castles there, and heard the complaints of his poore communitie, and ever as he roode he hunted and liberalie departed with venison.]

This yeare in September, the king being at his manour of Oving, after his returne from his progress which he made that yeare into the west parts, the archbishop of Yorke came thither to him. Whilste he sojourned there, a letter was brought to the said archbishop from Rome, aduertising him that he was elected cardinall, which letter incontinentlie he shewed to the king, disabling himselfe in wordes, though his intent was otherwise; and so the king did incourage him, and willed him to take that dignitie upon him, and called him from thenceforth my lord cardinall. But his hat, bull, nor other ceremonies were not yet come. In Nouember, the king assembled his high court of parlement at Westminster, wherein, diuerse acts made in the first yeare were reformed and altered, and especiallie the act of apparell, and the act of labourers, as by the booke of statutes more plainelie appereth.

At the end of this parlement, doctor Warham archbishop of Cantuarie, and as then lord chancellor, perceiving how the new lord cardinall medled further in his office of chancelorship than he could well suffer, except he should aduenture the kings displeasure; for this and for other considerations gave up his office of chancelor into the kings hands, and deliuered to him the great seale, which incontinentlie was deliuered by the king vnto the lord cardinall, and so was he made lord chancellor. He was no longer in that office, but he directed forth commissions into euerie shire, for the execution of the statutes of apparell and labourers, and in all his doings shewed himselfe more losse and presumptuous than became him. And he himselfe on a daie called a gentleman named Simon Fitz Richard, and took from him an old lacket of crimsin velvet and diuerse hatches, which extreme doing caused him greatlie to be hated; and by his example manie cruel officers for malice euill intreated diuerse of the kings subiects, in so much that one skining, mayor of Rochester, set a young man on the pillorie for wearing of a riuen or gathered shirt.]

In the end of Nouember, the cardinals hat was sent into England, which the gentlemen of Kent received, and brought to London with such triumph, as

though the greatest prince in Europe had bene come to visit the king [much like that of the people at Rome in the yeare 1515, when were scene in the said citie two elephants, a nature of creatures which happlie had not bene scene in Italie since the triumphs and publike plaies of the Romans. Emanuel king of Portugall sent to pope Leo the tenth a verie honorable ambassage, and withall presented him with these huge and statelie elephants, which his ships had brought by sea from India; their entring into Rome was celebrated with a verie great course of people, some wondering at the strange forme and stature of the beasts, some marrelling to what uses their nature inclined them, and some conjecturing the respects and purposes of such a present, their ignorance making their wonder farre greater than their reason.]

No lesse adu was there at the bringing of the cardinals hat, who on a sundae (in St. Peters church at Westminster) received the same, with the habit, the pillar, and other such tokens of a cardinall. And now that he was thus a perfect cardinall, he looked about all estates, which purchased him great hatred and disdaine on all sides. For his ambition was no lesse discernable to the eyes of the people, than the sunne in the firmament in a clere and cloudlesse summer daie; which procured against him the more hatred among the noble and popular sort; for that his base linage was both noted and knowne, in so much that his insatiable aspiring to supereminent degrees of dignitie kindled manifest contempt and detestation among such as pretended a countenance of god will and honorable dutie vnto him, though in verie deed the same parties (if freelie and without cheeke they might haue spoken their fanthe) would haue intitled him a proud popeling; as led with the like spirit of swelling ambition, wherewith the table of popes haue bene bladder like puffed and blowne up: a diuelish and luciferian vice, in the iudgements of men abominable, and in the sight of God most damnable; as the poet in this dishon tralie witnesseth:

Dij superi fastum, fastum mortales abhorrent,

Ha homini leuitas displicet atque Deo.

After the end of the parlement, sir Edward Poynings laboured to be discharged of the keeping of Rozaie, because he could not haue health there: and so he was discharged, and sir William Blunt lord Mountjoy was sent thither to haue that roome, and for marshall was appointed sir Sampson Bozton. Incontinentlie vpon their coming thither chanced a great riot, raised by the souldiers, so that to appeale them, the lord Mountjoy was put in jeopardy of his life. In conclusion, to quiet them sir Sampson Bozton was banished the towne for ever, but what the matter was I haue not found rehearsed by anie writer. After that the citie was appealed, and euerie thing thought to be forgotten, diuerse of the offenders were executed, and diuerse banished the towne, some fled, and were confined both out of England and the towne.

After the parlement was ended, the king kept a solempne Christmase at his manor of Eltham; and on the Twelue night in the hall was made a goodlie castell, wonderouslie set out; and in it certeine ladies and knights, and when the king and queene were set, in came other knights and assailed the castell, where manie a good stripe was giuen; and at the last the assailants were beaten awaie. And then issued out knights and ladies out of the castell, which ladies were rich and strangelie disguised: for all their apparell was in braids of gold, set with mooring spangles of silver and gilt, set on crimsin sattin hose and not fastned: the mens apparell of the same sute made like Julis of Hungarie; and the ladies heads and

hennens with great solennitie. Guic. pag. 682. Two elephants presented to the pope.

Gr. Hd.

The lord Mountjoy made gomers moor of Rozaie.

A mutinie amongst the souldiers at Rozaie.

The king kept his Christmase at Eltham.

Courtlye pastime on the Twelue night.

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third was kept in the lord treasurers chamber be-
side the starr chamber, and the fourth at the rols at
the after none. These courts were greatlie haunted
for a time: but at the last the people perceiued that
much delaie was vsed in these courts, and few mat-
ters ended, and when they were ended, they bound no
man by the law, then euerie man was werie of them
and resorted to the common law.

It was strange to see the cardinal (a man not skill-
ed in the laws) sit in the seat of iudgement and pro-
nounce the law, being aided at the first by such as (ac-
cording to the ancient custome) did sit as associats
with him: but he would not sticke to determine sun-
dry causes, neither rightlie decided nor adiudged by
order of law. And againe, such as were cleare cases,
he would sometime prohibit the same to passe, call
them into iudgement, frame an order in controuer-
sies, and punish such as came with vntrue surmises
afore the iudges, & sharpelie repproue the negligence
of the iudges themselves, which had receiued such sur-
mises, and not well considered of the controuer-
sies of the parties. And such was the administration
of the cardinal vnder a colour of iustice at the first: but
because the same seemed at length to be but a vertis
shadow or colour in deed, it quicklie banished awaie,
he taking vpon him the whole rule himselfe, for that
he saw the king made small account of anie other
but onlie of him.

Whereby it came to passe, that manie of the pères
and high estates of the realme withdrew them from
the court; as first the archbishop of Canturburie, and
the bishop of Winchester, which got them home into
their diocesses. But yet before their departure (as
good fathers of their countrie) they instantlie be-
sought the king that he would not suffer anie seruant
to exceed and passe his maister: hoping that sen-
tence out of the gospell of saint John, where our Sa-
uiour speaking to his disciples, saith to them, Where-
lie, verelie, I say vnto you, the seruant is not greater
than his maister. Wherevnto the king, knowing that
they meant this by the cardinal, made this answer,
That he would diligentlie see, that euerie seruant
should obeye, and not command. But the cardinal
notwithstanding (during the time of his flattering
felicitie) held out, thinking to come to be counterman-
ded; behauing himselfe more like a prince, than a
prelat, so blinded was he with vaine glorie, and drun-
ken with the transitorie delights of the world: obli-
uious to the permanent ioies of heauen, as the poet saith:

*Delicias mundi fragiles qui mente sequitur,
Perdidit aeterni certissima gaudia cali.*

After this, the duke of Suffolke departed home
into his countrie, and last of all the duke of Suffolke
also followed the other. For he hauing spent liberal-
lie in his iournies when he went as ambassadoe into
France, also in the solemnization of his marriage,
and in housekeeping since he was married, borrowed
great summes of monie of the king, which he hoped
should haue bene forgiven him: but the cardinal
would not haue it so, to the intent that the duke be-
ing behind hand in debt, should be the more at com-
mandement. For as wealth maketh men lottie, so
debt want make them lowlie. In the moneth of Oc-
tober, in this eight yeare of king Henrie, at that
time bishop of Sion or Sittin, a cardinal commonlie cal-
led the cardinal of the Switzes, came into England
from the emperor Maximilian.

At the contemplation of this cardinal, the king
lent to the emperor a great summe of monie. But
the chiefest matter that moued the king to be so free
to Maximilian, was because the same monie should
be employed on men of warre against the French
king, towards whome the king (or rather cardinal

Wolfeie) of late had conceived a grudge, as thus.
True it is, that the king bestowed the reuenues of
the see of Coznaie vpon the cardinal, at that time
that he came into the kings hands: and therefore the
cardinal being desirous to assure to himselfe the
same, made late to the French king, that he would
prouide Guillard the former bishop of Coznaie of
some other bishopricke in France, so that he might
resigne the bishopricke of Coznaie clearelie into his
hands. The French king, perceiuing how much this
should make against his purpose, that vpon occa-
sion hoped euer to recouer the possession of Coznaie,
would not gratifie the cardinal herein.

Wherevpon the cardinal turning the kings mind
at his pleasure, perswaded him, that the next way
to abate the French kings puissance (which in the be-
ginning of his reigne had recouered Milan, and grew
euerie daie in power more than other) should be
to mainteine the emperor with monie against him,
so as the Frenchmen should be chastised without the
travell of him or his people. Wherevpon was Richard
Dale sent first into Germanie with a great summe
of monie to wage the Switzes, which vnder the con-
duct of the emperor Maximilian inuaded the duchie
of Milan; but without anie great gaine returned
from thence, leaving Milan in the Frenchmens
hands at that time. And now for a new reliefe was
this cardinal of Sion sent from Milan, at whose in-
stance monie was assigned to be deliuered, and cer-
taine Genowates undertooke the exchange, which
made not payment thereof at the day, although they
had receiued it of the king.

In this yeare the king kept his Christmasse at his
manor of Greenwich, & on the Twelue night, accor-
ding to the old custome, he and the queene came into
the hall: and when they were set, and the queene of
Scots also, there entered into the hall a garden arti-
ficiall, called the garden of Esperance. This garden
was towred at euerie corner, and railed with railles
gilt, all the banks were set with flowers artificiall
of silke and gold, the leaues cut of greene sattin, so
that they seemed verie flowers. In the midst of this
garden was a pillar of antique worke, all gold set
with pearles and stones; and on the top of the pillar,
which was six square, was a lower or an arch em-
bowed, crowned with gold: within which stood a bush
of roses red and white, all of silke and gold, and a bush
of pomegranats of like stuffe. In this garden wal-
ked six knights, and six ladies richlie apparelled; and
then they descended and danced manie goodlie dan-
ces, and so ascended the garden againe, and were con-
ueied out of the hall, and then the king was serued
of a great banquet. After this Christmasse the king ex-
ercised himselfe much in hauking.

This yeare, and about this time, Richard For-
bush of Winchester builded and founded Corpus
Christi college in Oxford, and minded to haue appoin-
ted the same for a house of monks: but Hugh W-
dom then bishop of Excester changed his mind from
that purpose by these meanes. This Hugh W-
dom albeit he were not the best learned of himselfe, yet
verie much and well affected towards learning and
learned men; and was minded to haue enlarged Ex-
cester college. But being denied the preferment of
a scholer, which stood then in election for a come, his
good will was withdratone from that college, and he
would haue joined with William Smith bishop of
Lincolne, who then was in building of Walsen rose
college; but it toke no effect. And then being aduer-
tised that Richard Forbush of Winchester was
in hand to build Corpus Christi college, he did send
his letters vnto him, and offered to ioint with him
therein, who was verie glad thereof and well con-
tented. Now these two bishops conferring together
what

The cardinal
an enemy to
peace.

Ed. Hall in
Hen. 8. fol. lix.
A mouable
garden called
the garden of
Esperance,
verie costly
& artificiallie
brought.

John Hooker,
alias Vowell.
Corpus Chri-
sti college in
Oxford found-
ed by Ri-
chard Forbush
of Winchester.

n. Dom. 1518

An. Reg. 8, 9.

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tuesday this Lent, six hundred strangers footing at
 the popingale with crobowes, and they keepe such as-
 semblies and fraternities together, and make such a
 gathering to their common box, that euerie bell other
 will hold pke with the citie of London. Well said
 the doctor, I will do for a reformation of this matter
 as much as a priest maie do, and so recited his lincolns
 bill, and studied for his purpose. Then Lincoln berie
 zealous of his enterpryse, went from man to man,
 saing that whottlie they shoud heare news, and dar-
 lye excited yong people and artificers to beare ma-
 lice to the frangers. When Casler came, and doctor
 Beke shoud preach the tuesday in Casler wake, he
 came into the pulpit, and there declared, that to him
 was brought a pitifull bill, and read it in this wise.

The tenor of the bill of complaint
*which doctor Bele read in open audi-
ence at the Spittle.*

Tall you the worshipfull lordes & maisters of this citie, that will take compassion ouer the poore people your neighbours, and also of the great importable hurts, losses, and hinderances, whereof proceedeth the extreame pouertie to all the kings subiects, that inhabit within this citie and suburbs of the same. For so it is, that the aliens & strangers eat the bread from the fatherlesse children, and take the liuing from all the artificers, and the intercoure from all merchants, whereby pouertie is so much increased, that euerie man bewaileth the miserie of other; for craftmen be brought to beggerie, and merchants to needinesse. Wherefore the premисses considered, the redresse must be of the commons, knit and banited to one part. And as the hurt and damage greueth all men, so must all men see to their willing power for remedie, & not to suffer the said aliens so highlie in their wealth; & the naturall bozne men of this region to come to confusion. ¶ Of this letter was more, but the doctor read no further.

**Inbudscreet
Fischer.**

When he had read this letter, of the chiefest part thereof, comprehending (as ye haue heard) much sedition matter, he began with this sentence, *Calum calidano, terram autem dedisti filijs hominum*, and upon this text he intreated, how this land was giuen to Englishmen. And as birds defend their nests, so ought Englishmen to cherish and mainteine themselves, and to hurt and grieue aliens for respect of their common-wealth. And upon this text *Pugna pro patria*, he brought in, how by Gods labo it was lawfull to fight for their countrie. And thus he subtilly moued or rather vndercraetlie prouoked the people to rebell against strangers. By this folish sermon, made a light person tooke courage, and openlie spake against strangers. And as vnhap would, there had bene diuerse euill parts played of late by strangers, in and about the citie of London, which kindled the peoples rancour the more furiouslye against them.

Now as the dwell world, the fundate after at
 Frenchin in the kings gallerie was Francis de
 Bar, who (as y^e haue heard) kept an Englishmans
 wife and his goods, and yet he could haue no remedie;
 and with him were Domingo, Antonie Cauer,
 and manie more strangers, and there they talking
 with sir Thomas Dabner knight, jested and laughed

how that Francis kept the Englishmans wife, sa-
ieng that if they had the maiors wife of London they
would keepe hir. Sir Thomas said, Sirs you haue too
much fauour in England. There were diuers Eng-
lish merchants by, who heard them laugh, and were
not content, in so much as one William Bolt a mer-
cer said, Well you whorsons Lombards, you reioice
and laugh, by the masse we will one day haue a sting
at you, come when it will. And that saieing the other
merchants assented. This tale was reported about
London, and the poore and euill disposed people said
they would be reuenged on the merchants strangers
as well as on the artificers strangers. ¶ On monday
the morow after, the king remoued to his manor of
Richmond. }

On the eight and twentieth daie of Aprill, diuerse
young men of the citie piked quarels to certaine
strangers as they passed by the streets, some they did
strike, some they bueted, and some they threw into
the kennell: wherefore the maior sent some of the Eng-
lishmen to prison, as Stephan Stubleie Skinner,
Wets, Stephanfon, and diuerse other. When sudden-
lie rose a secret rumour, and no man could tell how
it began, that on Paie daie next the citie would re-
bell and slea all the alieins, insomuch that diuerse
strangers fled out of the citie. This hysse ran to into
euerie mans eares, that it came to the knowledge of
the kings counsell, whereupon the lord cardinall sent
for the maior, and other of the counsell of the citie, gi-
uing them to vnderstand what he had heard.

The maior, as one ignorant of the matter, told the cardinal that he doubted not but to goeuerne the citie, as peace should be obserued. The cardinal willed him so to do; and to take good heed, that if any such riotous attempt was intended, he should with god policie prevent it. The maior came from the cardinals house at foure of the clocke in the after noone on spate euen, and in all hast sent for his brethren to the Guildhall; yet was it almost seuen of the clocke, per the assemblie was set. Upon conference had of the matter touching the rumour that was spread abroad of the rebellion against the strangers, some thought it necessarie that a substantiall watch should be set, of the honest citizens householders which might withstand the euill doers, if they went about any misrule.

But other sorte of this opinion, that it was dangerous to raise men in armour, because it was hard to tell whome they might trust: but rather they thought it best that commandment should be given to euerie man though euerie ward, to shut in his doores, & to keepe his seruants within. Before eight of the clocke the recorder was sent to the cardinal with these opinions; who hearing the same, allowed the latter for best and most surest. And then the recorder and sir Thomas Poore (late undersecretarie of London, and now of the kings private counsell) came to the Guildhall halfe an houre before nine of the clocke, and there shewed the pleasure of the kings counsell; whereupon euerie alderman sent to his ward, that no man should stirre after fraction of the clocke out of his house, but to keepe his doores shut and his seruants within, till nine of the clocke in the morning.

After this commandement given, In the evening
as sir John Dundle (an alderman) came from his
ward, and found two young men in Cheape playing
at the bucklers, and a great number of young men loo-
king on them (for the commandement was then
scarcely knowne) he commanded them to leave of. And
for that one of them asked, why? he would have had
him to the Counter. When all the young gentlemen
drept to, and refused the alderman, taking the young
fellow from him, & cried: Dventiles and clubs, their

Note the fa-
cie, haire,
shamelesse, and
dishonest bea-
sting of the
strangers in
their lewdnes

Anno Reg. 9.
Strangers
inartouslie
abused of di-
uerse pain-
kers.

The cardinals advise
to the mayor
in this burlesque
burlesque.

Concill taken by the ma-
ior and his
brethren
how to pre-
uent the hurt
at hand.

Until Maie
date, as Edw.
Hall noteth it.

The heat of
the humlie
burles.

out at euerie doore came clubs and weapons. The alderman fled and was in great danger. Then more people arose out of euerie quarter, and forth came seruimgmen, watermen, courtiers, and others; so that by eluuen of the clocke, there were in Cheape, sir or seuen hundred; and out of Pauls churchyard came three hundred, which knewe not of the other. So out of all places they gathered, & brake by the counters, toke out the prisoners that the maior had thither committed for hurting the strangers, and came to Pelwgate, and toke out Stindley and Petit committed thither for that cause.

The raging
madnesse of
the mutiners.

The maior and shiriffes were present there, and made proclamation in the kings name, but nothing was obeyed. Whereby being gathered in plumpes, they ran thorough saint Nicholas shambles, and at saint Martins gate there met with them sir Thomas More, and others, desiring them to go to their lodgings. And as they were thus intreating, and had almost persuaded the people to depart, they within saint Martins threwe out stones, bats, and hot water; so that they hurt diuerse honest persons that were there with sir Thomas More, persuading the rebellious persons to cease, inasmuch as at length one Nicholas Downes a sergeant of armes being there with the said sir Thomas More, & soze hurt amongst others, in a furie, cried; Downe with them. And then all the misdeuiled persons ran to the ryces and winnowes of the houses with saint Martins, and spoiled all that they found.

Nicholas
Downes soze
hurt.

The rioters
malicious
purpose a-
gainst one
Morewas.

After that, they ran headlong into Coznehill, & there likewise spoiled diuerse houses of the French men that dwelled within the gate of maister Petras house called Crane gate. This maister Petras was a Picard bozne, and reputed to be a great beater of Frenchmen in their occupiengs and trades, contrarie to the lawes of the citie. If the people had found him, they would surely haue striken off his head; but when they found him not, the watermen and certeine young preests that were there fell to riling, and some ran to Blanchapelson, and brake by the strangers houses, and spoiled them. Thus from ten or eluuen of the clocke, these riotous people continued in their outrageous doings till about three of the clocke, at what time they began to withdraw, and went to their places of resort: and by the waie they were taken by the maior and the heads of the citie, and sent some of them to the Tower, some to Pelwgate, and some to the Counters, to the number of three hundred.

Sir Thomas
More infor-
meth the king
of the riot and
rebellion.

Marie fled, and speciallie the watermen, preests, & seruimgmen, but the prentises were caught by the backs and had to prison. In the meane time, whilst the hottest of this ruffling lasted, the cardinall was aduertised thereof by sir Thomas More: whereupon the cardinall strengthened his house with men and ordinance. Sir Thomas More rode in all hast to Richmond, where the king laie, and informed him of the matter; who incontinentlie sent forth basilie to London, to vnderstand the state of the citie, and was truelie aduertised how the riot was ceased, and manie of the misdoers apprehended. The lieutenant of the Tower sir Roger Cholmeleie (no great friend to the citie in a frautike furie, during the time of this uprore, shot off certeine peeces of ordinance against the citie. And though they did no great harme; yet he wan much enill will for his hastie doing, because men thought he did it of malice, rather than of any discretion.

Certeine
lords with
their powers
come to Lon-
don about
this riot.

About five of the clocke the earles of Shreshyre and Surrie, Thomas Dokerie lord of saint Johns, George Beuill lord of Aburgauennie, and others, which had heard of this riot, came to London with such strength as they could make upon that sud-

den, and so did the Juries of court. But before they came, whether with feare of the buite of their coming, or otherwise, the riotous assemblie was broken up, and manie of the misdoers taken (as ye haue heard.) Then were the prisoners examined, and the sermon of doctor Beke called to remembrance, and he taken and sent to the Tower. Whereby was a commission of oler and determiner directed to the duke of Norfolk, and to diuerse other lords, to the lord maior of London, and the aldermen, and to all the iustices of England, for punishment of this insurrection. [The citie thought the duke bare them a grudge for a lewd preest of his, which the yeare before was slain in Cheape, inasmuch that he then in his furie said; I praie God I maie once haue the citizens in my danger! And likewise the duke thought that they bare him no good will; wherefore he came into the citie with thirtene hundred men in harnelle to keepe the oler and determiner.

Now upon examination it could neuer be proued of anie meeting, gathering, talking, or conuenticle, at anie date or time before that date; but that the chance so happened without anie matter prepered of anie creature sauing Lincoln, and neuer an honest person in maner was taken but onelie he. Then proclamations were made, that no women should come together to babble and talke, but all men should keepe their homes in their houses. All the streets that were notable and full of harnessed men, which spake manie opprobrious words to the citizens, which grieved them sore; and if they would haue bene reuenged, the other had had the worse: for the citizens were two hundred to one, but like true subjects they suffered patientlie. Now for the due correction (according to law) of this disorder, all the iustices with all the kings counsell learned in the lawes, assembled at the house of sir John Fincur lord chiefe iustice of England nere to saint Wides by Fleetstreet, to take advise, and conclude upon the order which they should follow in this matter, and first there was read the statute of the third yeare of Henrie the first, the effect whereof insuch in these wordes following.

The statute made in anno tertio of Henrie the first.

Because that diuers nations com-
prised within the truces con-
cluded as well by our souereigne lord
the king that now is, as by his
right noble father, haue bene robbed and
spoiled by the kings lieges and subjects, as
well on the maine seas as within the ports
and coasts of England, Ireland, & Wales,
by reason whereof, the truces and safe con-
ducts haue broken and violated, to the da-
mage, dishonour, and slander of the king,
and against his dignitie, & the manslaughter,
spoilers, robbers, & violaters of the same
truces and safe conducts (as before is de-
clared) haue bene recetted, procured, coun-
selled, vpholden, and maintained by diuerse
of the kings liege people upon the coasts:
our said souereigne lord the king by the ad-
uise and assent abovesaid, and at the prayer
of the said commons, hath ordeined and es-
tablished, that all such manslaughter, rob-
bers, spoilers, breakers of truces, and safe
conducts granted by the king, and the wil-
full recetters, abettors, procurers, coun-
sellors, susteiners and maintainers of such
persons, hereafter in time to come, being

A commission
of oler and de-
terminer was
directed to the
duke and pe-
rals the citie
doris.

Abt. Fl. ex
Edm. Halli-
H.R. fol. 142.
The cause
why the duke
thought the
duke of Norfolk
bare them
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grudge.

Sir John
Fincur.

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Judge Finc
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senting the
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Order for pro-
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anie of the lieges & subiects of this realme of England, Ireland, & Wales, are to be adiudged and determined as guiltie of high treason committed against the crowne & dignitie of the king. And further, in euerie haven and port of the sea, there shall be from hence forth made and assigned by the king, by his letters pattents, one lawfull officer named a conseruator of truces and safe conducts granted by the king, which officer shall dispend at the least ten pounds in land by yeare, &c: as in the statute moze at large is expessed.

The which statute being read and well considered of, bicause there was diuerse leagues of truces betwixt the king and diuerse other princes, as one betwixt him and the French king, and another betwixt him and the archduke of Burgognie, and another betwixt him & the king of Spaine (all the which truces were violated by the said insurrection) it was determined by the whole councell there assembled, that the kings sergeants and attournies should go to the lord chancellor, to haue a sight of all the said leagues and charters of truces, to the intent they might frame their indictments according to the matter. And note that iudge Fineux said, that all such as were parties to the said insurrection, were guiltie of high treason, as well those that did not commit anie robberie, as those that were principall doers therein themselves, bicause that the insurrection in it selfe was high treason, as a thing practised against the regall honour of our soueraign lord the king.

And the same law holdeth of an insurrection (said Fineux) made against the statute of laborers. For so (said he) it came to passe, that certeine persons within the countie of Kent began an insurrection, in disobedience of the statute of laborers, and were attainted therfore of high treason, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, and quartered. He shewed where and when this chanced. It was further determined by the said Fineux, and all the iustices of the land, that upon the said commission of oier and terminer in London, the iustices named in the said commission, might not arreigne the offenders, and proceed to the trial in one selfe daie, no moze than might the iustices of peace. But iustices in oier might do so, as well as the iustices of gaole deliuerie: and as the sufficiency of the iurors within the citie to passe betwixt the king and the said traitors, the iustices determined, that he that had lands, and goods, to the value of an hundred marks, should be inabled to passe upon the said indictments. And this by the equitie of the statute of *Anno undecimo Henrici septimi*, the which will, that no man be admitted to passe in anie inquest in London in a place of lands, or other action, in which the damages shall passe the value of fourtie shillings, except he be worth in lands or goods the value of an hundred marks.

On saturday the second of Aprill, in this ninth yeare, all the commissioners, with the lord maior, aldermen, and iustices, went to the Guildhall, where manie of the offenders were indicted, as well of the insurrection, as of the robberies by them committed against the truces. Whereupon they were arreigned, & pleading not guiltie, had day giuen till monday next ensuing. On which daie being the fourth of Aprill, the lord maior, the duke of Norfolk, the earle of Surrie and others came to sit in the Guildhall, to proceed in their oier and terminer as they were appointed. When the lords were set, the prisoners were brought through the streets tied in ropes, some men, and some lads of thirtene yeres of age. Among them were

diuerse not of the citie, some pyleys, some husbandmen, and labourers. The whole number amounted unto two hundred thre score and eightene persons.

This daie was John Lincolne indicted as a principall procurer of this mischievous insurrection, and thereupon he was arreigned, and pleading not guiltie, had daie giuen ouer till wednesday, or as Hall saith till thursday next ensuing. He was charged with such matter (as before ye haue heard) concerning his sute unto doctor Standish, and doctor Beke, for the reading of this bill in their sermons, and opening the matter (as before ye haue heard) all which matter with the circumstances he had confessed on sundae the third of Aprill, unto sir Richard Cholmeie, sir John Danie, & sir Hugh Skevington. Divers other were indicted this monday, and so for that time the lords departed. The next daie the duke came againe, & the earle of Surrie with 2000 armed men, which kept the streets. When the maior, the duke, the earles of Shrewsburie and Surrie were set, the prisoners were arreigned, and thirtene found guiltie, and adiudged to be hanged, drawne, and quartered. For execution whereof were set by eleuen paire of galloves in diuerse places where the offenses were done, as at Algate, at Blanchappellon, Grations streete, Leaden hall, and before euerie counter one, also at Newgate, at saint Martins, at Aldersgate, and at Bishopsgate.

Then were the prisoners that were iudged brought to those places of execution: and executed in most rigorous maner, in the presence of the lord Edmund Howard son to the duke of Norfolk, & knight marshal, who shewed no mercie, but extreme crueltie to the poore younglings in their execution: and likewise the dukes seruants spake manie opprobrious words, some bad hang, some bad draw, some bad set the citie on fire, but all was suffered. On thursdaie the twentieth of Aprill, was Lincolne, Skirwin, and two brethren called Wets, and diuerse other adiudged to die. When Lincolne said, My lords, I meant well: for if you knew the mischiefe that is infused in this realme by strangers, you would remebee it, & manie times I haue complained, and then I was called a busse fellow: now our Lord haue mercie on me. They were laid on hardels, & drawne to the standard in Cheape, and first was John Lincolne executed. And as the other had the ropes about their neckes, there came a commandement from the king to respite the execution. When the people cried, God saue the king, and so was the oier and terminer deferred till another daie, and the prisoners sent againe to ward: the armed men departed out of London, and all things set in quiet.

On the eleuenth daie of Aprill, the king came to his manor of Greenwich, where the recorder of London and diuerse aldermen came to speake with his grace, and all wore gownes of blacke colour. And when they perceiued the king comming out of his priue chamber into his chamber of presence, they knaeled downe, and the recorder said: Our most naturall, benigne, and soueraigne lord, we know well that your grace is displeased with vs of your citie of London, for the great riot late done: we ascerteine your grace, that none of vs, nor no honest person were condescending to that enormitie, and yet wee, our wiues, and children, euerie house lament that your fauour should be taken from vs. And forsomuch as light and sole persons were the doers of the same, we most humbly beseech your grace to haue mercie of vs for our negligence, and compassion of the offenders for their offense and trespass.

Trulie said the king, you haue highlie displeased and offended vs, and you ought to waille and be sorie for the same. And where as you saie that you the sub-

The whole number of the rebellious rout.

What was said to Lincolnes charge.

Eleuen paire of galloves erected for the executing of the rebels.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. xij.

John Lincolne the author of all Aprill daie executed in Cheape side.

Edw. Hall in H. 8. fol. lxii.

The recorder in the behalfe of the citie speaketh humble to the king, touching the riot.

The kinges answer where in their sute is denied.

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This statute
hungerth the
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in compell
of treason.

stantial persons were not consenting to the same, it appeareth to the contrarie. For you neuer moved to let them, nor stirred once to fight with them, which you say were so small a number of light persons. Wherefore we must thinke, and you can not denie, that you did winke at the matter, but at this time we will grant to you neither our fauour nor good will, nor to the offenders mercie, but resort to the cardinall our lord chancellor, and he shall make you an answer, and declare our pleasure. And with this answer the Londoners departed, and made relation to the maior.

The queene of Scots returneth toward Scotland.

On the eighteenth day of this moneth, the queene of Scots, which had bene at the court, and at Walsingham castle, a whole yeare at the kings charge, and was richlie appointed of all things meet to hir estate, both of ieiwels, plate, tapistrie, arras, coine, horses, & all other things of the kings gift & liberalitie, departed out of London toward Scotland with great riches, albeit she came into England with great povertie, and she entered into Scotland the thirtieth date of June, whome hir husband receiued at Berwick, but the Englishmen smallie regarded him. All hir charges within the realme, comming to the court and returning, were of the kings purse.

The king cometh to Westminster hall, and there sitteth in iudgement himselfe.

On thursdaie the two & twentieth date of Maye, the king came into Westminster hall, for whome at the upper end was set a cloth of estate, and the place hang'd with arras. With him was the cardinall, the dukes of Norfolkke and Suffolke, the earles of Shrewsburie, of Essex, of Wiltshire, & Surrie, with manie lords and other of the kings counsell. The maior & aldermen, with all the chiefe of the citie were there in their best luerie (according as the cardinall had appointed them) by nine of the clocke. When the king commanded that all the prisoners should bee brought forth, so that in came the poore ponglings and old false knaues bound in ropes all along, one after another in their shirts, and euerie one a halter about his necke, to the number of foure hundred men, and eleuen women. And when all were come befoze the kings presence, the cardinall soze laid to the maior and communalitie their negligence, and to the prisoners he declared that they had deserued death for their offense. When all the prisoners togither cried; Mercie gracious lord, mercie. Herewith the lords altogether besought his grace of mercie, at whose sute the king pardoned them all. When the cardinall gaue vnto them a good exhortation, to the great gladnesse of the hearers.

The kings gracious and generall pardon.

Now, when the generall pardon was pronounced, all the prisoners shrowted at once, & all togither cast by their halters into the hall rose, so that the king might perceiue they were none of the discreetest sort. Here is to be noted, that diuerse offenders, which were not taken, hearing that the king was inclined to mercie, came well apparelled to Westminster, and suddenlie stripped them into their shirts with halters, and came in among the prisoners willinglie, to be partakers of the kings pardon. By which doing, it was well knowne, that one John Nelson yeoman of the crowne was the first that began to spoile, and exhorted other to do the same: and because he led and was not taken, he came in with a rope among the other prisoners, and so had his pardon. This companie was after called the blacke wagon. Then were all the gallows within the citie taken downe, and manie a good praiser said for the king, and the citizens toke more heed to their seruants. But the kings mercie ministred abundant matter of communication, euerie one (speciallie the pardoned and their allies) founding the benefit of his roial clemencie, whereby of dead men they became liuing, and had sustained the seuerer sentence of law, had not mercie

The blacke wagon that followed all Maie date.

remitted the fault and the punishment, which breaketh the force of iudgement, as the poet trulie saith: Indicij nervus frangit miseratio clemens.

In June the king had with him diuerse ambassadors, for solace of whome he prepared a collie lutes, he himselfe & twelue more against the duke of Suffolke and other twelue. His bace and bard was the one halfe cloth of siluer, & the other halfe blacke finell. On the siluer was a curious lose worke of beluet imbodered with gold, cut on the siluer, and euerie cut ingrailed with gold, so that that side was gold, siluer, and beluet. On the blacke finell side was blacke beluet imbodered with gold, and cut, and euerie cut was ingrailed with flat gold of damaske. The bace and bard were bodered with great letters of massie gold bullion, full of pearles and stones, marvellous rich: all his companie were in like sute, sauing that they had no ieiwels. The king had on his head a ladies heue full of diamonds. On the king attended gentlemen, armourers, and other officers, to the number of an hundred and thwentie five persons, all in white beluet and white sattin, horse and harnesse for horsemen, caps and hosen for footmen, all white, at the kings cost. Thus roiallie the king and his companie with his waiters came to the tilts end.

Then entered the duke of Suffolke, with the marques Dorset, the earls of Essex and Surrie, and eight other of his band, in bards and baces of white beluet and crimson sattin losenged, set full of letters of C. M. of gold, for Charles and Marie, and they toke the other end of the tilt. When the trumpets blew, and the king and the duke ran fiercely togither, and byake manie speares, and so did all the other, that it was hard to saie who did best. But when the courses were run, they ran volant one at another, so that both by the report of sir Edward Clifford maister of the armourie, and also of the iudges and heralds, at these lutes were broken five hundred and sir speares: and then the king the same night made the ambassadors a sumptuous banquet, with manie ribbels and much pastime. After this great triumph, the king appointed his ghefts for his pastime this summer; but suddenlie there came a plague of sicknesse, called the sweating sicknesse, that turned all his purpose.

This maladie was so cruell, that it killed some within thre houres, some within two houres, some merrie at dinner, and dead at supper. Marie died in the kings court, the lord Clinton, the lord Graie of Wilton, and manie knights, gentlemen, and officers. For this plague Michaelmasse tearme was adourned. And because that this maladie continued from Iulie to the middest of December, the king kept himselfe ever with a small companie, and held no solemne Christmasse, willing to haue no resort for feare of infection: but much lamented the number of his people, for in some one towne halfe the people died, and in some other towne the third part, the sweat was so feruent and infectious. By the extremitie whereof, and the multitudes with such suddennesse and present mortalitie dropping auaie: it should seme that they little remembered, or at least, wise neglected the preseruatiue remedie vied in the first great sweating sicknesse in king Henrie the seuenths time, whereby as then manie a mans life was saued, so now the like benefit (by applying of the same wholsome meanes) might haue rebounded to the patients.]

In the beginning of this yeare, Trinitie tearme was begun at Orenford, where it continued but one date, and was againe adourned to Westminster. This yeare came to Calis from pope Leo, a legat De latere, called Laurence Campeius borne in Valognes

Solomon's ties between the king and others.

A gallant and glorious life.

The king & the duke run personally.

The sweating sicknesse peremptorie and deadly.

Abt. Flew.

See before pag. 743.

1519 Anno Reg. 10. The trinitie begun at Orenford and adourned to Westminster.

Small prayers from pope.

Card Hall, tales of small prayers being at his.

Fl. ex. Hall in fol. latij.

Cardinal Campeius came with great pompe.

That trinitie was in also in the legat's words.

logne la Campeius, to the request French his friendship shall cardinall him in co which said from Nor an other ci was a sut the obtain the cardin tion of his

This displeasur to Henrice peius, at the pope, that with might ha shed, and dinall Ca the mon received used. The legat his seruau but mean readie, he kept for

At the with proc a gentlen heath, the great nu richlie ap into a rich selfe into and so tol night bef Poike; Campeit cofferers co led thozat peius, to lets passe bene full

Also I lets byaki and ouerl which fell unlocked and roast vile bagg my lord l ashamed. About th twentieth citie, and London, him with with all t res stood to thoun the name. Also h ued with tered the their crea dition to with all place, and

Dom. 1519

An. Reg. 10.

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The king &
the duke run
personally.

The sweating
sickness per-
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deadly.

Abr. Flem.

So before
pag. 763, 764

1519

Anno Reg. 10.

The frame
be gun at Cr-

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wellminded.

cardinal
Campetius
from
Rome.

cardinal
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Campetius
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Rome.

logne la Gresse, commonlie called cardinall Cam-
petius, to require the king of aid against the Turke.
At the request of the king of England, and also of the
french king (which sought now to be receiued into
friendship with the king of England chieflie by card-
nall Wolles meanes) pope Leo constituted the
said cardinall Wolles his legat in England, joining
him in commission with the said Campeius, the
which said at Calis vntill the bulles were brought
from Rome touching that matter. There was also
an other cause that said Campeius at Calis, & that
was a sute which cardinall Wolles had moued for
the obtaining of the bishoprike of Bath, which bene-
fice cardinall Adrian Castilian inioined by the colla-
tion of king Henrie the seventh.

This cardinall Adrian being fallen in the popes
displeasure, withdrew out of the court of Rome vn-
to Venice: and in the meane time cardinall Cam-
petius, at the instance of cardinall Wolles, wrote to
the pope, that cardinall Adrian might be depriued of
that bishoprike, to the end that cardinall Wolles
might haue the same. Which request was accompli-
shed, and the bulles sent vnto Calis; so that then car-
dinall Campeius, after he had remained at Calis
thre moneths, came ouer into England, and was
receiued with all pompe & honour that might be de-
uisd. Inasmuch that cardinall Wolles had sent to
the legat (whilist he laie at Calis) red cloth to cloath
his seruants, which at their comming to Calis were
but meanelie appareled. And when all things were
readie, he passed the sea and landed at Douer; and so
kept forth his iourne toward London.

At euerie towne as they passed, he was receiued
with procession, and accompanied with all the lords
& gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blache-
heath, there met him the duke of Suffolke, with a
great number of prelates, knights, & gentlemen, all
rightly appareled. And in the waie he was brought
into a rich tent of cloth of gold, where he shifted him-
self into the robe of a cardinall, edged with ermins;
and so toke his mule riding towards London. The
night before he came to London, the cardinall of
Bozke, to furnish the carriages of the cardinall
Campetius, sent to him twelue mules with emptie
coffers couered with red: which twelue mules were
led thorough London amongst the mules of Cam-
petius, which were but eight; and so these twentie mu-
lets passed thorough the streets, as though they had
bene full of treasures, apparell, & other necessities.

Now when they came into Cheape, one of the mu-
lets brake from his keeper, and ouerthrew the chests,
and ouerturned two or thre other mules carriages,
which fell with such a violence, that diuerse of them
vnbloked; & out of some fell old hosen, broken shoes,
and roasted flesh, peeces of bread, egges, and much
byle baggage. At which sight the boies cried; Se, se
my lord legats treasure: and so the mulesters were
ashamed, and toke vp all their trusse and passed forth.
About thre of the clocke in the after none on the
twentie ninth day of Julie the said legat entered the
cittie, and in Southwozke met him all the clergie of
London, with crosses, censors, and copes, and censured
him with great reuerence. The maior, and aldermen,
with all the occupations of the cittie in their best liue-
ries stood in the streets, and him highlie honoured:
to whome sir Thomas Spore made a brieue oration in
the name of the cittie.

Now when he came to Paules, there he was recei-
ued with bishops mitred, and vnder a canopie ente-
red the church: which canopie his seruants toke for
their fees. And when he had offered, he gaue his bene-
diction to all the people, & toke againe his mule, & so
with all his traine aforesaid was conueied to Bath
place, and there rested: where he was welcommed of

cardinall of Bozke. On sundae next insuing, these
two cardinals as legats toke their barges, & came
to Grenewich, ech of them had besides their crosses
two pillars of siluer; two little ares gilt, and two
cloake-bags embroidered, & the cardinals hats borne
before them. And when they came to the kings hall,
the cardinall of Bozke went on the right hand: and
there the king roiallie appareled and accompanied,
met them euen as though both had come from Rome
and so brought them both vp into his chamber of pre-
sence.

Then a solemne oration was made by an Italian,
declaring the cause of the legacie to be in two arti-
cles, one for aid against Gods enemies, and the se-
cond for refozation of the clergie. And when masse
was done, they were had to a chamber, and serued
of lords and knights, with much solemnitie: and
after dinner they toke their leaue of the king, and
came to London, and rode throught the citie together,
in great pompe and glorie to their lodgings. This
cardinall Campeius for his friendship shewed in hel-
ping the cardinall of England to the bishoprike of
Bath, was considered (besides other great rewards)
with the bishoprike of Salisburie, the profits where-
of he receiued, vntill the act was established, that no
forrenner should inioine any spirituall benefice with-
in this realme. But for the chiefest errand that this
cardinall Campeius came, he could haue no towarde
answer: which was (as you haue heard) to haue lea-
ued a summe of monie by waie of tenths in this
realme, to the maintenance of the waite in defense
of the christian confines against the Turke.

There were at the same time other legats sent in-
to other parts of Christendome about the same mat-
ter, as into France, Spaine, and Germanie. For
pope Leo calling to remembrance, that the seare con-
ceiued of the Turkes had brought no small gainnes to
diuerse of his predecessors, he began to feare so. But
for that such feare was now too well knowne to be
fed as an ordinarie thist of the popes, when they stood
in need of monie, this practise was at this time vied
in vaine; so that Campeius hearing that it toke
not place in other parties, left off his earnest sute
about it, and with great rewards receiued of the king
and cardinall, returned to Rome, not without hope
yet (by reason of promises made vnto him by his
friends) that the popes request might hereafter be
granted, according to his motion. There attended
him to Rome one John Clarke a lawiour, as am-
bassadour from the king.

This man obtained for the cardinall, authoritie to
dispense with all men for offenses committed a-
gainst the spirituall lawes, which part of his poluer
legantine was verie profitable and gainefull. For
then he set up a court, and called it the court of the
legat: in the which he proued testaments, and heard
causes, to the great hinderance of all the bishops of
this realme. He visited bishops, and all the clergie
exempt and not exempt, and vnder colour of refoz-
mation he got much treasure. For thorough bribes &
rewards, notorious offenders were dispensed with,
so that nothing was refozmed, but came to more mi-
chefe. The example of his pride, caused prebts and
all spirituall persons to war so proud, that they rub-
bed it out in velvet and silks, which they wore both in
gounes, iackets, doublets, and shoes. They vied o-
pen lecherie, and bare themselves so stout by reason
of his authorities and faculties, that no man durst
reproue any thing in them. So that we see here vied
in proue how forcible the examples of great men
be in the inferior sort; as the wise man truelie saith;

Qualis erit princeps, talis prefectus habetur,
Nobilis qualis, plebs quoque talis erit.

[But before we inferre further proceesse of other
accidents,

The glorious
shewes of
pompos port
of the two car-
dinals going
to the court.

So after in
the extract
out of Guicke-
ardine.
A craftie
feare of the
pope.

The court of
the legat erect-
ed by the car-
dinall.

Examples of
great ones
what it doth.

Ch. H. in Eccl.
cap. 10.

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pened the way, and established the meane to per-
cute the regions of Italie with continuall beatti-
ons: so that the pope together with the whole court
of Rome being made astonished with so great suc-
cesse, and no lesse proud to eschew so great a dan-
ger, making their first recourse vnto the aid and
succour of God, caused to be celebrated through
Rome most deuout inuocations, which he did assist in
presence bare-footed.

And afterwards calling vpon the helpe of man,
he wrote letters to all christian princes, both admo-
nishing them of the perill, and perswading them to
lay aside all ciuill discords and contentions; and at-
tend spediue to the defense of religion & their com-
mon safetie, which he affirmed would more and more
take increase of most grieuous danger, if with the
vntie of minds, and concordances of forces, they
sought not to transference the warre into the empire
of the Turkes, & invade the enimie in his owne coun-
trie. vpon this aduise and admonition, was taken
the examination and opinion of men of warre, and
persons skillfull in the discouerie of countries, the dis-
posing of prouinces, and of the nature and vsage of
the forces and weapons of that kingdome, and there-
vpon a resolution was set downe to make great le-
uies of monie by voluntarie contributions of prin-
ces, and vniuersall imposts of all people of christen-
dome.

It was thought necessarie that Cesar accompa-
nied with the horsemen of Hungaria and Polonia,
nations warlike, and practised in continuall warre a-
gainst the Turke, and also with the footmen of Ger-
manie, should saile along Danubi into Bosnia cal-
led ancientlie Dria, and from thence to Dacia, and
so to draw neare Constantinople, the seat of the em-
pire of Ottomanes: that the French king with all
the forces of his kingdome, the Venetians, and
the other potentates of Italie, accompanied with the
infanterie of Swizzerland, should passe from the port
of Brindisi in Albania, a passage verie easie & short,
to invade Greece, a countrie full of christian inhabi-
tants, and for the intolerable yoke of the Turkes,
most ready to rebell: that the kings of Spaine, of
England, and Portugall, assembling their forces to-
gether in Cartagena, and the ports thereabouts,
should take their course with two hundred ships
full of Spanish footmen and other souldiers, to the
streit of Calipoli, to make rodes by to Constanti-
nople, hauing first of all subdued the castels and forts
standing vpon the mouth of the streit: and the pope
to take the same course, imbarcking at Ancona, with
an hundred ships armed.

With these preparations, seeming sufficient to
couer the land, and ouerspread the sea, it was thought
that of a warre so full of deuotion and pietie, there
could not be but hoped a happie end, speciallie adding
the inuocation of God, and so manie feuerall inua-
sions made at one time against the Turkes, who
make their principall foundation of defense, to fight
in the plaine field. These matters were solicited with
no small industrie, and to stop all matter of impu-
tation against the office of the pope, the minds of prin-
ces were thoroughlie founded, and an vniuersall truce
for five yeares betwene all the princes of christen-
dome, published in the consistorie, vpon paine of
most grieuous censure to such as should impugne it.
So that the negociation continuing for all things
appertaining to so great an enterpryse, he assigned
ambassadors to all princes: to the emperor he sent
the cardinall S. Sisto, to the French king he dispat-
ched the cardinall of S. Maria in Portico, the cardi-
nall Giles to the king of Spaine, and the cardinall
Campeius to the king of England.

All cardinals of authoritie, either for their experi-

ence in affaires, or for opinion of their doctrine, or
for their familiaritie with the pope. All which things
albeit they were begun with great hope and expec-
tation, and the vniuersall truce accepted of all men,
and all men with no little ostentation and bzaurie
of words, made shew of their readinesse with their
forces to aduance so good a cause: yet, that with the
consideration of the perill esteemed vncertaine and
farre off, and extending more to one prince than to
another, and that by the difficulties and long tract of
time that appeared, to introduce a zeale and vnion so
vniuersall, priuat interests and respects particular
seemed to preuaile more, than the pietie of the expe-
dition: inso much that the negociation stood not one-
lie naked of all hope and issue, but also it was follo-
wed verie lightlie, and as it were by ceremonie.

This being one propertie in the nature of men,
that those things which in their beginnings appeare
fearefull, do daile take such begrees of diminution
and vanishing, that vnles the first feares be reniued
by new accidents, they lead men in proceesse of time
to securitie. Which propertie of negligence, both tou-
ching the affaires publike, and affection of priuate
and particular men was well confirmed by the death
that succeeded not long after to Selim, who, hauing
by a long maladie suspended the preparations of the
warre, was in the end consumed by the passions of
his disease, and so passed into the other life, leauing so
great an empire to Soliman his sonne, young in
yeares, and iudged to beare a wit and mind not so dis-
posed to the warres, although afterwards the effects
declared the contrarie.

At this time appeared betwene the pope and the
French king a most great and streit coniunction:
for the king gave to wife to Laurence his nephew, the
ladie Agadoalen noble descended of the blood and
house of Bullognie, with a yearelle reuenue of ten
thousand crownes, whereof part was of the kings
gift, and the residue rising of his owne patrimonie.
Besides, the king hauing borne to him a sonne, the
pope required that in his baptisme, he would impose
vpon him his name. By which occasion Laurence
making preparations to go to marrie his new wife,
for his moze speed, performed his iourne by post in-
to France, where he was receiued with manie ami-
ties and much honour of the king, to whom he be-
came verie gracions and of deare account, the rather
for that (besides other generall respects) he made a de-
dication of himselfe wholie to the king, with promise
to follow in all accidents, his fortune.

And now to returne to cardinall Wolse, who
grew so into exceeding pride, that he thought him-
selfe equall with the king. For when he said masse
(which he did offer to shew his pompe, rather than
for anie deuotion) he made dukes and earles to serue
him of wine, with a say taken, and to hold to him the
bason at the lauatorie. Thus was the pride of the car-
dinall and other priests so past the compasse of rea-
son, that in maner all god persons abhorred and dis-
dained it (as altogether degenerating from the ex-
ample of Christ & his pore traine, of whome in name
and title they seemed to be professors), but of their
manners and trade of life open defiers; yea in such
manifest sort, both in apparell and diet, as also in all
other respects, that few there were (if they perceiued
anie thing by discretion) but sawe the euident abuses
of their behauiours, tending greatlie to the disho-
nour of the place which they possessed, as also to the
no small offense of the modest sort of the cleargie,
whereof some did so well like of this ruffling and mak-
ing presbyterie, that they abhorred it as strong poi-
son in their bosome.

It fortuned that the archbishop of Canturburie
wrote to the cardinall, anon after that he had recei-
ued

The popes
negociation
naked of all
hope & issue.

The death of
Selim; and
succession of
Soliman.

Alance be-
twixt the pope
& the French
king.

The excessing
pride of the
cardinall.

The cardinal
taketh it in
scorne to be
called brother
by the archbi-
shop.

ned his powter legantine, the which letter after his
old familiar manner he subscribed thus: Pour l'ho-
neur de William of Canturburie. With which subscrip-
tion, because the archbishop wrote him brother, he
was so much offended, as though the archbishop had
done him great iniurie, that he could not temper his
mood, but in high displeasure said, that he would so
worke within a while, that he should well understand
how he was his superiour, and not his brother. When
the archbishop (being a sober wise man) heard of the
messenger that bare the letter, how the cardinal
took it not well, but so as it might seeme there was
a great fault in the letter, and reported the tale as
one that disliked the cardinals presumption herein:
Peace (said the archbishop) knowest thou not how the
man is become mad with too much ioy. And thus the
cardinal forgetting to hold the right path of true
land and praise, sought to be feared rather than be-
loved of all good men.

The French
king writeth
to cardinal
wolfe.

In this meane time the French king greatlie co-
ueting to redeeme the citie of Loznate out of the
hands of the king of England, and knowing that he
must make waite thereunto thorough the cardinals
friendship, called not with high gifts to win his
good will, and moreover in often writing to him, ex-
alted him with titles of honor, and so magnified him,
that the cardinal, as one tickled with vaine-glorie
more than can be imagined, thought that he could
not do pleasure enough to the French king, that did
esteem so much of him. Whereupon the French king
hoping to compass his desire, after he perceived the
cardinals good will towards him, signified his mean-
ing unto the said cardinal; who found meanes to
breake thereof to the king, in such wise as he was
contented to heare the French kings ambassadoys,
that should be sent hither to talke of that matter.

Ambassadors
from the
French king.

The French king then understanding the king
of England his pleasure, sent over the lord Bontuet
high admerall of France, and the bishop of Paris
as chiefe ambassadoys, accompanied with a great
sort of lustie gentlemen of the French kings court,
to the number of foure score and above, on whome at-
tended such a companie of other of the meaner sort,
that the whole number amounted to twelue hundred
one and other, which were thought to be manie for an
ambassade. ¶ On mondate the twentieth seventh date
of September, the earle of Surrie high admerall of
England, in a coat of rich tisse cut on cloath of sil-
uer, on a great courser richlie trapped, and a great
whistle of gold, set with stones and pearle, hanging
at a great and massie chaine baudycke wise, accom-
panied with an hundred and sirtie gentlemen, richlie
appareled, on goodlie horses came to Blackheath,
and there amiable received the ambassadoys of
France. The yong gallants of France had coats
garded with one colour, cut in ten or twelue parts
verie richlie to behold: and so all the Englishmen ac-
coupled themselves with the Frenchmen longinglie
together, and so road to London. After the two ad-
meralls followed foure and twentie of the French
kings gard, accompanied with foure and twentie of
the English gard. And after them a great num-
ber of archers, to the number of foure hundred. And
in this order they passed thorough the citie to sailors
hall, and there the chiefe ambassadoys were lodged,
and the remnant in merchants houses about.

The French
ambassadors
come to the
court.

When these lords were in their lodgings, then
the French harder men opened their wares, & made
the sailors hall like the pound of a mart. At this do-
ing manie an Englishman grudged, but it auailed
not. The last daie of September, the French ambas-
sadoys toke their barge, and came to Grenewich.
The admerall was in a gowne of cloath of siluer rail-
sed, furred with rich fables; and all his companie al-

most were in a new fashioned garment, called a she-
mew, which was in effect a gowne cut in the middle.
The gentlemen of France were brought into the
kings presence, where the bishop of Paris made a
solemne oration; which being ended, & answer made
thereto, the king highlie interteined the admerall
and his companie, and so did all the English lords and
gentlemen.

The ambassadoys after this were daltie in coun-
cell, till at length an agreement was concluded, un-
der pretence of a marriage to be had betwene the
Dolphin of France, and the ladie Marie, daugh-
ter to the king of England: in name of whose mari-
age monies Loznate should be delivered unto
the French king, he paying to the king of England
for the castle which he had made in that citie, six hun-
dred thousand crownes, to be paid in twelue yeares
space, that is to saie, fiftie thousand euerie yeare du-
ring that terme. And if the marriage chanced not to
take effect, then should Loznate be againe redoyed
to the king of England. For performance of which
article, hostages should be delivered: that is to wit,
monsieur de Montmorancie, monsieur de Montpe-
sac, monsieur de Poise, monsieur de Porret. Moreo-
uer the French king should paie to the lord cardinal
of England a thousand marks of yearelie pension, in
recompense of his revenues before time received of
the bishopricke of Loznate: and likewise to other of
the kings counsell he should also giue certeine
summes of monie as yearelie pensions, in like ma-
ner as his ancestors had done to the counsellors of
the kings of England before time.

The French king agreed to call backe the duke of Al-
banie out of Scotland, that the suertie of B. James
might the better be provided for, and lesse occasion of
trouble ministred to the king of England. And fur-
ther the French king was contented that the said
king James should be received as a confederat in
his peace. When all things were concluded, the king
and the ambassadoys road to the cathedrall church
of saint Paule in London from Durham place,
where the cardinal of England sang the masse in
most pompous maner: and after that masse was
ended, doctor Pace the kings secretaire made an
eloquent oration in praise of peace: and that done,
the king and his nobles with the ambassadoys went
to the bishops palace, and there dined, and after din-
ner, the king rode againe to Durham place. That
night the cardinal of Poise made to the ambassa-
doys a solemne banquet, and them accompanied ma-
nie lords and ladies of England. And when the ban-
quet was done, in came sir minstrels, richlie dis-
guised, and after them followed thre gentlemen in wide
and long gobones of crimson sattin, euerie one ha-
ving a cup of gold in their hands.

The first cup was full of angels and roials, the se-
cond had diuerse bales of dice, and the third had cer-
teine paires of cards. These gentlemen offered to
plai at murtherance, and when they had plaied the
length of the first boyd, then the minstrels blew up,
and then entered into the chamber certeine ladies
disguised, on whome attended twelue knights dis-
guised bearing torches. All these thirtie & six persons
were in one sute of fine greene sattin, all covered o-
uer with cloth of gold, under tied together with laces
of gold, and masking hoods on their heads: the ladies
had tiers made of bzards of damaske gold with long
haire of white gold. All these maskers dancd at one
time, and after they had dancd, they put off their vi-
sors, and so were they all knowne. The admerall and
lords of France hartlie thanked the king, that it
pleased him to visit them with such disposit. Then the
king & his companie were banketed, and had high
chere: and so they departed euerie man to his lod-
ging.

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1516. Reg. 10.

gung. The eight of October at Greenwich, was long a solemn made by the bishop of Durham, and after masse, doctor Tunstall, maister of the colles, made an eloquent proposition in praise of the matriculation to be had betwixt the Dolphin and the ladie Marie. All that daie were the strangers feasted, and at night they were brought into the hall, where was a roche full of all manner of stones, verie artificiallie made, and on the top stood five trees, the first an olive tree, on which hanged a shield of the armes of the church of Rome; the second a pineapple tree, with the armes of the emperor; the third a roser, with the armes of England; the fourth a branch of lillies, bearing the armes of France; and the fifth a pomegranat tree, bearing the armes of Spaine: in token that all these five potentates were joined together in one league against the enemies of Christs faith.

In and upon the midst of the roche sate a faire ladie, richly apparelled with a dolphin in hir lap. In this roche were ladies and gentlemen apparelled in crimson sattin, covered ouer with floures of purple sattin, embroidered upon with wrethes of gold, knit together with golden laces, and on euerie floure a hart of gold mouing. The ladies apparell was after the fashion of Inde, with kerchifes of pleasance, hat-ched with fine gold, and set with letters of Græke in gold of brillion; and the edges of their kerchifes were garnished with hanging perle. These gentlemen and ladies sat on the nepper part of the roche, and out of a cane in the said roche came ten knights, armed at all points, and fought together a faire tournee. And when they were seuered and departed, the disguisours descended from the roche, and danced a great space: and suddenly the roche moued and receiued the disguisours, and immediatlie closed againe.

Then entered a person called Report, apparelled in crimson sattin full of towngs, sitting on a sieng horse with towngs and set of gold called Pegasus. This person in French declared the meaning of the roche, the trees, and the tournee. After this pastime ended, the king and the ambassadours were serued at a banquet with two hundred and firtie dishes, and after that a bodice of spices with firtie spice plates of silver and gilt, as great as men with ease might beare. This night the cupbord in the hall was of twelue stages all of plate of gold, and no gilt plate. When that euerie man had bene plentifully serued, the tables were taken vp, and the king with the quene and all the strangers departed to their lodgings.

After diuerse iusts & feasts made for the said ambassadours by the king and lords: sir Thomas Cromwell maior of London made to them a coslie dinner at Goldsmiths hall, which dinner they highlie praised, it was so well ordered. And when the time came, they toke their leaue of the king, the quene, and the kings counsell, and deliuered into the kings possession their foure hostages (as you haue heard before). At which departing the king gaue to the admerall of France a garb of gilt vessel, a paire of covered basens gilt, twelue great gilt boles, foure paire of great gilt pots, a standing cup of gold, garnished with great pearles: and to some other also, he gaue plate, to some chains of gold, to some rich apparell, and to some great hosties with rich hards, so that euerie gentleman was well rewarded; which liberalitie the strangers much praised: and after that all their trusles were readie they departed towards the sea, and toke ship and landed at Bullogne.]

Shortlie after their departure, the earle of Worcester, lord chamberleine, the bishop of Elie, the lord of saint Johns, sir Nicholas Maur, sir John Pechie, sir Thomas Bullen, as ambassadours from the king of England, accompanied with thre score and ten knights, gentlemen and peomen, to the num-

ber of foure hundred and aboue, passed the sea to Calis, and so from thence went to Paris, where they were noblely receiued, & being brought to the French kings presence, the bishop of Elie made a solempne oration touching the mariage and peace concluded, & to intertaine the English ambassadours and gentlemen; the French king had made a banquetting house in the bastill of Paris betwene foure old walles. This house was covered with cords streined by craft, and euerie cord was wound about with bor, and so laid crosswise one ouer an other in fret, and at the meetings a great knop gilt with gold soile. Ou-er their cords was streined wollen cloaths of light blew: this rose was foure score fot high, and on euerie side thre stages high: all the pillars of the stages were covered with antike works, & the breasts of the stages curiouslie wrought with armes, vincts, and branches: the rose was set full of starres gilt & furnished with glasse betwene the frets. In this house was two hundred and twelue branches gilt hanged, & on euerie branch a great number of lights of white wax.

Diuerse sorts of masks were shewed also that night: and at euerie side of the palace a great cupbord of masse plate of much greatnesse was set, the French king welcomning the lords and ambassadours with good countenance.] Here is to be remembred, that immediatlie after the conclusion of the mariage, a rumoz was raised, that the Dolphin was dead before, and that this mariage was but a colourable pretext, deuised of the Frenchmen for a policie to come by their purpose: and therefore, after that the English ambassadours had bene feasted and intertained with banquetting and princelie pastime, the bishop of Elie, with sir Thomas Bullen, and sir Richard Weston, were appointed to go vnto Contacke to see the Dolphin, where they were honorablely receiued, and brought vnto the presence of the Dolphin, being a goodlie young child, whome they kissed and embraced in most louing wise.

The earle of Worcester, and with him sir Nicholas Maur, sir John Pechie, sir Edward Bellnap, and diuerse others at the same time, toke leaue of the French king, and rode to Corneile to see the citie deliuered to the Frenchmen. Whereupon, the eight of Februarie, the lord Chatillon came thither with one and twentie hundred men; and after some controuersie moued about the deliuerie of his commission, and sealing an indenture, which the earle had there readie ingrossed, containing the articles of agreement, in consideration whereof it was deliuered, the captaine sir Richard Feringham was discharged, and the Frenchmen suffered to enter with drummalls and minstrells, but not with standards nor banners, which the Englishmen caused them to roll vp greatlie against their wills. Before they came to the gates, they sealed the indenture, confessing how they receiued the citie as a gift, and not as a right, and deliuered their commission, whereby they were authorized to receiue it, which at the first they refused to do, affirming that it was sufficient for them to shew it.

Thus was Corneile deliuered in this tenth yeare of the kings reigne, on the eight daie of Februarie, & the Englishmen returned into England, soze displeased in their minds. For thereby manie a tall peoman lacked liuing, the which would not labour after their returne, but fell to robbing, pilfering, thieving, and other extraordinary meanes of maintenance, whereas before they were staied vpon a certaintie of hope, so long as they had allowance by the king. So that this resignation of Corneile, though it were answerable to the desire of the French king, and commendous for his people, yet that benefit of theirs byed

Edw. Hall in H. 8 fol. lxxv. A banquetting house of the French kings described.

1520

The manner how Corneile was deliuered to the French king.

to the English soldiers detriment and losse: who wished in their hearts to haue left their liues behind them in defense of possession, rather than it should reuert into the hands of them, by whome it was surrendered: & giuen vp to the English power, whom (because they were not able to encounter) they let in at their gates by a voluntarie motion and common consent for their better safetie, as a late writer witnesseth:

*Anglicenas passus intra sua mania portus
Sponte intramittens.*

Ed. Hall in H. 8.
fol. lxvii.
The light and
mistlike de-
meanour of
diuerse yong
gentlemen of
England & the
French king.

During this time remained in the French court diuerse yong gentlemen of England, and they with the French king rode daillie disguised through Paris, throwing egges, stones, and other foolish trifles at the people, which light demeanour of a king was much discommended and leasted at. And when these yong gentlemen came againe into England, they were all French, in eating, drinking, and apparell, pea, and in French vices and brags, so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at: the ladies and gentlewomen were dispraised, so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the French turne, which after turned them to displeasure, as you shall heare.

After the kings ambassadours were returned, and Tornaie deliuered to the Frenchmen upon the conditions aforesaid, the hostages that were here left for the payment of the great summes and performance of the conditions compiled in the league (of the which one was, that if the marriage took none effect, then the citie of Tornaie should be redeliuered upon repayment of the same summes) the said hostages knew not in what case they stood, but when they knew it, they were verie braue and resolute: howbeit, they dissembled the matter in the best wise they could. The king used familiarly these foure hostages, and on the seventh daie of Maie prepared a disguising, and caused his great chamber at Græntwich to be staged, and great lights to be set on pilloes that were gilt, with basons gilt, and the rose was covered with blue taffat set full of pusses of fine gold and flowers: and vnder was written *Lamies*, the meaning whereof was, that the flower of youth could not be oppressed.

Into this chamber came the king, and the quene, with the hostages, and there was a goodlie comedie of Plautus played; and that done, there entered into the chamber eight ladies in blacke velvet bordered about with gold, with hoes from the waist downeward, and sleeves ruffed and plited at the elbow, and plaine in the middle, full of cuts, plucked out at euerie cut with fine camerike, & tired like the Egyptians verie richlie. And when these ladies had passed about the place, in came eight noble personages in long gownes of taffata set with flowers of gold bullion, and vnder that apparell cotes of blacke velvet embroidered with gold all to cut, and plucked out with cuts of white sarcenet, and euerie man had buskins of blacke velvet full of aggets of gold.

When the eight men danced with the eight ladies all being disguised, and suddenlie the men cast off their large gownes, and then their vnder apparell was seene. And when all was done, euerie lord and ladie put off their disguises, and then it was knowne that the king, the duke of Suffolke, and the French quene were there, which were present at the plaie time. On the eighth daie of March was a solemn iustices, the king himselfe, and eight yong gentlemen habed and habarded in blacke velvet embroidered with gold, against the duke of Suffolke, and eight of his band, all in white taffat with drops of gold. And that daie they all ran exceedingly well, which the strangers highlie commended.

About the end of March, the king sent for all the

yeomen of the gard that were come from Tornaie, and after manie good words giuen to them, he granted to euerie of them foure pence the daie without attendance, except they were speciallie commanded. And here it seemeth requisite to adde the report of a forreine chronicler touching the league of amitie and conditions of the same, knit vp in breuitie and godtearmes as followeth. Now (saith he) the differences betwene the French and English were also reconciled. And for the more stabilitie of which agreement, it was confirmed with a contract of parentage and alliance, wherein the king of England promised to giue his onelie daughter, to whome hauing no sons, there was hope of the descending & succession of the kingdom to the Dolphin the eldest sonne of the croiue of France, adding for a portion foure hundred thousand duckets. Both the one and the other boze yet so tender age, that infinit accidents might happen, before perfection of yeres would make them able to establish matrimonie. There was made betwene them a league defensue, wherein were comprehended Cesar, and the king of Spaine, in case they would ratifie it in a certaine time.

The king of England bound himselfe to restore Tornaie, receiuing presentlie for detraiments expended upon that towne, two hundred and threescore thousand duckets, and threescore hundred thousand to be defalked of the portion, and to paie threescore thousand more in the space of twelue yeres. The French king also was bound, that if the peace and the parentage followed not, to render vp againe into the hands of the English, the towne of Tornaie. Manie ambassadours were sent from both the realmes to negotiate this league, and to receiue the ratifications and othes, by whome in the courts of both the kings the acts of the accord were dispatched with great solemnitie and ceremonie, with a resolution of an interuention of both the kings betwene Calis and Bullongne, immediatlie after the restitution of Tornaie.

About the same time, the daughter of the French king, appointed to be married to the king of Spaine, being dead, the former peace and capitulation was effronces reconfirmed betwene them, wherein was promised the marriage of the second daughter of France. Both the kings celebrated this coniunction with most great demonstrations of perfect amitie: for the king of Spaine, hauing paid in at Lyons an hundred thousand duckets, waite publickly the order of saint Michaell upon the day of the celebration of the same, and in recompense of that honour: the French king, upon the daie dedicated to saint Andrew, was honorable attired in the robes and colour of the golden fleece.

About this time, John Ja. Trimmice, whome neither old age reduced almost to the last time, nor his vertue so oftentimes expressed in the service of the truce of France could anie waie aid or comfort (being both ambitious and impatient, and therefore enuied) following the French court, fell sicke at Charters, where he gaue vp to the king, his innocente and complaints, and made to God the last reckoning of his aged daies. He was a man in the iudgement of manie, and confirmed by sundrie experiences, of singular valour in the discipline of warre, and ran a race alwaies opposed to the inconstancie of fortune, who (according to his mutabilitie) made him feele the operation of both his humors, sometimes reioicing in his fauour, and erst againe finding his sorrow and of a bitter task. By his commandement were written upon his tombe these words, not disagreeable to the variable condition and course of his naturall life:

I find the rest within my graue,
Which in my life I could not haue.]

An. Dom. 1554.
The death of
the French
king, and the
Spanish be-
ing to a peace
the empire.

An. Reg. 11.
The death of
the French
king, and the
Spanish be-
ing to a peace
the empire.

The death of
the French
king, and the
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The death of
the French
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Spanish be-
ing to a peace
the empire.

Com. 152
The fall
of Copan
rewarded.
Abel. Fl. ex
Guicci. 7.

An. Reg. 11.

The death
of the
emperor
Spartimilian
1552.

A description
of the
emperor
and qualities.

The position
given to the
king's daughter
of Eng-
land.

In this yeare the twelue of Februarie, died the
emperor Spartimilian, for whome the king caused a
solemn obsequie to be kept in Poules church. & He
died at Lutz, a towne vpon the marches of Austria,
where he remained for his delight and pleasure in
hunting the wild boze, and other chases of the field.
He liued alwaies vnder one condition of fortune,
who manie times fauoured him, in offering him ma-
nie faire occasions, & as often wrought against him
in not suffering him to take the fruit and effect of
them. He was by nature inconstant and remoue-
able, and had conceits and impressions verie ill dis-
posed and different from the iudgement of other
men, joined to an excessive prodigalitie and dissipati-
on of monie.

Spatters which cut off from him the effects and
successe of all occasions, being otherwise a prince
most perfect and instructed in the ordering of warre,
secret to laie and dispose a plot, diligent to follow it,
of boote able and suffering, of mind affable and easie,
and replenished with manie other excellent gifts and
ornaments. Vnto some of these properties, the god
seruice which he did the king of England at Terwin
grueth proue, at that time both he and his people
marched vnder the English ensigne, and receiued
paye as spendarie souldiours; whose wages the king
had a care to paie, as maie appeare by his coining
of silver monie, whereof was scarcitie in his campe,
in respect of gold, wherewith the souldiours were well
loyed, as one doth verie well make report, saieing:

*Pro mercede nihil nisi fuluum soluitur aurum,
Auri militibus radiantis copia totis
Tanta fuit castris, ut rex cudi se coactus
Nummum ex argento fuerit.*

Altho as the emperor was dead, the French
king and the king of Spaine began manifestlie to
aspire to the empire, the purchase whereof albeit was
a matter of right great importance, and no lesse the
emulation running betwene two so mightie prin-
ces, yet they ordered their ambition with great mo-
destie, neither vsing words of inturie, nor threats of
armes; but either one labouring by his authoritie,
& by his meanes, to draw on his side the electors. The
French king sundrie times reasoned touching the
election with great comelinesse with the Spanish
ambassadors, to whom he said it was a matter both
agreeable and conuenient, that either of them seue-
rallie should seeke by honest meanes to increase the
honour of his house by so great a dignitie: which for
that in times before had bene transferred into the fa-
milies of their predecessours, there was now the lesse
occasion to breed betwene them two matter of inturie,
nor diminution of their amitie and good will.

But rather he wished, that in the action of the
empire, they might follow the example and order of
two young louers, who albeit they follow the quest of
one labie, and either one labourer by his industrie to
carie hit; yet they forbere to come to contention. The
king of Spaine alluded with good right, that the em-
pire appertained to him, as hauing continued by a
long succession of time in the house of Austria, and
that it had not bene the custome of the electors to
deprive the issue of the emperor, without man-
ifest cause of their disability, neither was there anie
in Germanie of that puissance and authoritie to
make him equall to stand competitor with him in
that election. And least of all did he hold it iust or like-
lie, that the electors would transport to a forreine or
strange prince, so great a dignitie continued by so
manie ages in the nation of Germanie.

And albeit some particular amongst them, ei-
ther through the insinuation of monie, or other pro-
prie of corruption, might be allured to another
intention, yet he hoped to stop him with force prepa-

red in time conuenient, not doubting also but the o-
ther electors also would oppose against him, and the
princes and free townes of Germanie would not in-
dure so vsuerfall an infamie, spectallie to suffer it
to be laid vpon the person of the French king, which
would be no other thing than to make great the puis-
sance of a king enemie vnto their nation, and from
whome there was no suertie that the imperiall dig-
nities would euer retorne into Germanie: he thought
it would be an action easie to obtaine and reduce to
perfection, that which had bin solicited by his grand-
father, who had already compounded for recompen-
ses and donations, and other diuidents for euerie of
the electors.

On the other side, the desire of the French king
was as great, and no lesse were his hopes, which toke
their principall foundation vpon an opinion he had
to corrupt the voices of the electors with his huge
summes of monie: especiallie for that there were a
mongest them both pensionaries to him, and other-
wise assured by manie god offices, who encouraging
him with the facilitie of the enterprise, pushed him on
to embrace it. And for his part, as mostall men are
apt to beleue the thing they desire, so he nourished
that hope with reasons rather apparant than true:
he knew that commonlie it was a matter grievous
to the princes of Germanie to haue the emperors
mightie; being gealous that in so great a puissance,
they would not either in part or in all, quarrell the su-
risdictions and authorities imperiall occupied by
manie of them. In which reason he perswaded him-
selfe, that they would in no sort consent to the election
of the Spaniard, & so of themselves to subiect them-
selves to an emperor more mightie than had bene
since a long descent and race of emperors. A matter
which in his person seemed to be qualified, for that ha-
uing neither estates nor ancient alliances in Ger-
manie, they had no occasion of suspicion of his great-
nesse.

The same reason also made him beleue well of
the conformitie of the free townes, in whome much
lesse that the regard of the glorie of the nation would
carie it from him, seeing it would helpe to petye the
ballance on his side, for that with most men the mo-
tions of proper and private interest maie doe more,
than the respect of publike and generall profit. He
knewe it was not a little grievous to manie noble
houses of Germanie, pretending to be capable of
such a dignitie, to see the empire continue so long time
in one house; but much more did it discontent them to
suffer that so great an estate, which of right ought
sometimes to be giuen to one of them, and sometime
to passe to another, should become a perpetuall des-
cent and succession in one line: inso much as they
might call inheritance and succession that election,
which durst not leaue the line of the emperors. That
in that sort the empire was translated from Albert
de Austria to Frederike his brother, and from Fre-
derike to Spartimilian his sonne; and now there was
denise to passe it from Spartimilian to the person of
Charles his grandchild.

By these humors and indignations of the prin-
ces of Germanie, he toke hope that the discords and
gealonies among themselves might helpe on his
cause, the rather for that it often happeneth in the con-
tentions of men, that he that is excluded, or the par-
tie to whome he fauoreth, runneth with a naturall
rashnesse rather to call in, and to aduance a third,
than to giue place to him that hath opposed against
his intention. Moreover, the French king was not
without his hopes in the fauour of the pope, both in
regard of the amitie and alliance betwixt them; and
also for that he was not ignorant how in-
conuenient it would be to the see apostolike to haue
the

The French
king in hope
to be emperor
as well as the
Spaniard.

The French
king builded
his hope vpon
the humors of
the princes of
Germanie.

The French
king relieth
vpon the fa-
uour of the
pope.

Peace and
ance betwixt
the French
king and the
Spanish
emilie co-
bated.

The death of
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the French
saues.

Thinking of
the claim
to the empire.

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The death of
the emperor
Spartimilian.
1512.

A collection
of the
empire.

The French
king and the
king of Spain
begin to quarrel
for the empire.

Existing of
the claim
to the empire.

In this yeare the twelue of February, died the
emperor spartimilian, for whome the king caused a
solemne obsequie to be kept in Boules church. ¶ He
died at 11. uiz, a tostone upon the marches of Austria,
where he remained for his delight and pleasure in
hunting the wild boze, and other chases of the field.
He liued alwaies vnder one condition of fortune,
who manie times fauoured him, in offering him ma-
nie faire occasions, & as often wrought against him
in not suffering him to take the fruit and effect of
them. He was by nature inconstant and remone-
able, and had conceits and impressions verie ill dis-
posed and different from the iudgement of other
men, joined to an excessive prodigalitie and dissipati-
on of monie.

¶ Matters which cut off from him the effects and
successe of all occasions, being otherwise a prince
most perfect and instructed in the ordering of warre,
secret to laie and dispose a plot, diligent to follow it,
of bodie able and suffering, of mind affable and easie,
and replenished with manie other excellent gifts and
ornaments. Vnto some of these properties, the good
seruice which he did the king of England at Terwin
giueth pzoofe, at what time both he and his people
marched vnder the English ensigne, and receiued
pate as spendarie souldiours; whose wages the king
had a care to paie, as maie appeare by his coining
of silver monie, whereof was scarcitie in his campe,
in respect of gold, wherewith the souldiours were well
sized, as one doth verie well make report, saieing:

*Pro mercede nihil nisi fulsum soluitur aurum,
Auri militibus radiantis copia totis
Tanta fuit castris, ut rex condidisse coactus
Nummum ex argento fuerit.*

Altho as the emperor was dead, the French
king and the king of Spaine began manifestlie to
aspire to the empire, the purchase wherof albeit was
a matter of right great importance, and no lesse the
emulation running betwene two so mightie prin-
ces, yet they ordered their ambition with great mo-
destie, neither vsing words of iniurie, nor threats of
armes; but either one labouring by his authoritie,
& by his meanes, to draw on his side the electors. The
French king sundrie times reasoned touching the
election with great comelinesse with the Spanish
ambassadors, to whom he said it was a matter both
agreable and conuenient, that either of them seu-
rallie should sake by honest meanes to increase the
honour of his house by so great a dignitie: which for
that in times befoze had bene transferred into the fa-
milies of their predecessours, there was now the lesse
occasion to beare betwene them two matter of ini-
urie, nor diminution of their amitie and good will.

But rather he tolted, that in the action of the
empire, they might follow the example and order of
two yong louers, who albeit they follow the quest of
one labie, and either one labourer by his industrie to
carie hir; yet they forbere to come to contention. The
king of Spaine alladed with good right, that the em-
pire appertained to him, as hauing continued by a
long succession of time in the house of Austria, and
that it had not bene the custome of the electors to
deprive the issue of the emperor, without mani-
fest cause of their disability, neither was there anie
in Germanie of that puissance and authoritie to
make him equall to stand competitor with him in
that election. And least of all did he hold it iust or like-
lie, that the electors would transport to a fozeine or
strange prince, so great a dignitie continued by so
manie ages in the nation of Germanie.

And albeit some particular amongst them, ei-
ther through the insinuation of monie, or other pro-
prie of corruption, might be allured to another
intention, yet he hoped to stop him with force prepa-

red in time conuenient, not doubting also but the o-
ther electors also would opose against him, and the
princes and free towncs of Germanie would not in-
dure so brisuerfall an infamie, speciallie to suffer it
to be laid upon the person of the French king, which
would be no other thing than to make great the puis-
sance of a king entirie vnto their nation, and from
whome there was no suertie that the imperiall dig-
nitie would euer returne into Germanie: he thought
it would be an action easie to obtaine and reduce to
perfection, that which had bin solicited by his grand-
father, who had already compounded for recompen-
ses and donations, and other diuidents for euerie of
the electors.

On the other side, the desire of the French king
was as great, and no lesse were his hopes, which toke
their principall foundation vpon an opinion he had
to corrupt the voices of the electors with his huge
summes of monie: especiallie for that there were a-
mongest them both pensionaries to him, and other-
wise assured by manie god offices, who encouraging
him with the facilitie of the enterprise, pushed him on
to embrace it. And for his part, as mostall men are
apt to beleue the thing they desire, so he nourished
that hope with reasons rather apparant than true:
he knew that commonlie it was a matter grievous
to the princes of Germanie to haue the emperors
mightie; being gealous that in so great a puissance,
they would not either in part or in all, quarrell the su-
risdictions and authorities imperiall occupied by
manie of them. In which reason he perswaded him-
selfe, that they would in no sort consent to the election
of the Spaniard, & so of themselves to subiect them-
selues to an emperor more mightie than had bene
since a long descent and race of emperors. A matter
which in his person seemed to be qualified, for that ha-
uing neither estates nor ancient alliances in Ger-
manie, they had no occasion of suspicion of his great-
nesse.

The same reason also made him beleue well of
the conformitie of the free towncs, in whome much
lesse that the regard of the glorie of the nation would
carie it from him, seeing it would helpe to peise the
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10m. 520.

11. Reg. 11.

want to the duke of Buckingham: yet at length by
on his humble craving of mercie, still kneeling on
his knees before his grace, the king pardoned him
his offense: and likewise he pardoned the lord Ho-
ward, and sir Pat the Wroth, their offenses: but
because the lord Dgles matter concerned murder,
he remitted him to the common law. And then he
rose and went to his barge, and by the waie made
James Parford maior of the citie of London
knight, and so returned to Lambeth.

The French king desirous to continue the friend-
ship lately begun betwixt him and the king of Eng-
land, made meanes unto the cardinall, that they
might in some convenient place come to an inter-
view together, that he might have further knowlege
of king Henrie, and likewise king Henrie of him.
But the same went that the cardinall desired great-
lie, of himselfe, that the two kings might meet, who
mesuring by his will what was convenient, thought
it should make much with his glorie, if in France al-
so at some high assemblee of noble men, he should be
scene in his baine pompe and shew of dignitie: he
therefore breaketh with the king of that matter, de-
claring how honourable, necessarie, and convenient
it should be for him to gratifie his friend therein, and
thus with his persuasions the k. began to conceive
an earnest desire to see the French king, and there-
upon appointed to go ouer to Calis, and so in the
marshes of Guisnes to meet with him.

Then were there sent unto Guisnes, under the
rule of sir Edward Welknep three thousand artifi-
cers, which builded out of the earth on the plaine be-
fore the castell of Guisnes, a most pleasant palace of
timber, right curiouslie garnished without and with-
in. Herewith were letters writtten to all such lords,
ladies, gentlemen, and gentlewomen, which should
give their attendance on the king and queene, which
incontinentlie put themselves in a readinesse after
the most sumptuous sort. Also it was appointed that
the king of England, & the French king, in a campe
betwixt Ard and Guisnes, with eightene aides,
should in June next insuing abide all commers be-
ing gentlemen, at the tilt, at tourneie, and at barr-
ers, whereof proclamattion was made by Orleans
king of armes of France here in the court of Eng-
land, and by Clarenceur king of armes of Eng-
land in the court of France, and in the court of Bur-
gognie, and in diuerse other courts and places in Al-
manie and Italie.

During the time of these preparations, newes
were brought to the king, that Charles his nephue e-
lected emperor of Almanie, would shortly depart
out of Spaine by sea, and come by England to go
to Acon or Aip (a citie of fame and renowne in Ger-
manie, for the ancient residence and sepulchre of
Charlemaine) where he receiued the first crowne.
Wherefore the king hearing of this determination
of the emperor, caused great provisions to be made
at euerie haue, for the receiuing of his welbeloued
nephue and friend: & daillie provisions were made on
all sides for these noble meetings of so high princes:
and especiallie the queene of England, and the ladie
Dowager of France, made great cost on the appa-
rell of their ladies and gentlewomen.

On the first daie of Februarie being Candle-
masse euen, as the king and queene were come from
euen-song at there manour of Greenwich, before the
queenes chamber there blew a trumpet suddenlie,
and then entered into the queens chamber foure gen-
tlemen apparelled in long and large garments of
blew damaske bordered with gold, and brought with
them a trickie waggon, in the which sat a ladie rich-
lie apparelled, with a canopie ouer hir head: and
on the foure corners of the waggon were foure hed-

pieces called armites, euerie pece being of a sundrie
deuise. The said ladie put by a bill to the king, the ef-
fect whereof was, that the foure gentlemen present
would (for the loue of their ladies) answer all com-
mers at the tilt at a daie by the king to be appointed:
which daie was appointed at Shouetide next insu-
ing. At which daie the foresaid gentlemen ballantlie
accomplished their enterprisse, with great lauds of
the king, the queene, and the ladies.

Whereouer, now that it was concluded, that the
kings of England and France should meet (as yet
haue heard) they both the kings committed the order
and manner of these meetings, and how manie daies
the same should last, & what preheminence each
should giue to other, unto the cardinall of Yorke,
which to set all things in a certaintie, made an instru-
ment, containing an order and direction concerning
the premisses by him deuised and appointed.

The whole
manner of the
interview com-
mitted to the
cardinall.

The tenour of the said instrument

made by the cardinall.



Thomas archbishop of Yorke and
cardinall, &c. Atteir that by the
treatie and meeting of the right
high and right puissant princes,
Henrie by the grace of God, king of Eng-
land, and of France, lord of Ireland, my so-
ueraigne lord: and Francis by the same
grace, k. of France right chiftene, made
and concluded at London the eight daie of
October, the yere of our Lord one thou-
sand five hundred and eightene, be among
other things concluded and accorded, that
the same meeting shall be in place indiffe-
rent, and not subiect to any of the said prin-
ces. Wherefore we, considering the ho-
nour, profit, and utilitie, that shall rebound
by the interuiew of the said two princes,
and not onelie to the said two princes, their
realmes and subiects, but also to all chris-
tendome, after declaration hereupon had
with the said princes.

Ab. Fl. ex Ed.
Hall in H. 8.
fol. lxx.

Also considering that the said illustre
king of England my soueraigne lord, in pas-
sing the sea with his retinue, shall susteine
great costs and expences, and dispose him-
selfe to great labours and dangers, leauing
his realme and puissance for certeine time,
we haue thought & esteemed, that he should
not be wholie satisfied to the honour and
dignitie of the same, right illustre king of
England my soueraigne lord, and should
not haue in regard condigne of his labours
and dangers, if the said interuiew or mee-
ting after the first treatie shuld be in place
indifferent. Wherefore it is that we desi-
ring to weie equallie the honor and digni-
tie of the said two kings, by vertue and
power of the commissions to vs giuen, of
whom the tenours shall be hereafter de-
clared: we haue made, declared, and orde-
ned certeine articles accepted & approued
by the same princes respectiuelie, which
they will obserue, and by these presents we
make, declare, and ordeine as followeth.

And first we declare and ordeine, that
before the end of the moneth of Maie next
comming, the said illustre king of England
shall come personallie to the castle of Guis-
nes, with his bedfellow the queene, and his
litter

The first ar-
ticle of the in-
teruiew of the
two kings &
their trains.

Certaine of
the priue
chamber re-
moued, and
others in the
same appoint-
ed.

For the an-
swering of the
cardinall
of Yorke.

The king and
queene at the
meeting in the
bowet.

Archbail in
the court
called
Beaulieu.

A maske of
the grace and
ancient cour-
tiers.

A maske of
youthfull
courtiers.

The king and
queene in the
chamber
before in iudge-
ment.

after the Dowagere of France : & sembla-
ble the right christened k. of France, shall
come in person to his castle of Ard with the
quene & his mother : and some day, houre,
and time, within foure daies at the most,
after the end of Maie, that shall be assign-
ed by the commissioners of the one and
the other partie ; the said king of England
shall issue out of his castell of Guisnes half
a mile long, without that that he shall issue
out of the limits of his demain of Guisnes,
and shall come towards the said castell of
Ard : and there within the territorie of the
said castell of Guisnes, he shall rest in some
place not fortified nor walled, and nere the
limits of France : that the said commissio-
ners shall assigne (as aboue said.)

The manner of
their meeting
and mutuall
greeting.

And the said right christened king, par-
ting from his castell of Ard, shall come to-
ward the said king of England the same
day, place, time, and houre, that shall tarie
him within the demaine of Guisnes, as is
said. In the which shall not be set or dres-
sed anye pavilions or tents, and there the
said two kings being on horsebacke, with
their retinue shall see the one the other, and
salute each other, and speake together fa-
miliarly, and common in that sort and ma-
ner, and so long as shall seme to them good.
And after the said salutation and commu-
nication finished for that time, the said il-
lustre king of England shall returne to his
castell of Guisnes, and the said right chris-
tened king to his castell of Ard.

What both the
kings were to
do the mor-
row after the
first inter-
view.

Item, for so much that we thinke to be
satisfied touching the labours, dangers, &
honour of the said king of England, my so-
ueraigne lord of so much, that the said
right christened king at the first speaking,
he shall come forward vnto, and within his
territorie of Guisnes, we will keepe the ho-
nour of the said kings : & therefore declare
and ordeine, that on the morrow after the
first interuiew, the same kings shall meet
together in some fit place, indifferent be-
twene Ard and Guisnes, that shall be as-
signed by the said commissioners.

And after the salutation made on the
one and the other partie, the said right il-
lustre king of England shall go to the castell
of Ard, to see, salute, and visit the quene of
France, and also the sister of the said chris-
tened king, with whome he shall dine pri-
uily. And likewise the said right christened
king shall go to the castell of Guisnes, to
visit and salute the quene of England, and
the Dowagere of France, with whome he
shall dine. In the which places the said
princes shall be receiued familiarly and a-
miably, vnto mutuall loue, and also to the
honour of the said princes.

Order for
seats of the
natie and ac-
tuitie and the
place thereto
appointed.

Item, as the said serene princes of En-
gland & France, be like in force corporall,
beautie, & gift of nature, right expert & ha-
ving knowledge in the art militant, right
cheualcous in armes, & in the flower and
vigour of youth, whereby seemed to vs a right
assemble, that for to adorne and hono-
re the same assemble, and to shew their for-
ces in armes, they shall take counsell and
dispose themselves to do some faire feat of
armes, as well on foot as on horsebacke,
against all commers : we declare and or-
deine, that the place where shall be the said
fight and feat of armes, shall be chosen be-
twene Guisnes and Ard, and assigned by
the commissioners of the one and the other
partie.

And for a suertie of the persons of the
said kings & their companie, the said place
shall be apparellied, ditched, fortified, and
kept of the one and the other partie, by
equall number of men of armes, respectue-
lie committed and deputed that to do. And
during the time of the said iusts and feats
of warre, the same kings and quenes with
their retinue, shall see each other familiarly,
and conuerse and speake together. And e-
uerie daie towards the evening, after the
iusts, triumphs, bankets, & familiar com-
munications done, the said kings with
their retinue shall returne into their cas-
tles, that is to say, the king of England
into his castell of Guisnes, & the said right
christened king into his castell of Ard, and
thus they shall do daillie, during the said
fight and feat of armes.

Item, we declare and ordeine, that when
the same king of England and the quene
his bedfellow, & the Dowagere of France
his sister, with their retinue, shall go to the
territorie and entrie of the foresaid right
christened king, the superiortie and prehe-
minence shall be given to the said king of
England, to the quene his bedfellow, and
to their retinue respectuelie, during the
time that they shall tarie and be there : and
semblable when the said right christened
king, and the quene his bedfellow and his
right illustre ladie and mother, with their
retinue shall come to the territorie and en-
trie of the said illustre king of England, the
superiortie and preheminece shall be gi-
uen to the said right christened king, to the
quene his bedfellow, and to his mother,
and to their retinue during the time that
they shall continue and abide there.

Item, forsomuch as the castles and pla-
ces where the said interuiew shall be, be so
little and narrow, that if entrie and licence
to come thither be given to all them that
would go thither, diuers annoiances, trou-
bles & impechments should follow : wher-
fore it is so, that we the cardinall aboue
said, by these presents declare and ordeine,
that none of the retinue of the said kings,
quenes, or other lords and nobles, of what
estate, qualitie, or condition that he or they
be of, shall not come to the said assemble
with more great number of persons or
horse, than shall be written by letters sub-
scribed by the said kings : the which shall
containe the estates and conditions of the
persons, as well men as women, and num-
ber of seruants and horse, except the com-
mon consent and licence of the said kings.

Item, forsomuch as peradventure it
shall come that the said princes, lords, gen-
tlemen,

Order for
the princes
and all se-
nate going
comming.

Order for
the king of
England to
be given to
the king of
France
within the
French my-
nistris.

Order for the
king of En-
gland to be
given to the
king of France
within the
French my-
nistris.

The last
of this
treatie
of the ar-
mes
betweene
the king
of France
and the
king of
England.

Order for
the king of
France to be
given to the
king of En-
gland
within the
French my-
nistris.

Dem. 1529

Hen. Reg. II.

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Hen. Reg. II.

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Hen. Reg. II.

clermen, and household seruants, shall see and conuerle together familiarlie, to the end that it maie ingender betwene them an amitie more firme and stable, for that cause, and that more suertie and agreeable they may be together, as well by day as by night without any danger or feare, which we desire to prouide: we declare and ordeine that two gentlemen, with sufficient companie of equall like number, be committed and deputed, respectiuelie by the said kings for the keeping and suertie of the waies and watches, that shall be made continually during the assemble of the said kings. The which gentlemen, with their companies, shall ordeine and depute explozatoz and spies in the ballies, forrests, woods, towngs, burrowes, villages, castels, passages, and waies, and other places dangerous and suspect: from time to time, and houre to houre, as well towards Flanders, as Picardie, Artois, & England, to exploit and watch there.

And if anie be found suspect, them to repulle and take awaie, to the end that not onelie the said princes, their gentlemen, and household seruants, maie suertie and without feare visit the one the other, as said is: but also those that shall bring bitels necessarie to the said assemble, maie without danger, trouble, impechement, or noisance go and come: the which explozatoz shall be bounden euerie daie in the morning and euening, to make report to the said princes or to their said counsellors respectiuelie, of that which they found, and in what estate the waies be. We declare further and ordeine, that all men of armes and of warre, of the one and the other partie, shall not approch nearer than two iournies, to the place where the said interuiew shall be, except the retinue and men of war that be committed and deputed to keepe Bullongne and Calis: and that the same men of warre nor none other, during the assemble of the said princes, shall not presume to come nearer, vnlesse by the consent, accord, and licence of the said princes.

Item, we cardinall aboue said, by expresse authoritie and power to vs giuen, by these presents, bind the said princes to do, fulfill, and accomplish, all and euerie things aboue said herein contained. Finally, we declare and ordeine, that ech of the said kings on his partie, shall ratifie, confirme, and approue all and euerie the chapters and articles aboue said, by their letters pattents sealed with their hands. And by the same letters of ratification they shall be bounden, to accomplish with good faith and word of a king, all and euerie the things aboue said: the which letters made, subscribed, and sealed, as is said, they shall giue the one the other, and shall change in the cite of London, within one moneth next after the date of these presents. Made the twelue of March, the yeare of our Lord a thousand five hundred and ninetene.

The parties of the realme receiuing letters to prepare themselves to attend the king in this iournie, and no apparant necessarie cause expresse, why nor wherefore; seemed to grudge, that such a costlie iournie should be taken in hand to their importunate charges and expences, without consent of the whole boord of the counsell. But namelie the duke of Buckingham, being a man of a lustie courage, but not most liberall, fore repined that he should be at so great charges for his furniture forth at this time, saing; that he knew not for what cause so much monie should be spent about the sight of a vaine talke to be had, and communication to be ministered of things of no importance. Wherefore he sticke not to saie, that it was an intollerable matter to be such a vile and importunate person.

The duke indeed could not abide the cardinall, and speciallie he had of late conceived an inward malice against him for sir William Bulmers cause, whose trouble was onelie procured by the cardinall; who first caused him to be cast in prison. How such greuous words as the duke thus vttered against him, came to the cardinals eare; whereupon he cast before hand all waies possible to haue him in a trip, that he might cause him to leape headlesse. But because he doubted his friends, kinnemen, and alies, and cheslie the earle of Surrie lord admerall, which had married the dukes daughter, he thought good first to send him some whither out of the waie, lest he might cast a trumpe in his waie. There was great enmitie betwixt the cardinall and the earle, for that on a time, when the cardinall toke vpon him to cheeke the earle, he had like to haue thrust his dagger into the cardinall.

At length there was occasion offered him to compass his purpose, by occasion of the earle of Kildare his coming out of Ireland. For the cardinall knowing he was well prouided of monie, sought occasion to steere him of part thereof. The earle of Kildare being unmarried, was desirous to haue an English woman to wife; and for that he was a suter to a widow contrarie to the cardinals mind, he accused him to the king, of that he had not bozned himselfe byrightlie in his office in Ireland, where he was the kings lieutenant. Such accusations were framed against him when no bribes would come, that he was committed to prison, and then by the cardinals good preferment the earle of Surrie was sent into Ireland as the kings depute, in lieu of the said earle of Kildare, there to remaine rather as an erle, than as lieutenant to the king, euen at the cardinals pleasure, as he himselfe well perceived.

In the beginning of Aprill, the said earle passed ouer into Ireland, and had with him diuerse gentlemen that had bene in the garrison of Cornate, and one hundred peomen of the kings gard, and others, to the number of a thousand men, where he by his manhood and policie brought the earle of Desmond and diuerse other rebels to good consojmitie and order. He continued there two yeares, in which space he had manie bickerings and skintishes with the wild Irish. There rested yet the earle of Northumberland, whose the cardinall doubted also, lest he might hinder his purpose, when he should go about to weake his malice against the duke of Buckingham: and therefore he picked a quarell to him, for that he had seized vpon certeine wards which the cardinall said appertained of right to the king. And because the earle would not giue over his title, he was also committed to prison, & after toke it for a great benefit at the cardinals hands, that he might be deliuered out of his danger.

How in this meane while, the cardinall ceased not to bring the duke out of the kings fauour, by such

Great hatred betwene the cardinall, and the duke of Buckingham.

The earle of Kildare committed to ward.

Edw. Hall.

Good seruice done by the earle of Surrie.

Polydor.

The earle of Northumberland committed to prison.

such forged tales, and contrived surmises, as he da-
lie put into the kings head: insomuch that (through
the infelicitie of his fate) diuerse accidents fell out to
the auantage of the cardinall; which he not omit-
ting, achieved the thing whereat he so studiouse (for
the satisfiing of his cankered & malicious stomach)
laid full ayme. Now it chanced that the duke com-
ming to London with his traine of men, to attend
the king into France, went before into Kent unto a
manor place which he had there. And whilest he staid
in that countrie till the king set forward, greuous
complaints were exhibited to him by his farmers
and tenants against Charles Inceut his surerour,
for such bybing as he had vied there amongst them.
Whereupon the duke toke such displeasure against
him, that he depriued him of his office, not knowing
how that in so doing he procured his owne destruc-
tion, as after appeared.

Anno Reg. 12.

The king set-
teth forward
towards
France.

The kings maiestie perscuering in purpose to
meet with Francis the French king, remoned with
the quene, and all his court, the one & twentieth day
of Maie being mondaie, from his manor of Green-
wich towards the sea side: and so on the fridaie the
siue and twentieth of Maie, he arriued at the citie
of Canturburie, intending there to keepe his Whit-
suntide. On the morrow after, the emperor being
on the sea returning out of Spaine, arriued with all
his nanie of ships roiall on the coast of Kent, direct
to the port of Which the said daie by none, where hee
was saluted by the viceadmerall of England, sir
William Fitz William, with sir of the kings great
ships well furnished, which late for the safegard of
passage betwixt Calis and Douer. Towards eue-
ning the emperor departed from his ships, and en-
tered into his bote, and comming towards land, was
met and receined of the lord cardinall of Bozke with
such reuerence as to so noble a prince appertained.

The emperor
Charles the
sixt landeth in
England.

The meeting
of the emperor
and H. Henrie
at Douer
castell.

The emperor
and H. Henrie
keepe Whit-
suntide at
Canturburie.

Thus landed the emperor Charles the sixt at
Douer, vnder his cloth of estate of the blacke eagle,
all spread on rich cloth of gold. He had with him ma-
nie noble men, and manie faire ladies of his blood.
When he was come on land, the lord cardinall con-
ducted him to the castell of Douer, which was prepa-
red for him in most roiall manner. In the morning, the
king rode with all hast to the castell of Douer to wel-
come the emperor, and entering into the castell, a-
lighted. Of whose comming the emperor hauing
knowledge, came out of his chamber, and met him
on the staires, where either of them embraced other
in most louing maner, and then the king brought the
emperor to his chamber. On Whitsuntide earlie in
the morning, they toke their horses, and rode to the
citie of Canturburie, the more to keepe solemne the
feast of Pentecost: but speciallie to see the quene of
England his aunt was the emperor his intent, of
whome ye may be sure he was most iollie recei-
ued and welcomed.

Thus the emperor and his retinue, both of lords
and ladies, kept their Whitsuntide with the king and
quene of England, in the citie of Canturburie with
all ioy and iollie. The emperor yet him selfe seemed
not so much to delight in pastime and pleasure, but
that in respect of his youthfull yeares, there appea-
red in him a great shew of grauitie: for they could
by no means bring him to dance amongst the resi-
due of the princes, but onelie was contented to be a
looker on. Peraduenture the sight of the ladie Marie
troubled him, whome he had sometime loued, and yet
through fortunes euill hap might not haue hir to
wife. The chiefe cause that moued the emperor to
come thus on land at this time, was to perswade that
by word of mouth, which he had before done most ear-
nestlie by letters; which was, that the king should not
meet with the French king at anie interuiew: for

Polydor.

he doubted least if the king of England & the French
king should grow into some great friendship and
faithfull bond of amitie, it might turne him to dis-
pleasure.

But now that he perceined how the king was
forward on his iourne, he did what he could to pro-
cure, that no trust should be committed to the faire
wordes of the Frenchmen: and that if it were possi-
ble, the great friendship that was now in breeding
betwixt the two kings, might be dissolued. And for so-
much as he knew the lord cardinall to be loue with
rewards, as a fish with a bait: he bestowed on him
great gifts, and promised him much more, so that he
would be his friend, and helpe to bring his purpose to
passe. The cardinall not able to susteine the least as-
sault by force of such rewards as he presentlie recei-
ued, and of such large promises as on the emperours
behalf were made to him, promised to the empe-
rour, that he would so vse the matter, as his purpose
should be sped: onelie he required him not to disalowe
the kings intent for interuiew to be had, which he de-
sired in anie wise to go forward, that he might shew
his high magnificence in France, according to his
first intention.

The emperor remained in Canturburie till the
thursdaie, being the last of Maie, and then taking
leauie of the king, and of his aunt the quene, depart-
ed to Sandwich, where he toke his ships and sailed
into Flanders. The same daie, the king made saile
from the port of Douer, and landed at Calis about
eleuen of the clocke, and with him the quene and la-
dies, & manie nobles of the realme. His grace was
receined into the chequer, and there rested. The fourth
of June, the king and quene with all their traine re-
moued from Calis, to his princelie lodging netwile
created beside the towne of Guines, the most noble
& roiall lodging that euer before was seene. For it
was a palace, the which was quadrant, and euerie
quadrant of the same palace was three hundred and
twentie eight foot long of assise, which was in com-
passe thirtene hundred and twelue foot about. This
palace was set on stages by great cunning & sumptu-
ous worke.

At the entering into the palace before the gate, on
the plaine greene, was builded a fountaine of im-
bowed worke, gilt with fine gold, and dice, ingrailed
with antike worke: the old god of wine called Bac-
chus bierling the wine, which by the conduits in the
earth ran to all people plentiouslie with red, white,
and claret wine, ouer whose head was written in
letters of Romane in gold, Faicte bonne chere qui
voudra. On the other hand of side of the gate was
set a pillar, which was of ancient Romane worke,
bozne with foure lions of gold, the pillars was set in
a wreath of gold curiously wrought and intrailed,
and on the summit of the said pillar stood an image
of the blind god Cupid, with his bow and arrowes of
loue, readie by his seeming to strike the yong people
to loue.

The foregate of the same palace of place with great
and mightie masonrie by sight was arched, with a
tower on euerie side of the same port, rered by great
craft, and imbatelled was the gate and tower, and
in the fenestres and windowes were images resem-
bling men of warre, readie to cast great stones.
Also the same gate or tower was set with compa-
sed images of ancient princes, as Hercules, Alex-
ander, and other by intrailed worke, richlie limned
with gold and albine colours: and well and warlike
was made ouer the gate loupes, and inforced with bat-
telments, and in the same gate a lodge for the porter,
which there appeared, and other sumptuouslie ap-
parelled like unto kings officers. By the same gate
all people passed into a large court faire and beu-
tiful,

An. Dom. 1547.

An. Reg.

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Dom. 1520

Henrie the eight.

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that, for in this court appeared much of the outward
beautie of this place, for from the first water table,
to the raising of reist paces, were baite windowes,
on euerie side mixed with cleare stozies curioudic
glasse, the posses of moines of euerie window was
gilt.

Thus the outward part of the place lunnied the
eyes of the beholders, by real in of the sumptuous
worke. Also the towne of the gate (as seemed) was
bulld by great masonrie, and by great engine of
mans wit, for the sundrie countenances of euerie
image that there appeared, some shooting, some ca
sting, some readie to strike, and firing of gunnes,
which shewed verie honozablie. Also all the said qua
drants, baies, and collicies, were roiallie intrailed, as
saie as unto the same court appertained. And direct
against the gate was deuised a halpas, and at the
entrie of the faile, were images of foze and terri
ble countenances, all armed in curious worke of
argenture. The baie of the same halpas pendant by
craft of timber, & under it antike images of gold in
armored with verdoz of olifs cast in compasse, moun
taining their countenances toward the entring of the
palace. The faile of the said halpas was cast of pas
sage by the wents of hynde steps, so that from the
first foot to lowell step, anie person might without
paine go vnto the highest place of the same halpas.

On euerie hand was their chamber doores and
enterings into the chambers of the same palace,
which were long and large, and well proportioned, to
receiue light and aire at pleasure: the rofes of them
from place to place, and chamber to chamber were
sleed, and covered with cloth of silke, of the most
saie and quicke inuention that before time was
seene. For the ground was white ingrailed, embowed,
and batoned with rich clothes of silkes, knit and fret
with cuts and braids, and sundrie new castis, that the
same clothes of silke shewed like bultions of fine
burned gold: and the rofes in losenges, that in the
same rofe were in kindlie course, furnished so to
mans sight, that no lining creature might but loy in
the beholding thereof. For from the iaw pce of the
said sleing (which pce was gilt with fine gold) were
workes in pane paled, all the walles to the crest in
countering the cleare stozies, the same crest which
was of large deepnesse, the worke was antike knots
with bosses cast and wrought with more cunning
than I can write, all which workes and ouerages were
gilt, and to set it the more to the glorie, the flou
rishinge was comparable to the rich amell.

Also at the foot of the same palace was another crest
all of fine set gold, whereon hanged rich & maruelous
clothes of arras wrought of gold and silke, compas
sed of manie ancient stozies, with which clothes of ar
ras euerie wall and chamber were hanged, & all the
windowes so richlie covered, that it passed all other
sights before seene. In euerie chamber and euerie
place convenient were clothes of estate, great and
large of cloth of gold, of tissue, and rich emboderie,
with chaires covered with like cloth, with pommels
of fine gold, and great cushions of rich worke of the
Turkie making, nothing lacked of honoutable fur
nishment. Also to the same palace was reared a
chappell with two clofets, the quire of the said chap
pell sleed with cloth of gold, and thereon fret ingrai
led bent clothes of silke, all was then silke and gold.
The altars of this chappell were hanged with rich re
uerse of cloth of gold and tissue, & embowered with
perles.ouer the hie altar was hanged a rich canopie
of maruelous greatnesse, the altar was apparelled
with fine paire of candlesticks of gold, and on the al
tar an halpas, and thereon stood a crucifix all of fine
gold, and in the same halpas stood twelue images of
the bignes of foure peares of age, all gold.

All the copes and vestments were so rich as might
be prepared or bought in the cite of Florens, for they
were all but of one pce, so woven for the purpose,
cloth of tissue and powdered with red rofes purpled
with fine gold. The vestris set with pearles and pre
cious stones. And all the walles and desces of this
chappell were hanged with right cloth of gold, & three
rich great croffes were there readie to be borne at
festiual times, and basens and censers, gospellers,
pares, crewets, holie water vessels, and other orna
ments all of gold. Also in the first closet was a tra
uerse for the kings person of cloth of gold, & in it his
place & chaire, with cushions of cloth of gold: before the
traverse was an altar of presence, which altar was
adorned with cloth of broderie, and rich pearles and
precious stones, set in goldsmiths worke of fine gold.
On the altar was a deske or halpas, whereon stood a
patible of the crucifix of fine gold, with an image of
the Trinitie, an image of the virgine Marie, and
twelue other images, all fine gold & precious stones,
two paire of candlesticks of fine gold, with the ba
sens, crewets, pares, and other ornaments.

The said closet was hanged with tapets embro
dered with rich worke fret with pearles and stones,
the rofe of the same closet was sleed with worke of
inmouled, gilt with fine gold, and senoper, and bise.
The second closet was for the queens person, in which
was a traverse of rich cloth of gold, the altar so richlie
appareiled, that there lacked neither pearles nor
stones of riches. On the altar were twelue great
images of gold, the closet hanged with cloth of gold,
all other iewels misfall I suppose neuer such like
were seene, and the rofe of the same closet was sleed
with like worke that the kings closet was, as is be
fore rehearsed. And from this palace or place into the
mightie & strong fortresse & castell roiall of Gulesnes,
was a gallerie for the secret passage of the kings
person into a secret lodging within the same castell,
the more for the king ease. Also to this palace was all
houses of offices, that to such an honourable court
should appertene, that is to wit, the lord chamberlein,
lord steward, lord treasurer of the household, for the
comptrolloz, the office of greene cloth, wardrobes,
setwell house, and office of household seruice, as chibrie,
pantrie, cellar, butterie, spicerie, picher house, larder
and poultrie, and all other offices so large and saie,
that the officers might & did maruell, as in the craft
of biands, by ouens, harthes, terebores, chimnies,
ranges, & such instrumens as there were ordeined.

In this palace (as ye haue heard) was the kings
grace lodged, and all the nobles after their degrees.
And for that the towne of Gulesnes was little, and
that all the noble men might not there be lodged,
they set vp tents in the field, to the number of twen
tie and eight hundred sundrie lodgings, which was a
goodlie sight. Thus was the king in his palace roiall
at Gulesnes. Francis the French king was with
all his nobles of the realme of France come to the
towne of Ard, which was prepared for his coming,
manie tents, halles, and pavillions were set and pit
ched in the field. On the French partie also there
was at the same towne of Ard bullded the French
kings lodging full well, but not finished. Such was
the prouision in Picardie on euerie part thorough
all. The French king commanded his lodging to be
made a little out of the towne of Ard, in the territo
rie of an old castell, which by the warre of old time
had bene beaten. On the same place was edified a
house of solace and sport, of large and mightie com
passe, which was cheslie susteined by a great mightie
mast, whereby the great ropes and tackle streined,
the same mast was staied. All the rofe of the same
house hving on the same mast, and with tackle was
streined & borne by the supporters of the same mast

Great cost byd
popish trau
perie & super
sticious trash.

The kings
closet.

The queens
closet.

A princie
gallerie.

Houses of of
fices both ho
nourable and
otherwise
necessarie.

Tents
erected.

A banketting
house for so
lace and dis
port.

or tree, the colours of the same was all blew, set with
starres of gold foile, and the ojs of the heavens by
the craft of colours in the rose, were curiously
wrought in manner like the skie or firmament, and a
cressant strained some deale towards the towne of
Ard, this cressant was covered with frets and knois
made of iute bushes, and boy branches, and other
things that longest would be graine for pleasure.

Now like as diuerse of the French nobilitie had
visited the king of England whilst he laie in Calis,
so likewise the lord cardinall, as ambassadour to
the king, rode with a noble repaire of lords, gentle-
men, and prelates, to the towne of Ard, where he was
of the French king highlie interteined, with great
thanks, for that by his meanes hee had ioined in
friendship with the king of England, to his high con-
tentation and pleasure, as hauing obtained the thing
which he had long desired. The noble port, sumptuous
dew, and great traine of gentlemen, knights, lords,
and number of seruants, in rich apparell & suites of li-
ueries attendant on the cardinall, made the French
men greatly to wonder at his triumphant doings.

The king of England had giuen vnto the said
cardinall full authoritie, power, and libertie, to as-
sirme and confirme, bind and vnbind, whatsoeuer
should be in question betwene him and the French
king: and the like authoritie, power, and libertie, did
the French king by his sufficient letters patents,
grant to the same cardinall, which was accepted to
be a signe of great loue, that he should commit so
great a trust vnto the king of Englands subiect. The
date of the meeting was appointed to be on the thurs-
daie the seauenth of June, vpon which daie the two
kings met in the vale of Andren, accompanied with
such a number of the nobilitie of both realmes,
so richlie appointed in apparell, and costlie iewels, as
chaines, collars of S.S., & other the like ornaments
to set forth their degrees and estates, that a wonder
it was to behold and view them in their order and
rowes, which euerie man kept according to his ap-
pointment.

The two kings meeting in the field, either saluted
other in most louing wise, first on horsebacke, and
after alighting on foot embraced with courte-
ous words, to the great reioicing of the beholders:
and after they had thus saluted ech other, they went
both together into a rich tent of cloath of gold, there
set vp for the purpose, in the which they passed the time
in pleasant talke, banquetting, and louing deuises, till
it grew toward the euening, and then departed for
that night, the one to Guisnes, the other to Ard. At
this meeting of the two kings in open sight, I then
well perceived (saith Hall) the habillements of all
of the French king. His garment was a chemise, of
cloath of siluer, culponed with cloath of gold, of da-
maske, cantell wise, and garded on the borders with
the Burgon bands.

ouer that he had a cloake of broched sattin, with
gold of purple colour, wrapped about his bodie tra-
uerse, beded from the shoulder to the waist, fastned in
the loope of the first fould: this said cloake was richlie
set with pearles and precious stones. This French
king had on his head a coiffe of damaske gold set with
diamonds, and his courser that he rode on was co-
uered with a trapper of tisse, brodered with deusse,
cut in fashion mantell wise, the skirts were embow-
ed and fret with frized woike, and knit with cor-
belles & buttons tasseled of Turkie making, rainces
and headfall answering of like woike: and verelie
of his person the same Francis the French king, a
godlie prince, statelie of countenance, merie of
chere, browne coloured, great eyes, high nose, big
lipped, faire breasted, broad shoulders, small legges, &
long feet.

On saturday the ninth of June, in a place with-
in the English pale were set vp in a field called the
campe, two trees of much honour, the one called the
Aubefine, that is to saie, the hawthorne in English,
for Henrie: and the other the Framboiser, which in
English signifieth the raspis berie, after the signi-
fication in French. These trees were curiously
wrought, the leanes of graine damaske, the bran-
ches, boughs, and withered leanes of cloath of gold;
and all the bodie and armes of the same cloath of
gold laid on timber: they were in height from the
foot to the top thirtie foure foot of assize, in compasse a-
bout an hundred twentie and nine foot, & from bough
to bough fortie three foot: on these trees were flowers
and fruits in kindlie wise, with siluer and Venice
gold: their beautie shewed farre.

On the same daie the two kings came to those
trees of honour, noble accompanied, in such roial
sort as was requisite. The campe was in length nine
hundred foot, and in breadth three hundred and twentie
foot, ditched round about (sauiing at the entrie) with
broad and deepe ditches. Diuerse scaffolds were reared
about this campe for the ease of the nobles. On
the right side of the field stood the queene of England,
and the queene of France, with manie ladies. The
campe was stronglie railed and barred on euerie
end: in the entrie there were two lodgings prepared
for the two kings, wherein they might arme them-
selues, and take their ease. Also in the same compasse
there were two great cellars couched full of wine,
which was liberallie bestowed on all men. The two
kings, as brethren in armes, undertooke to deliuer
all persons at iusts, tournie, and barriers.

With these two kings were associate by the order
of armes, the duke of Wandoline, the duke of Sul-
folke, the countie saint Paule, the marquisse Dor-
set, monsieur de Roche, sir William Kingston, mon-
sieur Brian, sir Richard Feringham, monsieur Ca-
uaen, sir Giles Capell, monsieur Buccall, master
Nicholas Carew, monsieur Pontafilion, and mas-
ter Anthonye Kneuet. On mondaie the eleuenth of
June, the two queenes of England and of France
came to the campe, where either saluted other right
honourable, and went into a stage for them prepa-
red. At the houre assigned, the two kings armed at
all paces mounted on horsebacke, and with their
companies entered the field; the French king on a
courser barbed, couered with purple sattin, broched
with gold, & embrodered with corbins fethers round
and buckled, the fether was blacke and hatched with
gold: on his head peece he bare a fleur-de-lis. All the par-
teners of the French kings challenge were in like ap-
parell, euerie thing correspondent in cloath of silke
embrodered, on his person were attendant on horse-
backe noble persons, and on foot foure persons all ap-
parelled in purple sattin.

The king of England was vpon a fresh courser,
the trappers of cloth of gold, of tisse, the arlon man-
tell wise, and on the hount of the trapper bard fashion,
cut in waues of water woike, and euerie waue row
wrought and frized with damaske gold: this woike
was laid lose on russet veluet, and knit together with
points of gold, which waues signified the lordship
of the narrow seas. All the parteners of the kings
challenge were in the same sute, their horses as well
as their persons. Attendant on the king on horse-
backe were sir Henrie Guilford master of the kings
horse, sir John Dechie depute of Calis, sir Edward
Guilford master of the kings armie, and monsieur
Sporet of the French court. All these foure were appa-
relled in the kings luerie, which was white on the
right side, and the left side gold and russet both hose
and garment: on him were attendant on foot sir ho-
nourable knights, twentie squiers, and officers to the

The great
pompe of car-
dinall wolfe.

Great credit
committed to
the cardinall
by both the
kings.
The inter-
uue of the
two kings in
the vale of
Andren.

Edw. Hall, in
H. 8. fol. lxxvij.
The French
kings roial
ornaments.

The descrip-
tion of the
French kings
person.

An. Dom. 1534.

An. Reg.

The two
kings enter
into the field.

The length
of the campe

The two
kings make
challenge to
all commons
at iusts, &c.

The two
queenes met
at the campe.

Ed. Hall, in
fol. lxxvij. &c.
The French
kings rich-
ness at this
iusts.

The king's
English
sumptuous
furniture of
the same
iusts.

The attire of
the French
king and his
parteners of
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The two
kings enter
the field.

The king of
England and
the king of
France.

The king of
France and
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England.

The king of
France and
the king of
England.

the number of an hundred and twelue persons, of the which number all the knights and gentlemen had coats, the one halfe siluer, and the other cloath of gold and russet beluet, and the other officers coats were of right sattin of the same colour, and all their hosen were of the same sute verie costlie.

Thus with honour and noble courage these two noble kings with their companies entered into the field, and then presented vnto the quenes. After reuerence done, they rode round about the tilt, and so toke their places appointed, abiding the answers: which was for the first the duke of Alanfon and ten men of armes on his band, on courfers barbed, the barbs couered with white and blacke beluet, fastenee the one within the other, garded with Burgon bands of tinell sattin, as well their garments as their barbs. Then entered on courfers barbed twelue gentlemen of the band of the lord aduerall of France, their garments and barbs were russet sattin, broched with gold and white and purple sattin, after the deuise of their pleasure with great plumes. When these bands were entred the field, they shewed themselves about the tilt, and did reuerence vnto the quenes. The band of the duke of Alanfon toke first place, they made them prest on both sides, the French king was the first that ran, he did valiantlie and bryke speares mightlie.

Then ran the king of England to monsieur Cranbeulle with great vigo; so that the speares bryke in the kings hand to the vantplate all to shivers. And at the second course he gaue the said monsieur Cranbeulle such a stroke, that the charnell of his headpiece, although the same was verie strong, was broken in such wise that he might run no more, wherby the king wanted thre courses. Then ran the duke de Glanshine, & met his counter part right noble, and bryke speares right valiantlie. The noble duke of Suffolke charged his course, and met right valiantlie his counter part, and furnished the five courses right noble together like good men of armes. And when all parties of the chalenge had right valiantlie furnished their courses, then ran againe the two noble kings, who did so valiantlie, that the beholders had great ioy, after which courses the heralds cried Desamee, and the trumpets sounded to lodging.

On tuesdaye the twelue of June at houre conuenient the two quenes toke their stages, and the band of chalenge in the field prest to answer and deliuer all commes, to whome came ten gentlemen armed on barbed horsse of the band of monsieur de Salons, their barbs and apparell cloath of beluet full of friers knots siluer. After they had presented them vnto the quenes, then they toke the end of the tilt, and so course after course they ran to the chalengers right agerlie, and the chalengers of the partie of the two kings deliuered to the end of their articles of iusts. Then entered eleuen men of armes of the band of monsieur de Tremoiell, on horsse barbed with yellow beluet, losenged with friers knots of blacke beluet: and after they had saluted the quenes, they likewise toke the end of the tilt, and course after course ran vntill they were deliuered of their chalenges of iusts. Valiantlie this daie was finished.

On wednesdaye the thirteenth of June, the two hardie kings armed at all peeces, entered into the field right noble apparelled. The French king and all his parteners of chalenge were arrayed in purple sattin, broched with gold and purple beluet, embrodered with little rolles of white sattin, wherein was written, Quando: their barbs & garments were set full of the same, and the residue where was no rolles were powdered & set with the letter elle, as thus. L. which in French is she, which was interpreted to be, Quando

elle, when she: and insuing the deuise of the first daie, it signifieth together, Hart fastened in paine endles, when she. The king of England with all the band of parteners of his chalenge were likewise on horsse barbed, apparelled in trappers of losenges russet beluet and cloath of siluer of damaske, embrodered and set in euerie losenge a branch of eglantine of gold, the apparell of the persons were of the same correspondant to the trapper. This eglantine tre is sweet, pleasant and greene, if it be kindlie and frendlie handled; but if it be rudelie dealt with, it will picke and he that will pull vp the whole tre by the top, his hands will be hurt.

The two kings with their companies thus apparelled, presented themselves to the quenes, and so toke the end of the tilt. Then entered into the field monsieur Leskelw called lord Leskin, with him came eleuen men of armes, himselte the twelue on horsse barbed and richlie apparelled, and so rode about the tilt and saluted the quenes, and toke the end of the tilt. Monsieur de Leskelw and his eleuen companions had their bases and barbs all of blacke cloath of gold of damaske all cut on blacke sattin, their garments had mantell sleeves on the left arme, to the wast behind iust to the shoulder, which was praised for the strangeness. The French king ran to monsieur de Ambois, one of the band of monsieur Leskelw, and the king of England charged his course and ran to monsieur Leskelw, and so furnished their courses (as they saie) right noble and valiantlie in bryaking speares that were strong. Thus course after course ech with other, his counter partie did right valiantlie: but the two kings surmounted all the rest in prowess and valiantnesse.

This band thus furnished, entered the marquesse de Salons and his band, twelue persons all riding on courfers barbed and apparelled in white sattin and blacke, broched with gold and siluer, with cuts and culpins much after talunie and blacke sattin billots: & after reuerence done to the quenes, they toke the end of the tilt. To the marquesse de Salons ran the king of England, and the king of France to an other of the same band, still course after course ran all the noble men, till the marques de Salons and his band were deliuered, who bare them right valiantlie: then blew the trumpets the retreat, & the two kings then unarmed and after departed, the French king vnto Ard, and the king of England to his castell of Guisnes.

On thursdaie the thirteenth daie of June by the nonetide the two quenes met in the campe & toke their places, the people were come to behold the honour, and to see the two kings, who all readie armed entered the field, to receive and deliuer all men by answer of iusts. Then entered the earle of Denonshire, on his band the lord Montacute, lord Herbert, lord Leonard Greie, maister Arthur Poole, maister Francis Wyan, maister Henrie Morris, and four other all richlie apparelled, the one side blew beluet embrodered with a mans heart burning in a ladies hand holding a garden pot skilling with water on the heart: the other side was white sattin embrodered with letters of gold. This companie rode about the tilt, and did reuerence to the quenes, and so abode at the end of the same.

The earle of Denonshire charged his speare, and the French king likewise charged his course to meet the same earle, and ran so hard together, that both their speares bryke, and so mainteined their courses noble. Then ran the king of England to monsieur de Mozanais, and him encountered, & both bare together and gaue great strokes; the kings most noble grace neuer disloozed nor breathed vntill he ran the five courses & deliuered his counterpartie. Dukes, marquesses,

The king of England and the parteners of his chalenge.

Monsieur de Leskelw.

The marquesse de Salons & his band.

The two kings armed enter the field.

A deuise of concept.

The lord Howard and his eleven companions in armes.

marquesses, knights, esquires, and others ran as fast as euer they might, there was none that abode when the courtes came, untill the earle of Downshire and his band were deliuered of demands. Then entered the lord Howard sonne to the duke of Suffolke and eleven companions apparelled and barbed in crimsin sattin full of flames of gold, the borders ribbed with crimsin beluet, and with much honoz (after due reuerence done to the quenes) were brought with heralds of armes about the tilt; and so toke the place to them appointed: right rich was their apparell.

Then ran the French king and encountered the same lord Edmund, they brake both their staves valiantlie course after course, the encounter ceased not till they had furnished their five courtes; so was the lord Edmund deliuered by the French k. Then ran the king of England to a strong gentleman named Hase Brooke and brake his speare, and ran course after course, untill he had finished his courtes right noble and like a prince of most valiancie. The residue ceased not untill they had ech deliuered other of their challenge. On fridaie the fiftenth daie of June the king of England mounted on a courser rosall, his person armed at all peeces, his apparell and trappers was the one side rich cloath of gold of tisse, the other side cloath of tisse of siluer, and cloath of gold of tisse entered round the one with the other.

The ound is a worke wauiing vp & downe, and all the borders as well trappers as other was garded with letters of fine gold, and all the other side that was cund was set with signes called cifers of fine gold, the which were set with great and orientall pearles. The cifers signified letters knit together in a knot, which was to wit; God my friend, my realme and I maie. This was the deuise and reason thereof. All the kings band were apparelled in like apparell. The French k. likewise armed at all points mounted on a courser rosall, all his apparell as well bardes as garments were purple beluet entered the one with the other, embroidered full of little booke of white sattin, & in the booke were written *Ame*. About the borders of the bardes and the borders of the garments a chaine of blew like iron, resembling the chaine of a well or prison chaine, which was interpreted to be *Liberty*, a booke. Within this booke was written (as is said) *Ame*. But these two together and it maketh *Liberty*. The chaine betokeneth prison or bonds, and so maketh together in English, *Deliver me of bonds*. Then they toke the end of the tilt.

Readie was monsieur Flozengis and with him twelue men of armes with courfers barbed: the bardes and apparell was crimsin beluet, tabornie beluet, and plunket beluet embroidered bordertwise with shepheards hookes of cloath of siluer. When they with honoz had passed about the tilt (due reuerence to the quenes and ladies done) the two kings had their speares readie, and then began the rushing of speares. The king of England this daie ran so freshly and so manie courtes, that one of his best courfers was dead that night, this band was deliuered man after man of their pretense of iusts. Then entered bands of monsieur de Kambeurs and monsieur de Duis, ech hauing eleven persons in number, the one band all white sattin embroidered with blacke, and the other all blacke dopped with siluer drops; who after reuerence done to the quenes, at the end of the tilt toke their places. Then began a new encounter hard and sore, manie of them bare great strokes of the kings, to their honour: and with such violence they ran, as they set their hollies in a sweating heat, and themselves meeting with full force made the fragments or broken peeces of their staves mount aloft in the air like an arrow out of a bow; as the poet saith;

Hasta fridentis fracta petit aethera cuspis.

On saturday the sevententh daie of June, the French king with a small number came to the castle of Gules about the houre of eight in the morning. The king being in his pstate chamber had therof knowledge, who with glad hart went to receiue the same French king, and him met and welcomed in friendly and honozable maner; and after communcation betwene them had, the king of England departed, leauing the French king there in the sumptuous place before named. Then was busie the lord chamberleine, the lord steward, and all other officers, to make readie feast and cheare. It were too long to rehearse all, for such a feast and banquet was then made, that of long time before the like had not bene scene. The king of England thus departing, he toke his horse, and with a companie of noblemen rode to Ard, where the French quene and other noble men receiued him with much honoz.

After which receiuing, he was by the said quene and lords brought into a chamber hanged with blew beluet embroidered with flowers belice of cloth of gold, wherein was a great bed of like worke, from whence he was conueied to another chamber, in the which was a kings state. This chamber was hanged and felled with cloth of gold, embroidered with great cordels or friers knots of cloth of siluer. In the same chamber were two suppers, on either side one, furnished with great and goodlie plate gilt. Noble feasting and cheare was there made. After dinner the ladies dressed them to danse, and certeine yong honozable lords of England, apparelled after the maner of Rusland or farre Castland, whose hosen were of rich gold sattin called anreat sattin, ouerrolled to the knee with scarlet, and on their feet shoes with little plies of white nailes after the Castland guise, their dublets of rich crimsin beluet and cloth of gold, with wide sleeves lined with cloth of gold: over this they had clokes of crimsin beluet short, lined with cloth of gold, on euerie side of the clokes rings of siluer, with laces of Venice gold, and on their heads they had hats made in the towne of Danke, and purses of seales skinnies, and girdels of the same: all these yong lords had visards on their faces, and their hats were dyalline with like hatbands full of damaske gold.

Other ten lords were apparelled in long goines of blew sattin of the ancient fashion, embroidered with reasons of gold that said *Adieu iunesse, faye well youth*: they had tippets of blacke beluet, & hats hanging thereby, & on their heads hie violet standing caps, and girdels of silke, and purses of cloth of gold after the ancient maner, with visards on their faces of like anciencie. After all these triumphs and baneries, great store of spices, fruits, iellies, & banking viands were brought, which being done and ended, the king toke leaue of the French quene and ladies, to whome were brought thirtie horses trapped in damaske, white and yellow, and so passed he and his traine the towne of Ard into the field and campe. Right rosallie also was the French k. interlined, and all other after their degree and state. Now when all this solemnitie was ended, the French king toke leaue of the quene and ladies of the court. The lord cardinall in statelie attire, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and other great lords, conducted forward the French king, and in their way they encountered and met the king of England and his companie right in the ballie of Anderne, apparelled in their masking apparell, which gladdened the French king. After reuerence done, the said two kings departed for that night, the English to Gules, and the French to Ard.

On mondaie, the eightenth of June, was such

The king of England and his band with their deuise on their apparell.

The French king, his furniture and deuise upon his ornaments.

Monsieur Flozengis and his companie.

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Series.

The cardinall
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The French
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Gules.

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The French king commeth to Guisnes, the king of Englande the city is 370.

The king of Englande one of the French quene.

Amoke w the French court of Engle, his lordes.

The king of Englande one of the French quene.

The king of Englande one of the French quene.

The king of Englande one of the French quene.

The king of Englande one of the French quene.

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The king of Englande one of the French quene.

The king of Englande one of the French quene.

The king of Englande one of the French quene.

The king of Englande one of the French quene.

an hideous storme of wind and weather, that manie coniectured it did prognosticate trouble and hatred shoulde after to follow betwene princes. On tuesdaie the nineteenth of June, the two kings came to the campe againe armed at all peeces, and there abode them that would come, so that then began the iustes atfoth. On wednesdaie the twentieth of June, the two kings began to hold tourneys with all the parteners of their challenge armed at all peeces. The quene of France and the quene of England were in the places for them prepared, and there was manie a goodlie battell performed: the kings doing as well as the best, so that the beholders spake of them honoz. On thursdaie the one and twentieth of June, the two kings likewise kept the tourneys, so that all those noble men that would pzeue their valiances, were deliuered according to the articles of the tourneys, which this daie toke end. On fridaie the 22 of June, the two kings with their retinue did battell on foot at the barriers, and there deliuered all such as put forth themselves to trie their forces. On saturday the thre and twentieth of June, the lord cardinal sang an high solemne masse by rote, aloft vpon a pompous stage before the two kings & quenes, the which being finished, indulgence was giuen to all the hearers. The two kings dined in one chamber that daie, and the two quenes in another. After dinner, the two kings with their band entered the field on foot before the barriers, & so began the fight, which continued battell after battell, till all the comers were answered. There were deliuered this day thus at the barriers by battell, an hundred and six persons: the two last battells did the kings trie. And so that saturday the whole challenge was performed, and all men deliuered of the articles of iustes, tourneys, and battells on foot at the barriers, by the said two kings and their aids.

After this, there followed roiall maskes, and on the sundae the four and twentieth of June, the king of Englande with foure companies, in euerie companie ten, trimlie appointed in masking apparell, rode to Ard: and likewise the French king accompanied with eight and thirtie persons as maskers repaired to Guisnes. They met on the waie, & each companie passed by other without any countenance making or dissembling. They were honozable received, as well at the one place as the other. And when they had ended their pastime, banketting, and dances, they returned and met againe on the way homeward, and then putting off their visards, they louinglie embraced: and after amiable communication together, they toke leave each of other, & for a remembrance gaue gifts either to other verie rich and princelie.

¶ During this triumph, much people of Flanders and west Flanders drew to Guisnes, to see the king of England & his honoz, to whom vittels of the court were giuen in plentie, the conduit of the gate did run wine alwaies. There were vagabonds, plowmen, labourers, and of the bragerie, wagoners and beggers, that for drunkenness late in routs and heapes. So great resort came thither, that knights and ladies, who were come to see the noblenesse, were faine to lie in haie and straw, and held them thereof highlie pleased. From the court of the emperor, noz of the ladie Margarets court, noz of Flanders, Babant, noz Burgognie came neuer a person to answer to the challenge. By that it seemed that there was small loue betwene the emperor & the French king. Moreover, monsieur Faiot capteine of Bullogne with monsieur Chastellon, did their deuoir to haue taken the towne of saint Omer, of which doing was thought no goodnesse to the emperor.

On mondaie the five and twentieth of June, the king with the quene removed from Guisnes to Calis,

lis, where he remained till the tenth of Julie, on which daie he rode to Graueling, and was received on the waie by the emperor, and so by him conueied to Graueling, where not onlie the king, but also all his traine was cheered and feasted, with so louing manner, that the Englishmen highlie praised the emperours court. [When the French king and his lordes had knowledge of the meeting of the emperor and the king of England in the towne of Graueling, they were therewith greatlie grieved, as by manie things appeared. For as the Englishmen were in France bidained, and in their sutes there greatlie deferred, and had little right, and much lesse fauour: so from day to day still more and more began hartburning, and in conclusion open warre did arise betwene the two realmes.]

On Wednesday the eleuenth of Julie, the emperor and his aunt the ladie Margaret duchesse of Sauoy came with the king of England to the towne of Calis, and there continued in great ioy and solace, with feasting, banketting, dancing and masking untill the fourteenth of Julie. ¶ For the interteining of these estates (the English lords and gentlemen displaced of their lodgings to serue the other and their traine) there was builded a banketting house eight hundred fot compasse, like a theatre, after a goodlie deuise, builded in such maner as (I thinke) was neuer scene, with firtene principals made of great masse, betwixt euerie mast foure and fiftie fot, and all the outsidcs closed with boyd and canuas.

Ouer it, and within round about by the sides, were made thre scaffolds or lofts one above another for men and women to stand vpon. And in the midst of the same banketting house, was set by a great pillar of timber made of eight great masses, bound together with iron bands, for to hold them together: for it was an hundred and foure and thirtie fot of length, and cost six pounds thirtene shillings and foure pence to set it vpight. The banketting house was couered ouer with canuas, fastened with ropes and iron as fast as might be deuised. And within the said house was painted the heauens, with starres, sunne, moone, and clouds, with diuerse other things made about ouer mens heads: and there were great images of wickers couered, and made like great men of diuerse strange nations: and diuerse reasons were written by them of the countries that they likened to be of, with the armes of those countries hanging by them.

Also there was made as it were manie ships border saile, and windmills going, and about the high pillar of timber that stood vpight in the middell, was made stages of timber for organs and other instruments to stand vpon, and men to plaie on them, & for other musicians & pageants to be plaied, when the la. of England & the emperor should be at their banket. But in the morning of the same day, the wind began to rise, & at night blew off the canuas, and all the elements, with the starres, sunne, moone, and clouds, and the wind blew out about a thousand torches, and other lights of war, that were prepared to giue light to the banket, & all the kings seats that were made with great riches, besides all other things, were all dashed and lost.]

The same daie at night that the states were interteined, the king and fiftene persons were appailelled all in blacke velvet couered with cloth of gold, cut on the velvet, fastened with knots of gold, on the which knots hong spangles of gold like tufts, and bonnets of the same, & cloches of crimson sattin and cloth of gold wrapped trauerse, and their bullkins of the same cloth of gold. All these lustie maskers went to the emperours lodging, and were received,

The king Henrie departed from Guisnes to Calis, & from thence to Graueling to visit the emperor. Ed Hall in H. 8. folio 17.

The emperor commeth to Calis to king Henrie.

Abr. Fl. ex l. 8. pag. 927. Banketting house without the towne of Calis. Ra. Turpin.

Goodlie workes manhip within the banketting house.

Banketting house defaced by tempest.

A statelie mask to solace the emperor & his companie.

and in the chamber of presence dined and reuelled, the which at the emperours request, the king and other disuisarded themselves, whereby the king was knowne: then the king took his leaue, and departed for that night. On tuesdaye the twelue of Julie, because the banquetting house could not be finished, the emperour and the ladie Margaret supped with the king & the queene at the checker, where the same night after supper reuelled ninetie and six maskers: after the reuels was a banquet, after which banquet the king brought the emperour and the ladie Margaret to the staple, and after withdrew him.

This night were eight companies of maskers, and in euery companie twelue persons all in gold, silver and velvet, richly apparellled, but because the rowne was small, the shew was the lesse. In these reuels were put in maskers apparell diuerse gentlemen of the French court bntweting to the k. or anie other that bare rule. For diuerse yong gentlemen of the French court fauored more the French partie, than the emperours partie; through which meanes they saw and much more heard than they should haue done. On fridaie the thirtenth date of Julie, the emperour did intend to haue departed from Calis, but the counsell was such that he departed not that night.

On saturdaye the fourteenth of Julie, the emperour took his leaue of the queene of England his aunt, and departed toward Graueling, being conducted on his waie by the king of England, to a village towards Flanders called Wiaell, and there they imbraced and took their leaue either of other in most louing maner. They did not altogether spend the time thus while they were together, in vaine pleasures, and sporting reuels; for the charters before time concluded were read ouer, and all the articles of the league tripartite, agreed betwixt the emperour, the king of England, and the French king, were at full declared, to the which the French king had fullie considered. And for the more profe thereof, and reimplification of the same, he sent monsieur de Roch with letters of credence to signifie to the emperour, that in the word of a prince he would obserue, fulfill, performe and keepe all the same articles, for him, his realme and subiects. Shortlie after that the emperour and the king had taken leaue each of other, and were departed, the king shipped, and with the queene and all other the nobilitie returned safelie into England.

The king kept his Christmas at Greenwich this yeare, with much noblenesse and open court. And the tenth date of Februarye, in his owne person, iusted with all commers. On Twelue daie his grace and the earle of Denonshire, with foure aids, answered at the touraine all commers, which were sixtene persons: noble and rich was their apparell, but in feats of armes the king excelled the rest. About this time the king hauing regard to the common welth of his realme, considered how for the space of fiftie yeares past and more, the nobles and gentlemen of England, being given to grasur of cattell, and keeping of sheepe, had inuented a meane how to increase their pearle reuenues, to the great decaye and vndowing of husbandmen of the land. For the said nobles and gentlemen, after the maner of the Spaniards, more studieng how to increase their pastures, than to mainteine tillage, began to decaye husband tacks & tenements, and to conuert arable ground into pasture, furnishing the same with beasles and sheepe, and also dere, so inclosing the field with hedges, ditches, and pales, which they held in their owne hands, ingrossing woulles, and selling the same, and also sheepe and beasles at their owne prices, and as might stand most with their owne pinate commoditie.

Hereof a threefold euill chanced to the common wealth, as Polydor noteth. One, for that thereby the number of husbandmen was sore diminished, the which the prince vseth chiefe in his seruice for the warres: another, for that manie towncs and villages were left desolate, and became ruinous: the third, for that both wolle and cloth made thereof, and the flesh of all maner beasles used to be eaten, was sold at far higher prices than was accustomed. These enormities at the first beginning being not redressed, grew in short space to such force and vigour by euill custome, that afterwards they gathered to such an vnited force, that hardly they could be remedied. Such like a disease, which in the beginning with little paine to the patient, and lesse labour to the surgeon maie be cured; whereas the same by delaye and negligence being suffered to putrifie, becommeth a desperate force, and then are medicines nothing available, and not to be applied, according to his opinion that said:

*Helieborum frustra (cum iam cutis egratunescit)
Pocentes videas: venienti occurrere morbo.*

The king therefore causing such good statutes as had bene deuised and established for reformation in this behalfe, to be reuiued and called vpon, took order by directing forth his commissions vnto the iustices of peace, and other such magistrats, that presentment should be had and made of all such inclosures, and decaye of husbandrie, as had chanced within the space of fiftie yeares before that present time. The iustices and other magistrats, according to their commission executed the same. And so commandement was giuen, that the decayed houses should be built by againe, that the husbandmen should be placed effcones in the same, and that inclosed grounds should be laid open, and soe punishment appointed against them that disobeyed.

These so good and wholesome ordinances the cardinal after were defeated by meanes of bybys giuen vnto the cardinal: for when the nobles and gentlemen, which had for their pleasures imparied the common fields, were loth to haue the same againe disparted, they redeemed their vexation with good summes of monie; and so had licence to keepe their parks and grounds inclosed as before. Thus the great expectation which men had conceiued of a generall redresse, proued void: howbeit, some profit the husbandmen in some parts of the realme got by the mowing of this matter, where inclosures were already laid open, yer mistresse monie could procure them; and so they inioied their commons, which before had bene taken from them.

After that this matter for inclosures was thus dispatched, the cardinal boiling in hatred against the duke of Buckingham, & thirsting for his blood, deuised to make Charles Kneuet, that had bene the dukes surueior, and put from him (as ye haue heard) an instrument to bring the duke to destruction. This Kneuet being had in examination before the cardinal, disclosed all the dukes life. And first he offered, that the duke was accustomed by waie of talke, to saie, how he meant so to vse the matter, that he would attaine to the crowne, if king Henrie chanced to die without issue: & that he had talke and conference of that matter on a time with George Peuill, lord of Aburgauernie, vnto whom he had giuen his daughter in marriage; and also that he threatned to punish the cardinal for his manifold misdoings, being without cause his mortall enimie.

The cardinal hauing gotten that which he sought for, incouraged, comforted, and procured Kneuet, with manie comfortable words and great promises, that he should with a bold spirit and countenance obiect and laie these things to the dukes charge, with more if he knew it when time required. Then Kneuet

French gentlemen in maskers apparell bntweting to them that bare rule in the reuels.

The king returned into England.

1534

Polydor.

An inconuenience of turning arable ground into pasture.

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1. Dom. 1521

An. Reg. 13.

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other, that chiefie went about to crosse the cardinall
in his lordlie demeanour, & headie proceedings. But to
the purpose. Shortly after that the duke had bene in
dared (as before ye haue heard) he was arreigned in
Westminster hall, before the duke of Suffolke, be
ing made by the kings letters patents high steward
of England, to accomplish the high cause of appeale
of the pères or pères of the realme, and to discern
and iudge the cause of the pères.

There were also appointed to sit as pères and
judges upon the said duke of Buckingham, the duke
of Suffolke, the marques Dorsset, the earls of Wor
cester, Devonshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Dr
glow, and Derby, the lord of saint Johns, the lord de
la Mare, the lord Fitz Warren, the lord Willough
by, the lord Wake, the lord Cobham, the lord Ver
bert, and the lord Dorsset. There was made within
the hall at Westminster a scaffold for these lords,
and a preele for a iudge, railed and counterrailed
about, and barred with degrees. When the lords had
taken their place, the duke was brought to the barre,
and upon his arreignment pleaded not guiltie, and
put himselfe upon his pères. Then was his indict
ment read, which the duke denied to be true, and (as
he was an eloquent man) alledged reasons to falsi
fie the indictment; pleading the matter for his owne
iustification verie pithilie and earnestlie. The kings
attourneie against the dukes reasons alledged the
examinations, confessions, and proofes of witnesses.

The duke desired that the witnesses might be
brought forth. And then came before him Charles
Laueet, Derke, de la Court, & Hopkins the monke
of the priorie of Charterhouse beside Bath, which
like a false hypocrite had induced the duke to the trea
son with his false forged prophesies. Diuerse pre
sumptions and accusations were laid vnto him by
Charles Laueet, which he would faine haue couered.
The depositions were read, & the deponents deliuered
as prisoners to the officers of the Tower. Then spake
the duke of Suffolke, and said: My lord, the king
our soueraigne lord hath commanded that you shall
haue his lawes ministred with fauour and right to
you. Wherefore if you haue anie other thing to say
for your selfe, you shall be heard. Then he was com
manded to withdraue him, and so was led into Parla
ment, a house so named. The lords went to counsell a
great while, and after toke their places.

Then said the duke of Suffolke to the duke of
Suffolke, What say you of sir Edward duke of Buc
kingham touching the high treasons? The duke of
Suffolke answered: He is guiltie: & so said the mar
ques and all the other earls and lords. Thus was this
prince duke of Buckingham found guiltie of high
treason, by a duke, a marques, seuen earls, & twelue
barons. The duke was brought to the barre fore cha
sing, and sweet marnellouslie; & after he had made his
reuerence, he paused a while. The duke of Suffolke
as iudge said: Sir Edward, you haue heard how you
be indicted of high treason, you pleaded thereto not
guiltie, putting your selfe to the pères of the realme,
which haue found you guiltie. Then the duke of Suff
olke wept and said: You shall be led to the kings pri
son, and there laid on a hardle, and so draue to the
place of execution, and there be hanged, cut downe
allue, your members cut off and cast into the fire,
your bowels burnt before you, your head smitten off,
and your bodie quartered and diuided at the kings
will, and God haue mercie on your soule, Amen.

The duke of Buckingham said, My lord of Suff
olke, you haue said as a traitor should be said vnto,
but I was neuer anie: but my lords I nothing ma
ligne for that you haue done to me, but the eternall
God forgive you my death, and I do: I shall neuer
sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious

prince, and more grace may come from him than I
desire. I desire you my lords and all my fellows
to pray for me. Then was the edge of the axe turned
towards him, and he led into a barge. Sir Thomas
Lowell desired him to sit on the cushions and carpet
ordained for him. He said nay; for when I went to
Westminster I was duke of Buckingham, now
I am but Edward Bohune the most caitife of the
world. Thus they landed at the Temple, where recei
ued him sir Nicholas Tawse & sir William Sandes
baronets, and led him through the citie, & desired
euery the people to pray for him, of whom some wept
and lamented, and said: This is the end of euill life,
God forgive him, he was a proud prince, it is pittie
that he behaued him so against his king and liege
lord, whom God preferue. Thus about foure of the
clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower.

On fridaie the fuententh daie of Maie, about
eleuen of the clocke, this duke of Buckingham, earle
of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, with a
great power was deliuered to John Keime & John
Shenington shiriffes, who led him to the scaffold on
Tower hill, where he said he had offended the kings
grace through negligence and lacke of grace, and de
sired all noble men to beware by him, and all men to
pray for him, and that he trusted to die the kings true
man. Thus meekelie with an are he toke his death.
Then the Augustine friers toke his bodie, and head,
and buried them. Alas that euery the grace of truth
was withdraue from so noble a man, that he was
not to his king in allegiance as he ought to haue
bene! Such is the end of ambition, the end of false
prophesies, the end of euill life, and euill counsell; but
spectallie the end of malice, which grew to so huge and
monstruous a fire in the haucie hart of the proud car
dinall, that nothing could asswage it, but the blood of
this noble duke, against whom he had procured this
procede in iudgement ended with the execution of
death: the tormentes whereof were (as it seemeth by
the sentence of the iudge) much diminished through
the mercie of the king.

For though his offense was traitorous, and
therefore deserued as law had prouided, and the iudge
defined; yet in respect of the offenders person, the
kings fauor dispensed with the rigor of iudgement,
so that he was beheaded onelie, and his bodie not
dismembred. This duke had begun a great and
sumptuous building at his manor of Thornburie,
but left the same unfinished. He made a faire parke
hard by the same building, for the which he toke in
much and fruitfull ground. Also another parke at
Castwood, one mile off, he enlarged at two times to
the compasse of six miles, for the which deed, and such
like, he had manie a curle of the poore tenants. At
the time of his death (no doubt) his conscience (gi
uing in greater euidence than 10000 witnesses) told
him whether he was iustlie condemned or no, for a
mans dieng day is as a bill of information, putting
him in mind of his life well or ill spent, as one saith:

*peffora terribili cum mors ferit horrida telo,
Quomodo vita tibi sit prius acta scies.*

Gu. H. in eccl.
cap. 11.

A conuenient collection concerning
the high constables of England, which office
ceased and tooke end at the duke of
Buckingham aboue mentioned.



The death of this duke of Buckingham, being the last constable of England, doth
present apt place to me wherein to insert
the names of all such honorable persons
as haue bene inuessed with that title of the consta
bleship of England, an office of great account, & such

The duke of
Buckingham
beheaded on a
scaffold at
Tower hill.

Abr. Fl. ex l. 3,
pag. 929.
Iohn Leland.

The collection
of Fr. Thin in
this page 1585.

as sometime was the chiefe place of a temporall subiect in the realme the (high steward excepted) whose power did extend to restraine some actions of the kings. Wherefore being now no such office (for there was neuer anye advanced thereunto since the beheading of this duke) I thinke it not bnniet to make some memorie of those persons possessing to high a place, least both they and their office might hereafter grow in vtter obliuion: these therefore they were.

Alfgarus
Stallere.

Alfgarus Stallere, constable to Edward the Confessor, of whome thus writeth the historie of Elie in the second booke written by Richard of Elie a monke of that house, in the time of Henrie the second, whose words although they be somewhat long, I shall not graue to set downe in this sort. *De famosa villa Estre, alio nomine Plasie vocata, dicendum est quam miserè ab Elie est destrata. Alfgarus quidem Stallere, quod Latine dux dicitur, eam inuasi, & viciu esse. Abbas vero Wulficus & fratres, cum sedulo frustrarequirerent, Edwardum Confessorem adieunt, cui rex mandauit, ut restitueret: sed ille regis iussu nequaquam obtemperauit. Fratres autem, cum nec prece nec precio eius animum flectere potuissent, anathematizant eum, nec sententiam super eum vlla die pratermittunt.*

Quod ille diutius paripendens, licet magnus & potens in regno esset (viti regis constabularius) ab ecclesia eliminatus, & fidelium consortio ad correptionem (vix iam cunctis desubilis effectus) compulsum peruenire, tandem plurimum oburgatus & correptus à rege) reuersus est in se, & prece tandem nititur obtinere quod iniqua manu cunctatus non est. Illi vero hoc cognoscentes, illi annunt, demiserunt ei (quamuis ad suum incommodum) ita ut iureiurando postipsum vitam ab omni suorum inquietudine libera ad ecclesiam possessione rediret. Quod quidem factum est, & scripto Anglici sermonis designatum. Testes rex Edwardus & regina, &c. Which man (after the death of king Edward the Confessor and Harold the blurper) was when the Normans entered England, as saith the said historie In ergastulo plurimis alijs ferro astrictus usque ad mortem.

Walter of
Gloucester.

Walter constable of England in the time of William the Conquerour, and of William Rufus succeeded Alfgarus. Here (before I saie anye more) I thinke it not amisse to set downe somewhat touching William Fitz Osberne, or Osbert earle of Hereford, whome manie will haue to be constable in the time of the Conquerour: which truelie I can not as yet be led to beleue. For although that this William was the onelie man, who both persuaded, incouraged, and procured aid of others to assist William Conquerour for the obtaining of England; and that this man was (as we commonlie saie) the onelie right hand, cheefe compeller, and disposer of the kingdome, after that William the Conquerour had obtained the same, being also *Tribunus militum* of all the armie that William Conquerour led into England, and the man that persuaded the bishop of Sambozow to compound for the title of the king of Denmarke made vnto England: yet I suppose him not to be constable, but onelie marshall of England; or at the least if he were, it could not be verie long. For that this earle was extreme old, departed the realme, and disposed all the affaires of the Norman bastard beyond the seas, and died about the yeare of our redemption 1072, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of William Conquerour.

Spilo of Here-
ford.

Spilo the sonne of the said Walter, an enimic to king Stephan (who yet confirmed him in his fathers inheritance) was advanced first to great honors by Henrie the first: who meeting Maud the emperesse at Bissoto, and taking hir for lawfull queene, did continuallie follow hir faction: for which the, in the first yeare of king Stephan, to honour him for his good seruice (as appeareth by the charter thereof) gaue him

the earldome of Hereford, constablership of England, the castell of Wironell, & the forest of Deane. He was lord also of Breckenocke. He translated the chanons of the monastere of Saint Iohnis of Lanthonie, in the yeare of our redemption 1103, being the fourth yeare of king Henrie the first, to a place nere Gloucester, then called Hide, and since Lanthonie; as Iohn Stow hath well noted out of other authors.

10 He married Sibilla the daughter of Bernard de Wymarch, a nobleman of Normandle, who obtained by conquest the lordship of Breckenocke: by whome he had issue five sonnes and three daughters. The sonnes were Roger; Walter, Henrie, William and Mabaell. His three daughters were, Margaret, married to Humfrey Bohune; Bertha the second was married to Philip Buse, created by king Stephan lord of Buse; Colver, Bauld, & Wymbles, and in his wifes right lord of Breckenocke; Lucia married to Herebert the sonne of Herebert, base sonne to Henrie the first, who was (in his right) lord of the forest of Deane: he died in the eight or (as others haue) the ninth yeare of king Stephan, being the yeare of our redemption 1143.

William (the sonne of Walter Beauchampe) thirthe of Worcester, was made high constable of England by king Stephan, in the fifth yeare of his reigne, being in the yeare of our redemption 1139, when the king was at Worcester: which honour he toke from Miles of Gloucester; as saith that painefull antiquarie Iohn Stow in his chronicle printed in the yeare of our Lord 1580, fol. 191.

30 Roger the sonne of Spilo succeeded his father in all his inheritance, as well of the earldome, as otherwise: whereby he was in time following also constable of England, and (as it is most probable) restored to that office by Henrie the second; for that he was a great enimic to king Stephan. He luent amongest others with Henrie Fitz Emperesse to Dauid king of Scots, who knighted the said Henrie in the foureteenth yeare of king Stephan: he married Cicilie the daughter of Iohn Fitz Paine, and died without issue.

40 Walter second sonne to Spilo, after the death of his brother Roger was earle of Hereford, constable of England, and lord ouer Swenthie or Wenthe: he builded in the time of Henrie the first the castles of Gloucester, Bissow, and Rochester, with the Tower of London: he held the land of Wenthe by long time, who hauing no heire of his bodie gaue the same land to Henrie of Hereford, and for taking the world toke monastical habit on him at Lanthonie, where he was buried, dieng without issue.

50 Henrie of Hereford the sonne of Spilo, after the enterance of Walter his brother into religion, was earle of Hereford, constable of England, and lord of Breckenocke and Deane; who was in Wenthe at a conflict slaine by his owne men, and buried at Lanthonie with Walter the constable: after whose death Henrie the second deputed Jago ap Seisell to the custodie of the land of Wenthe.

60 William the sonne of Spilo, and brother to Henrie of Hereford, was constable of England, after the death of his brother, and died without issue.

Mabaell the yongest sonne of Spilo, after the death of William, was constable of England, who died without issue: whome I feare not to place as constable, since all histories agree that all the sons of Spilo did successfullie intoie that office, after whome the inheritance comming to their sister, whereof the eldest called Margaret (or Margerie) was married to Humfrey Bohune, which line of the Bohones became afterwards constables of England by inheritance.

Henrie

1521
An. Reg. 13.

Humfrie de Bohune, steward to Henrie the first, (the sonne of Humfrie de Bohune, steward in house to William Rufus, sonne to Humfrie de Bohune that came in with the Conquerour) was (in the right of his wife Margerie one of the daughters and heire of the foresaid spile) constable of England; he had issue Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune, constable of England, married Margaret sister to William king of Scots and daughter to the earle of Huntingdon, mother to Canon earle of Britaine: he had issue Henrie. This Margaret died the third of king John, being the yeare of Christ 1201. And this Humfrie also died in the time of king John, as some haue: or rather (as others haue) in the time of king Richard the first.

Henrie de Bohune, the sonne of the said Humfrie and Margaret, was the first earle of Hereford of that name of the Bohunes, contrarie to that recelud error, which hitherto hath made the other Bohunes earle of Hereford: and contrarie to the printed pedigree of the deceased father of the earle of Essex now living. For this man, being the first erle of the Bohunes, was made earle of Hereford in the first yeare of king John, as the charter doth witness. He was also constable of England, and married spawd, the daughter and heire of Cestrie lord Luogarsall sometime earle of Essex, in whose right his husband was intituled to that honoz of the earldome of Essex, by whome he had issue Humfrie his heire. He died about the fourth yeare of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1220, in his iourne as he went to Jerusalem with other noble men.

Humfrie de Bohune sonne of Henrie, being the second of that name that was erle of Hereford, was also earle of Essex and constable of England, being by all men termed La bone counte de Hereford. He married spawd the daughter of the earle of Erie in Poymandie, he had issue Humfrie de Bohune that was taken in the yeare of Christ 1265, being the fourth of king Henrie the third at the battell of Cuesham, and died in the life of his father, leaving behind him a sonne called Humfrie, heire to him and to his father, which Humfrie the father died in the yeare of our redemption 1275, being the third yeare of king Edward the first.

Humfrie de Bohune the third earle of Hereford of that name, the sonne of Humfrie Bohune slaine at the battell of Cuesham, was after the death of his grandfather erle of Hereford and Essex, and constable of England, he married spawd de Ferens, or Frenis, and had issue Humfrie, this earle died in the yeare of our redemption 1298, being the twentieth first of Edward the first, & was buried at Malden with his wife spawd.

Humfrie de Bohune the fourth erle of Hereford of that name, was earle of Hereford, Essex, and constable of England, he married Elizabeth the daughter to king Edward the first, and widow to John earle of Holland, he had issue John erle of Hereford, Humfrie earle of Hereford, and William earle of Northampton. This Humfrie taking part with Thomas earle of Lancaster was slaine at Worobridge by a Welshman standing under a bridge that thrust him thorough with a speare, in the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1321.

John de Bohune the eldest sonne of this Humfrie, being the first earle of Hereford, was after the death of his father earle of Hereford, Essex, and constable of England, he married the daughter of Edmund Fitz Alen earle of Arundell, and died without issue in the yeare of Christ 1335, being the ninth yeare of king Edward the third. He was buried in the ab-

beie of Stratford besides London.

Humfrie de Bohune first earle of Hereford, being brother to John de Bohune, whome he succeeded, was after the death of his brother earle of Hereford and Essex, and constable of England, he died without issue in the yeare of our Lord 1361, being the thirtieth first of king Edward the third, and was buried at the Augustine friers in London.

William de Bohune seventh erle of Hereford of that surname, being the sonne of the other Humfrie and brother to the last Humfrie, was at a parlement holden in the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of our Lord 1336, created earle of Northampton, and after the death of his brother Humfrie, he was earle of Hereford and Essex, and constable of England. He was in the eighteenth yeare of Edward the third, being the pere of Christ 1344, sent into Britaine as generall ouer the English armie, to restore John de Montford to the dukedome of Britaine: which he did, putting Charles de Blois to flight. He married Elizabeth some late Cleanor, one of the daughters and heires of Bartholomew Bladefinere baron of Bedes in Kent, by whome he had issue Humfrie.

Humfrie de Bohune, the eighth & last erle of Hereford of that surname of Bohune, was after the death of William his father earle of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, and constable of England. He augmented the castell of Brecknoche, first built by Bernard Selwarch. He in the eight and twentieth yeare of Edward the third (as John Stow noteth) being the yeare of Christ 1354, reedified the frier Augustines church in London, in which he was buried. He married Jone the daughter of Richard Fitz Alen erle of Arundell, by whome he had issue two daughters and heires, Cleanor the eldest, married to Thomas of Woodstocke: and Marie the second, married to Henrie of Bolingbroke, after king of England, by the name of king Henrie the fourth.

Thomas of Woodstocke the first sonne to king Edward the third, was created earle of Buckingham, in the first yeare of Richard the second at his coronation, being the yeare of our Lord 1377, and after duke of Gloucester, in the eight yeare of Richard the second 1385. He married Cleanor eldest daughter of Humfrie Bohune (as before) in whose right he was earle of Essex, Northampton, and constable of England, besides which he was also lord of Brecknoche. He had issue one son & foure daughters: his sonne was Humfrie erle of Buckingham, whom R. Richard (after the murdering of his father at Calis) sent into Ireland, where he remained as prisoner untill the time of king Henrie the fourth; which called him home: who returning into England, died of the plague without issue at Chester: after whome his mother lived not long. Of whose death thus writeth that worthy poet sir John Gower knight, living at that time, in his booke of the historie of Richard the second, and Henrie the fourth, commonlie taken as part of his worke intituled & named, Vox clamantis.

Interea transiit moriens nec in orbe remansit,
Humfredus dictus reddidit illo Deo benedictum,
Defuncto nato cito post de fine beato,
Mater transiit dum nati funera saeuit,
Primo decessit Cignus, dolor unde repressit
Matrem cum pullo sibi mors nec paruit in ullo.

The foure daughters, heires to Thomas of Woodstocke & their brother Humfrie, were Anne the eldest, married to Edmund Stafford erle of Stafford, who had issue Humfrie erle of Stafford, Hereford, & Northampton, lord of Brecknoche, &c: which Anne after the death of erle Stafford, married the second time marie William viscount Southhampton, created erle of Ewe in France: the second daughter was Philip,

Humfrie de Bohune.

William de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Thomas of Woodstocke.

The duke of Gloucester, because the swan was his cognizance.

lip, which died without issue: the third Zou, was married to Gilbert lord Talbot: the fourth Zabel, was a religious person at the Monachies in London. The duke of Gloucester was murdered at Calis about the yeare of Christ 1398, being the 22 yeare of Richard the second, touching whose life and death, with the manner thereof, thus writeth the said sir John Gower, in the same booke intituled *Vox clamantis*:

*O quoniam fortuna stabilis non permanet una,
Exemplum cuius fiat in ordine carminis huius,
Rex agit, & Cygnus patitur de corde benignus,
Ille prostratus non est de rege levatus,
Ad plebsque captus tunc est velut hostia raptus,
Rex iubet arma geri, nec eo voluit misereri,
Cum sponsa nati lugent quasi morte gravati,
Plura lupo scuit rex dummodofamina fleuit,
Nil pietas munit quem tunc manus inuida punit,
Rex sterit obliquus nec erat tunc vnus amicus,
O regale genus, princeps quasi pauper egenus,
Turpiter attractus iacet & sine iure subactus,
Sunt ibi fautores regis de sorte priores,
Qui Cygnum pendunt, ubi captum ducere tendunt,
Sic ducendo ducem, perdit sine lumine lucem,
Anglia quae tota tenebrefcit luce remota,
Trans mare natauit, regnum qui semper amauit,
Fleunt centum mille, quia Cygnus praeterit ille,
Calisy portus petit unde dolus laetis ortus,
Error quem regis genuit putredine legis,
Carcere conclusus subit fuit ille reclusus,
Nescit quo sine sit vita sine ruina,
Tunc rex elatum sumpsit quasi fulco volatum,
Vnde suas gentes perdit custode carentes.*

A little after which followeth these verses, touching the deniall of buriall to be granted vnto him among the rest of his honourable and roiall ancessors:

*Sic nece deuictum, sic corpus ab hoste relictum,
Clam de conclauis, susceperat Anglia nati,
Per mare regredietur, corpus nec adhuc sepelitur,
Namq; sepulturam, defendit rex sibi puram,
Desuper a latere, patris loca iusta repare,
Dummodo quiescit, vix bassa sepulchra subiuit.*

Of the manner also of whose death the said sir John Gower hath set downe these three following verses:

*Hec quam vultorum quidam de sorte malorum,
Sic ducis electi plumarium pondere lecti,
Corpus quassatum ingulanta ne am ingulatum.*

His wife Elenor died the third of October, in the yeare of our redemption 1399, being the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, and was buried at Westminister on the south side of king Edward the third with this epitaph:

*Icy gift Elenor de Bohune aysne fille & vn des
heyres a honorable seigneur monseigneur Hum-
phrey de Bohune, countie de Hereford, & de Essex,
& de Northampton, & constable d'Anglitterre, fem-
me a puissant & noble prince Thomas Woodstocke,
fitz a tres excellent & trespuissant seigneur Edward
roy d'Anglitterre plus le coquest tierce, duc de Glo-
cester, que morust tierce iours de October lan du
grace 1399, de que alme Dieux fait mercy.*

Edward
Plantagenet.

Edward Plantagenet sonne to Edmund of Langley, was by Richard the second created earle of Arundell, and duke of Albemarle, who being constable of England arrived in the three and twentieth yeare of Richard the second, and in the yeare of our Lord 1399 in Ireland, to bring aid to the king being there in warre. Of this man is more liberall discourse in my following treatise of the dukes of England.

Henrie Persie

Henrie Persie lord Persie, the first lord, and the first earle of Northumberland of that name, was advanced to that honourable title of earle at the coronation of king Richard the second, in the yeare of our redemption 1377. He was made high constable

of England by Henrie the fourth, then elected but not crowned king of England, because the said earle did giue that ring to the king whereby he was incorporated to the kingdome of England, to whom also the king gaue the gle of man to beare the sword with which he entered the realme. He in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1403, rebelled against the king: but after coming to the king vpon sending for, he was pardoned his life, but committed to safe custodie. After which, in the sixth yeare of that king, he was at a parlement holden at London restored to his estate and dignitie, who the yeare following, being the first of Henrie the fourth, and the yeare of Christ 1405, againe rebelled, and after fled into Scotland, to Dauid lord Fleming who receiued him, and in the seventh yeare of Henrie the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1506, as saith John Stow.

This Dauid persuaded the erle to die into Wales, for which cause the Scots slue the said Dauid. After this, in the ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth, he came into England, raised the people, and was slaine at Bowneham nere to Haselwood, in a conflict had with him by Thomas Kockleie shiriffe of Northshire. He married two wiues, the first was Margaret daughter to Rafe lord Penill, by whom he had issue Henrie Persie, surnamed Hotspurre (slaine at the battell of Shrewesburie in the fourth yeare of Henrie the fourth in his fathers life) Thomas and Rafe. His second wife was Mauid, daughter to Thomas lord Lucie, and sister and heire to Anthoine lord Lucie baron of Cockermonth, being before the widow of Gilbert Humfreuill called the earle of Angus. His ladie Mauid gaue to hir husband the lordship and castell of Cockermonth, whereby the earles of Northumberland are bound still to beare the armes of Lucie.

John duke of Bedford the sonne and brother of John the first king, so he calleth himselfe in the precept to summon Reginald lord Greie, & sir Edward Hastings knight, to determine the controuersie for bearing of the armes of Hastings earle of Penbroke in the marshals court) was earle of Richmond and Bedford, and constable of England, being advanced to that office about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth his father, being the yeare of our redemption 1406, of whom there is more mention in the following discourse of the protectors of England.

Humfrie earle of Stafford, Hereford, and Northampton, lord of Breconke, Holdernesse, and of Cambridge, and constable of England, and of Dover castell, in the eight yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1430, went into France with Henrie the first to attend his coronation at Paris. He was created duke of Buckingham in the two and twentieth yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1444. He was slaine at the battell of Northampton in the eight and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1460. He married Anne daughter to Rafe Penill erle of Warmerland: he had amongst manie other of his children Humfrie his eldest sonne earle of Stafford, but (as hath John Stow) with an arrow in the right hand at the battell of saint Albons in the three and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1455, of which battell of saint Albons thus writeth John Whethamsted a learned abbat of Batheley:

*Dum Maximus madidus flos saepuit inbrilys anfractis
in olibus & Zephyrus resouerat statibus arboris
Flora uelut regnans herbas ditauerat hortus
Post glacies inopes hoc fecerat & locustides
Et in peditis stilbon praedonibus undiq; regnum
Repleuerat nimis, sic laetis & asseratissos
Vt villam tandem captus peruenisset istam*

Dom. 15.

Reg. 13.

*Horum numerus quod vix euaderet unus,
Quia pluvium lueret, spoliantes vel trepidaret.
Accidit ex causa spolatio tam gravis ista,
Mors celi dominus fuerat tunc, et foror eius
Interius domina belli Bellona vocata,
Vnde malum multis signanter partibus istis
Contigit, et bellum fuit istis grande peractum,
Sanguis et effusus multus, dux est ingulatus
Illiis pigna que fertur causa fuisse.
Bello finit, strepitu quoque pacificato,
Indultum est prede, predones quippe fuere
Pictores omnes, nulli quasi compatiens.
Tunc rex, tunc proceres, tunc villani quod plures,
Ac alij varij fuerant rebus spolijati,
Attamen ecclesia simul ecclesia bona cuncta
Intus que fuerant sub clausura iacebant,
Manferunt salua nec ei res defuit ulla.
Latus igitur domino, laus in specie patris,
Cuius per media stabant sua singula salua,
Saluus et in cunctis simul abbas frater et omnis.
Spiritus ille bonus sine fallo spiritus abbas,
Ad villam regem qui direxit venientem
Illius ad mediam, nec tunc permisit ipsam
Ecclesiam petere, conferuauit sua quaque.
Sed patronus erat qui pro monachis mediator,
A raptoe locum suum seruauit, et omnem
Ipsius ornatum fedari nec fuit ipsam.
Sirex intrafret, secum ducem sociasset,
Palas ecclesie parissent cuncta rapine,
Nec poterat furas quisquam compescere plebis.
Lus igitur domino, rursus rursus patrono,
Suar bonis se suo saluum munimine soluit.
Salua supposita sua salua loca cuncta.*

John Tiptoth or Tiptost knight, the son of John lord Tiptost, and of Joice his wife, second daughter to Edmund Charlston lord Polwes, was treasurer of the realme in Michaelmasse tearme in the tenth yere of Henrie the fourth, after which he was againe admitted to that office in the one and thirtieth and two and thirtieth yere of Henrie the first, from which place being once more remitted, he was the third time aduanced to the honoz of lord treasurer of England in the second of Edward the fourth, and continued the same in the third of the said king. He was created earle of Worcester in the time of king Henrie the first. This man in the yere 1470, being the tenth of king Edward the fourth, toke his part against the duke of Clarence, and Richard Beuill earle of Marwike, at what time the said duke and earle being discomfited, fled to the sea side, and thence sailed to Southhampton, where they thought to haue had the Trinitie a great ship of the earle of Marwikes; but the lord Seales the quenes brother fought with them, and forced them to sie into France.

Whereupon king Edward the fourth came to Southhampton and caused Tiptost earle of Worcester to sit in iudgement upon certeine gentlemen, as Clapham and others, taken at the same skirmish of Southhampton, where the earle caused the bodiees of certeine condemned men, after that they were hanged to be thrust thorough the fundament by to the head with stakes, for the which crueltie he and others fell into indignation of the common people. Before which in the eight yere of king Edward, he was with John Dupleie made constable of the Tower, during their liues, and the longer liue of them two.

After this in the said yere 1470, being the tenth of Edward the fourth, in which Henrie the first readepted the crowne of England, which yere of Henrie the first is called in the law booke, the fourtie ninth yere of the reigne of R. Henrie the first. This earle of Worcester was taken in the top of an high tree in the forest of Weibridge in Huntingtoshire, brought to London, and at a parlement arrested and

condemned to death, by sir John Here earle of Worsford. Whereupon he was beheaded at Tower hill, and buried in the blacke friers of London. He had thre wiues, whereof the first was called Cicilie the daughter of Richard earle of Salisburie: the second Elizabeth the daughter of Robert Greindoure: the third was Elizabeth, after married to sir William Stanleiz, which John had by his third wife Edward lord Tiptost who died without issue, so the inheritance went to the sisters of the said earle John Tiptost.

Lord Beaumont.

And here I thinke it not amisse to say somewhat of the lord Beaumont, who bring in our chronicles named constable of England (as may appeare in the five and twentieth yere of Henrie the first, in which yere he arrested Humfric duke of Gloucester) that for any thing that I can yet see or learne, this Beaumont was not constable by patent during his life, but for the present time to execute the princes pleasure, and therefore not meet in this discourse to haue any speciall place amongst such as were constables of England, either by descent or patent.

Sir Richard Woodvile knight, earle Riuer, was Richard high constable of England in the fourth yere of king Edward the fourth, of whom is more large mention in the following discourse of the treasurers of England in the historie of the reigne of quene Elizabeth.

George Plantagenet.

George Plantagenet, second sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was created amongst other estates duke of Clarence, in the yere of our redemption 1461, being the first yere of king Edward the fourth immediately upon his coronation, and was made constable of England in the time of Edward the fourth. He in the eight of Edward the fourth, about the yere of Christ 1468, married Isabell the eldest daughter of Richard Beuill earle of Marwike and Salisburie, by whom he had issue Edward earle of Marwike and Salisburie, borne upon the sea in the haven of Calis, who was in the time of Richard the third a continuall prisoner, and so having bene a prisoner, and thereto borne by a certeine fatall destiny, was in the yere of our redemption 1485, being the first of king Henrie the seventh committed to custodie in the Tower, where he continued all the rest of his life, and was beheaded at Tower hill in the fiftieth yere of king Henrie the seventh, being the yere of Christ 1499, and was buried at Wilsam nere to his ancestors. Besides this Edward, this George duke of Clarence had issue a daughter called Margaret, created by king Henrie the eighth countesse of Salisburie, who married sir Richard Pole knight of the garter, descended of the ancient familie of the Poles in Wales.

Richard Plantagenet, the third sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was aduanced to the title and honoz of the dukedome of Gloucester, in the yere of our redemption 1461, being the first yere of king Edward the fourth, some after his coronation. He was high constable of England: he married Anne second daughter to Richard Beuill earle of Marwike and Salisburie. Which Richard after the death of his brother king Edward the fourth, did by the murder of his nephues ascend to the highest gouernement of England, and was crowned king by the name of Richard the third.

Richard Plantagenet.

Henrie Stafford, whome our chronicles doe in manye places corruptlie terme Edward, was sonne to Humfric earle Stafford, and was high constable of England, and duke of Buckingham. This man raising warre against Richard the third usurping the crowne, was in the first yere of the reigne of the said Richard, being the yere of Christ 1483, betrayed by his man Humfric Banasser (to whome being in distresse he fled for succour) and brought to Richard the third then lieng at Salisburie, where the

Henrie Stafford.

safo duke confessing all the conspiracie, was beha-
ded without arremnement or iudgement, vpon the
second of Nouember, in the said yere of our redemp-
tion 1483, he married Katharine the daughter of Ri-
chard Moulle, sister to quene Elizabeth wife to
Edward the fourth; & had issue, Edward duke of Buc-
kingham, and Henrie earle of Wiltshire, with two
daughters, whiche were, Anne married to George lord
Hastings of whom is descended the erle of Hunting-
ton now liuing, and Elizabeth married to Richard
Katliffe lord Fitz Waters, of whome is issued sir
Henrie Katliffe knight, now earle of Suffolk.

Edward
Stafford.

Edward Stafford sonne to Henrie duke of Buc-
kingham, being also duke of Buckingham after the
death of his father was constable of England, earle
of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, being in
the first yere of Henrie the seventh, in the yere of
our redemption 1485, restored to his fathers digni-
ties and possessions. He is teamed in the booke of the
law in the said thirteenth yere of Henrie the eight
(where his arremnement is liberallie set downe) to
be the founte & mirror of all courtelie. This man (as
before is touched) was by Henrie the seventh resto-
red to his fathers inheritance, in recompense of the
losse of his fathers life, taken awaie (as before is
said) by the vsurping king Richard the third. He
married Elianor the daughter of Henrie earle of
Northumberland, and had issue Henrie lord Staf-
ford (father to Henrie lord Stafford now liuing) and
three daughters, Elizabeth married to Thomas Ho-
ward earle of Surrie, Katharine married to Rafe
Penill earle of Westmerland, and Marie married
to George Penill lord of Aburgauennie. And thus
much by Francis Thin touching the succession of the
constables of England.]

In this meane while, were the emperor and the
French king fallen at variance, so that the warre
was renewed betwixt them; for the pacifying wherof
the cardinall of Porke was sent ouer to Calis, where
the ambassadours of both those princes were appoin-
ted to come to him. He arrived there the second of
August. There went ouer with him the erle of Glou-
cester, then lord chamberleine, the lord of St. Johns,
the lord Ferrers, the lord Herbert, the bishop of Du-
resme, the bishop of Elie, the pimat of Armacane,
sir Thomas Bullen, sir John Beshie, sir John Bul-
sie, sir Richard Wingham, sir Henrie Gifford, and
manie other knights, esquires, gentlemen, doctors,
and learned men. Thus honourable accompanied he
rode thorough London the twentieth date of Iulie,
and at Thomas Becketts house the maior and alder-
men took leaue of him, praiering God to send him
good speed. Thus passed he to Canturburie, where the
archbishop of Canturburie and others receiued him
in his stateliness, and brought him vnto his lodging
vnder a canopie to the bishops palace. On the eighth
date of Iulie he came to Douer. On the twentieth
he & the other lords with their retinues took passage,
and arrived at Calis in safetie, where the lord depu-
tie and the counsell receiued them with much honour
and lodged the cardinall in the Staple hall.

Cardinall
Woolfe sent
ouer to Calis.

Edw. Hall in
H. 8. fol. lxxxvj.

The emperor
& the French
king their am-
bassadours
met at Calis,
to treat of a
peace.

Shortlie after his arriual at Calis, thither came
the chancelor of France, and the countie de Palice,
with foure hundred horses, as ambassadours from the
French king; and likewise from the emperor came
great ambassadours, either partie being furnished
with sufficient commissions to treat and conclude of
peace as should appeare. But yet when it came to the
point, as the one partie seemed conformable to rea-
sonable offers, so the other would not incline that
waie; insomuch that they were neuer at one time a-
greable to anie indifferent motion that could be
made. There were also the popes ambassadours, wher-

upon the cardinall would haue set the red a league
betwixt the emperor, the king of England, the king
of France, and the pope: but the popes ambassadours
wanted commission thereto, and therefore were let-
ters sent to Rome in all hast, and the Frenchmen
taried still in Calis, till answer came from thence.
The cardinall rode into Flanders to speake with
the emperor, whiche as then late in Bruges. A mile
without Bruges the emperor receiued him, and did
to him as much honour as could be deuised. The
chere was great which was made to the English-
men, and of euerie thing there was such plenty, that
there was no want of things necessarie, insomuch
that of the fare, both for plentifulnesse, delicatnesse,
and stateliness of seruice, a man might haue said:

Bequeſta magnorum dixisset deorum.

The cardinall after he had solozned in Bruges the
space of thirtene daies, and concluded diuerse mat-
ters with the emperor, and accomplished his com-
mission, he took leaue of his maiestie, and by con-
uenient tormeis returned to Calis, where the ambas-
sadors of France taried his coming: and immedi-
atlie after his returne to Calis, he treated with them
of peace, but not so earnestlie as he did before. In
fine, nothing was concluded, but onelie that sith-
men of both the princes might stidie sith on the seas
without disturbance, till the second of Februarie
next. When no conclusion of agreement could be ac-
corded, the cardinall sent to the emperor the lord of
St. Johns, and sir Thomas Bullen knight, to aduer-
tise his maiestie what had bene done; and likewise
to the French king, as then lieng in campe with a
mightie armie in the marches about Cambreie. The
earle of Worcester and the bishop of Elie were sent
to informe him of all things that had bene moti-
oned, exhorting him to incline to peace, but he gaue
little care thereto: and then after they had bene a
ninetene or twentie daies in his host they returned.
During the continuance of the cardinall in Calis,
all writs and patents were there by him sealed, and
no shrikes chosen for lacke of his presence, hauing
there with him the great seale, & full power in things,
as if the king had bene there in person. Ambassa-
dours coming from the king of Hungarie towards
the king of England, were receiued honourable of
the Cardinall during his abode in Calis.

After the returne of the English ambassadours,
whiche the cardinall had sent to the emperor, and to
the French king, he returned into England, hauing
(as before is said) concluded a new league with the
emperor, and signified by waie of intendment to
the French king in the treatie with his ambassadours,
that the king of England meant him not so much
friendship as of late he had done, for diuerse causes.
But speciallie this was uttered, that where it was
concluded that the king of Scots should be included
within the league (as before yee haue heard) contra-
rie to that agreement, the said king refused to enter
as a confederate into the same league: and this no
doubt proceeded through counsell of the French king,
by whom he was wholly guided. This quarrell was
laid as an occasion, whie to moue the king of En-
gland (perceiuing himselfe to be dissembled with) to
withdraw his good will from the French king.

Who when he vnderstood the drifts of the cardinall,
and conclusion of the new league confirmed be-
twixt the king of England and the emperor, he con-
demned the cardinall of vntruth, accused him of dis-
simulation, abhorred his practices, as by the which he
lost the fruition of the king of England his friend-
ship, and might no longer inioy it. And here with he
determined with himselfe neuer to put confidence
in anie Englishman after, nor to bestow anie gifts
or pensions vpon them. For he bled pœrelie to send

An. Dom.

An. Reg.

The emperor
receiued the
cardinall
with great
honour at
Bruges.

Edw. Hall.

Cardinall
Woolfe com-
meth the
great seale
with him to
Calis, & ther
sealsh writs
and patents

Polyd.

The manner
and order of
the popes
path.

om. 1522

1522. R. 8. 13.

Henrie the eight.

The emperor receiveth the cardinal with great honour at Buzges.

Cardinal wolke carrieth the great scale with him to Calis, & there sealeth his and parents.

Polydor.

to divers of the kings counsell after the manner of his predecessors sundrie gifts and summes of monie: & because he had imployed more on the cardinal than on the residue, he was the more offended toward him as the head of all this invidious doing. Yet he found not himselfe so much grieved, as to bitter anie bitter words towards the king: but contrarie with in a while after, directed his letters unto him, signifieng that he meant to continue the league as his friend: but it maie be he did this after a dissembling sort, because he would not be at warres with two so mightie princes at one time.

In this meane while, the warre was pursued betwixt the emperor & the French king, as well on the confines towards Flanders, as beyond the mountains in the parties of Lombardie. Lornate was besieged by the lord Hugh de Boncada, a Spaniard, the which comming upon the sudden, toke maie abroad in the fields, yet they knew of his approach, and after this, comming before the citie, he intrenched it with a hedge, to keepe the citizens from stirring forth, and sent part of his armie with the light horsemen to beset the streets and passages, that no succour should come to them within. The French king assembled an armie, in hope to aid them of Lornate with men, munitions, and vittels, the which armie assailed twice or thrise with all cindores, to have approached the citie: but in vaine, for with no small losse the French were repelled by the imperials, which neuertheless felt their part of slaughter, losing sundrie of their capitaines, as basard Cnerie, and the captaine of Saint. Finally, the French armie brake up, & was dispersed into forestes. Whereupon they of Lornate perceiving the succours which they hoped for, to faile them thus at need, rendered the citie to the emperor the last of November, in this 13 yeare of king Henries reigne.

Pope Leo died this yeare suddenicly, on the first of December, as he laie at the village of Agalliana, whither he went oftentimes for his recreation. He had heard the first reayport of the taking of Agillan, which stirred in him such an extream passion of ioy, that the same night he entered into a small feauer: and for his better remedie he caused himselfe the next day to be remoured to Rome: where he died within a verie few daies after, notwithstanding the physicians in the beginning made no great reckoning of his disease. There was great suspicion that he was poisoned by Barnabie Spalestina his chamberleine, whose office was alwaies to give him drinke. And yet though he was made prisoner through the suspicion of the fact, & the vehement reasons of the same; yet the matter was dashed and the examination thereof: for that the cardinal de Medecis as soon as he came to Rome, set him at libertie, fearing to fall further in disgrace of the French king, by whose practise it was supposed that Barnabie gaue him the fatall drinke. This was but whispered secretlie, the author being no lesse doubtfull than the coniectures uncerteine.

He died (if we consider the common opinion of men) in verie great glozie and felicitie, not so much for that by the surpsing of Agillan he saw himselfe delivered of dangers & expences intollerable, which having drained him of all store of monie and treasure, he was constrained to advance all meanes and manners for his supplie and relieving: but also that a verie few daies afore his death he received advertisement of the taking of Plaisanca, and the verie day he died, newes came to him of the winning of Parma: a matter so greatlie desired by him, that at such time as he debated to move warre against the Frenchmen, it is verie well remembred that he said unto the cardinal de Medecis labouring to dissuade him, that as he was in nothing more caried to the desire of that warre, than to recover to the church those

two cities; so when so euer God should blesse him with the effect of that desire, it would not grieve him to die. He was a prince in whom were manie things worthy to be commended & blamed, and in the estate & discourse of his life he deceived greatlie the expectation that was had of him, when he was created pope, for that in his gouernment was great discretion, but farre lesse bountie than was looked for.]

After the death of the pope, doctor Richard Pace was sent to Rome, to make friends in the behalfe of the cardinal of Porke, who was brought into a baine hope thorough the kings fauour and furtherance, to be elected pope. But Adrian the first of that name was chosen before doctor Pace could come to Rome; and so that lute was dashed. This Adrian bishop of Derchuso (after great contention in the college of cardinals touching the election of a new pope) was preferred to the custome of lotting of votes in the conclaue, without anie affection or parcialitie of voice: he was of nation a Fleming, & in his youth having bene scholemaster to Cesar, and by his meane made cardinal under pope Leo, did at that time gouerne Spaine in the absence of Cesar. And as there began some voices to publish for him, so cardinal Visto one of that election, began under an oration speciall, to recount and amplifie his vertues and knowledge, by whose example certeine other cardinals yielded, and the residue from hand to hand followed, though more by constraint than counsell.

Thus was he chosen with the voices of all the cardinals, and had his creation perfected the same morning. Wherein this was to be wondered at, that certain those that had elected him could giue no reason, why amid so manie troubles & dangers in the estate ecclesiastike, they had raised to the soueraigne see a stranger, a forreiner, and of long absence out of the countrie, & wherein were helping no respects of fauour, no consideration of former merits, nor anie commendation had with anie of the other cardinals: yet they scarce knew his name, he had neuer bene in Italie, and had no hope nor cogitation to see it: of which strauagant manner of dealing, being not able to excuse themselves, they attributed all to the working of the holie-ghost, who is twont (for so they alleged) to inspire the hearts of the cardinals in the electing of popes: he receiued newes of his election in the towne of Vitoria in Biskaye, and would not haue imposed upon him anie other name than his owne, which he caused to be published under Adrian the first.

Now he made his entrie into Rome the nine and twentieth of August, with a great concourse of the commons and the whole court: of whome albeit his comming was desired with an vniuersall gladnesse (for that without the presence forsooth of the popes, Rome beareth more a resemblance of a saunge desert than of a citie) yet that spectacle wrought sundrie impressions and diuersities of thoughts in the minds of all men, when they considered that they had a pope for nation and language a stranger, and for the affaires of Italie and the court altogether experienced: and also for that he was not of those regions and countries, who by long conuersation were already made familiar with the customes of Italie. The enuie that stirred by in men this consideration was redoubled by the accident of the plague, which beginning in Rome at his arrivall, afflicted the citie during the whole season of Autumne, to the great calamitie and losse of the people: a matter which in the fantasies of men was construed to an evil prognostication of his pontificacie.]

Notwithstanding this election of Adrian (as you heare) accomplished; yet doctor Pace kept his course according to his commission. This Pace was a right worthy man, and one that gaue in counsell wisely.

Polydor. Cardinal wolke maie both meane to be elected pope.

Guic. pag. 823.

The election of Adrian to the popedom was wondered at, and why.

Pope Adrian the first, cometh to Rome.

The description of doctor Pace.

faithfull aduise. He learned he was also, and indued with many excellent good gifts of nature, courteous, pleasant, and delighting in musike, highlie in the kings fauour, and well heard in matters of weight. But the more the prince fauoured him, the more was he mistlike of the cardinall, who sought onelie to breake all the rule himselfe, and to haue no partener; so that he procured that this doctor Pace vnder coloz of ambassage, should be sent forth of the realme, that his presence about the king should not twin him too much authoritie and fauour at the kings hands.

Edw. Hall.
Doctoz Tunstall made bishop of London.

1523

This yeare was a great death in London and other places of the realme. Many men of honour and great worship died, and amongst other, the bishop of London, doctor Fitz James, in whose place was doctor Tunstall elected. The earle of Surrie returned out of Ireland, and came to the court the five and twentieth of Januarie. Many complaints were made by the merchants to the king and his counsell of the Frenchmen, which spoiled them by sea of their goods. For by reason that the wars were open betwixt the emperor, and the French king, many ships of warre were abroad on both parts, and now and then the Englishmen fell into their hands, and were used as enemies; namely by the Frenchmen, which naturally hated the Englishmen. The French kings ambassadours promised restitution of euery thing, but little was restored. In this month of Januarie therefore, the king commanded all his ships to be rigged, and made readie, which was done with all diligence.

The title of Defendor of the faith given to the king of England and his successors for ever.
I. Spag. 930.
King Henrie wrote against Luther.
Abr. Fl. ex adm.
A. G. ad Ang.
Ex. Sect. ex. adm.
Gen. 1558, in fol. 69.

The king of England and the king of France at variance.

Christopher Columbus.

On the second daie of Februarie, the king as then being at Orkenewich, received a bull from the pope, whereby he was declared Defendor of the Christian faith, & likewise his successors for ever. The cardinall of Porke sang the high masse that daie with all the pompous solemnitie that might be, and gaue cleane remission of sinnes to all that heard it. This title was ascribed vnto the king, because he had written a booke against Luther in Germanie; wherevnto the said Luther answered verie sharpelie, nothing sparing his authoritie nor maiestie. Of which booke published by the king, I will not (for reuerence of his royaltie) though I durst, report what I haue read: because we are to iudge honourable of our rulers, and to speake nothing but good of the princes of the people. Onelie this breife clause or fragment I will adde (least I might seeme to tell a tale of the man in the moon) that king Henrie in his said booke is reported to rage against the diuell and antichrist, to cast out his name against Luther, to rase out the name of the pope, and yet to allow his law, &c. I suppose the rest for shame, and returne to our historie.]

In this meane time, grudges and displeasures still grew and increased betwixt the king of England and the French king, so that their graces rankled daily more and more, till at length the duke of Albanie returned into Scotland, contrarie to that which was covenanted by the league. The French king in deed alleaged, that he was not partie to his going thither; and wrote to the king, that the said duke was entered Scotland without his assent: but it was otherwise iudged & knowne, that he had commission of the French king to go thither. Whereupon, the king was sore offended, and prepared for wars. Buffers were made of able men, and a note taken of what substance men were. The king also sent his ships to the sea, well trimmed, manned, and vittelled. The admerall was one Christopher Columbus, a expert sea man. His commission was, to save gard the merchants, and other the kings subiects, that were greivously spoiled and robbed on the sea, by Frenchmen, Scots, and other rousers.

The eight of Februarie, the lord Dacres, warden

of the marches foreaneinst Scotland, entered into Scotland with five hundred men, by the kings commandement, & there proclaimed, that the Scots should come in to the kings peace, by the first of March following, or else to stand at their perils; the duke of Albanie being then within five miles with a mightie power of Scots. The eleuenth of Februarie, the lord of Aburgauennie was brought from the Tower to Westminster, and there in the kings bench confessed his indictment of mispission. The lord Pontefract was about the same time restored vnto the kings fauour. On the second of March, certaine noble men of the empire, arrived in England, to passe into Spaine, who were honourable received; and in honour of them, great iusts and triumphs were made, which being finished and done, they took their leave and departed on their iourne.

Duncan Campbell, a Scottish rouser, after long fight, was taken on the sea by John Arundell an chequier of Cornewall, who presented him to the king. He was committed to the Tower, & there remained prisoner a long season. All the kings ships were put in a readinesse, so that by the beginning of April, they were rigged and trimmed readie to make saile. This yeare died the lord Brooke, sir Edward Polnings, knight of the garter, sir John Perchie, and sir Edward Belknap, valiant captains, which were suspected to be poisoned at a banquet made at Ard, when the two kings met last. Wheat was sold this yeare in the citie of London, for twentie shillings a quarter, & in other places for twentie six shillings eight pence.

In this yeare Caluan Dowglas, bishop of Dun-kell fled out of Scotland into England, because the duke of Albanie being come thither, had taken vpon him the whole gouernement of the king and realme there, the sequels of whose doings the bishop sore mistrusted. The king assigned vnto this bishop an honest pension to liue on. And shortly after, was Clarenceur the herald sent into Scotland, vnto the duke of Albanie, to command him to auoid that realme for diuerse confederations; & if he would not, then to desie him, with contrarie to the articles of the league concluded betwixt France & England, he was entered Scotland without his licence. The duke refused to accomplish the kings commandement, and was therefore desied by the said Clarenceur. The first of March, the French king commanded all Englishmens goods being in Burdeaur, to be attached, and put vnder arrest, and retained not onelie the monie due to be paid for the restitution of Lorraine, but also withheld the French quenes dowry.

The cardinall vnderstanding that he was euill spoken of, for dising his power legantine to such aduantage as he did, in selling graces & dispensations, he thought to bestow some part thereof amongst the people freelie, without taking arie thing for the same. Whereupon, when Lent drew nere, he appointed the preachers at Pauls crosse, to declare, that it should be lawfull to all persons for that Lent, to eat milke, butter, cheese, & eggs. And to the end that none should haue arie scrupulousnesse of conscience in so doing, he by his authoritie granted remission of sins to all those that did eat white meats: knowing as it were afore hand, that the people giuen to the obseruance of their religious fast, would not easilie be brought to breake the same, contrarie to the ancient custome used in their countrie. Neither was he deceived therein, for so farre were the people from receiuing or counting this as a benefite, that they took it rather for a wicked & cursed deed in those that received it, & few or almost none could be induce to breake their old order and scrupulous trade in that behalfe.

The king, vnderstanding how his subiects were handled at Burdeaur by the French kings commandement,

The French king was taken on the sea by John Arundell.

The French king was taken on the sea by John Arundell.

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The French king was taken on the sea by John Arundell.

The French king was taken on the sea by John Arundell.

Lib. Reg. 14.

The French
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In the Scots
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Executive Sec- William

Cardwell
made his
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he named the
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The marquis
D'Artois receiv-
ing the com-
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Justices and
counsellors at
Greenwich.

Edw. Hall, jr.
H. 8. fol. xcyiii

See Ed. Hall
in H.8. fo. xc
& deinceps.

Note the pride of cardinals in this illustration.

The emperor
and the king
of England
swear each
other to ob-
serve the
league made
betwixt the

Erle of Sur
rie high adm
rall of Eng
land.

Jertingham, Anthoine Bneuet, sir John Tremeille, and sir William Skevington the maister of the kings ordinance, & John Fabian sergeant at armes, by whome this enterpryse was chieflie moued, with diuerse others, which in the end of June departed from Hampton, noising that they should onelie scowle the seas for safegard of the emperor and his nauie.

The emperor
departeth out
of England
towards
Spainc.

On the first of Iulie, the emperours nauie came before Hampton, containing an hundred and foure score goodlie ships. Then the emperor took leaue of the king, of whome he had manie great gifts, and notable summes of monie by waie of lone; & so the first of Iulie he took his ship, and made saile to Spainc, where he arrived in safetie the tenth daie after. The king bozrowed of the citie of London twentie thousand pounds, and deliuered prynces seales for warrant of the repayment. None were charged but men of good wealth. The like lone was practised through all the realme, not without grudge of manie persons that were called vpon for the same. The earle of Surrie hauing waisted the emperor ouer to the coast of Wiscate, vpon his returne finding the wind fauourable, according to his instructions, made to the coast of Britaine, and landing with his people in number seven thousand, about fise miles from Pozeis, marched thither, and assaulling the towne, wan it.

The manner of
the winning of
Pozeis in
Britaine by
the earle of
Surrie.

For the maister gunner Christopher Pozreis hauing there certeine falcons, with the shot of one of them, stroke the locke of the wicket in the gate, so that it flew open: and then the same Christopher and other gentlemen, with their souldiers, in the smoke of the gunnes pressed to the gates, and finding the wicket open, entered, and so finally was the towne of Pozeis towne, and put to sacke. The souldiers gained much by the pillage, for the towne was exceeding rich, and speciallie of linnen cloth. When they had rifled the towne thoroughlie, and taken their pleasure of all things therein, the earle caused them by sound of trumpet to resort to their standards, and after they had set fire in the towne, and burned a great part thereof, the earle retreated with his armie towards his ships, burning the villages by the waie, and all that night lay on land. On the morrow after they took their ships, and when they were bestowed on board, the earle commanded sixtene or seuentene ships small and great, lieng there in the hauen, to be burnt.

Diuerse gentlemen knighted by the earle of Surrie vpon the winning of Pozeis.

When the lord admerall had thus towne the towne of Pozeis, he called to him certeine esquires, and made them knights, as sir Francis Brian, sir Anthoine Botwne, sir Richard Cornewall, sir Thomas Dore, sir Giles Hulseie, sir John Kiffell, sir John Keinsford, sir George Cobham, sir John Cornewallis, sir Edward Kigleie, and diuerse other. After this they continued a while on the coast of Britaine, and disquieted the Britains by entering their haucens, and sometimes landing and doing diuerse displeasures to the inhabitants about the coast. After that the earle had lien a while thus on the coast of Britaine, he was countermanded by the kings letters, who thereupon brought backe his whole fleet vnto a place called the Colw, vnder the Ile of Wight, and then went on land himselfe, discharging the more part of his people, and leauing the residue with certeine ships vnder the gouernance of the viceadmerall sir William Fitz Williams, to keepe the seas against the French.

Polydor.

In this meane while, diuerse exploits were achieved betwixt them of the garrisons in the marches of Calis, & the Frenchmen of Bullongne and Bullongnois: but still the losse ran for the most part on the French side. For the English frontiers were well and stronglie furnished with good numbers of

men of warre, and gouerned by right sage and balliant capitaine, which daily made inuasions vpon the French confines, and namelie sir William Sandes treasurer of the towne of Calis, and sir Edward Wilford marshall, were two that did the Frenchmen most displeasure. On the third of Iulie, three hundred French hoisemen comming nere to the castell of Gufines, kept themselves in covert, appointing eight or ten of their companie to shew themselves in sight to the Englishmen within. Whereupon there went forth eight archers, and fell in skirmish with those hoisemen, till there came three other to the rescue of the Frenchmen, and skirmished with the archers on foot.

Herewith issued out of Gufines twelue demilances all Englishmen, in rescue of the footmen, and then all the troope of the French hoisemen brake forth and set on the Englishmen. The footmen, so long as they had any arrowes to bestow, shot lustilie, and in the end were driuen to defend themselves with their swords. The Englishmen keeping together, entered into the band of the Frenchmen, brake their speares, and after fought and laid about them with their swords, so that they made a waie, and escaped from those three hundred French hoisemen. Of the French side were slaine three men and six hoisemen, the English archers on foot selling their liues dearelie, were all slaine, for the Frenchmen would not take any of their prisoners, they were so angrie for losse of their fellows.

On the five and twentieth of Iulie, the treasurer and marshall of Calis, with fourtene hundred footmen, entered the French pale: and finding not monsieur de Fostat for whome they sought, they went to Whitland baie, set the towne on fire, and assaulling the church, into which the people were withdraue, wan it, and afterwards set fire on the steeple, because that diuerse, hauing shot by themselves therein, through counsell of a priest that was with them, refused to yield, till the fire caused them to leape downe and so manie of them perished, and the rest were taken prisoners, and led to Calis. About two daies before this, to wit, the three and twentieth daie of Iulie, one Thwaites a capteine of an English ship, with sir scoze men, archers and others, took land beside Bullongne, and passing vp into the countrie three miles to a towne called Newcastell, forraied all the parts as he went, and in his returne set fire on that towne, and burnt a great part thereof, and came againe to his ship in safetie, notwithstanding fourscore baggubters, and three hundred other men of warre of the countrie came forth, and pursued the Englishmen verie fiercelie: but the Englishmen putting them backe, got to their ship, and lost not a man.

Pozreouer, whilst the warres were thus followed in France, the lord Koffe, and the lord Dacres of the north, which were appointed to keepe the borders against Scotland, burnt the towne of Kelsie, and fourscore villages, & ouerthrew eightene towers of stone, with all their barnedikes. Also the king appointed the earle of Shrewsburie to be his lieutenant generall of the north parts, against the inuasion which was intended by the duke of Albanie, which earle directed his letters to all the shires lieng from Trent northward, that all men should be in a readinesse. Order was taken by the cardinall, that the true value of all mens substance might be knowen, and he would haue had euerie man sworne to haue uttered the true valuation of that they were worth, and required a tenth part thereof to be granted towards the kings charges now in his warres, in like case as the spiritualtie had granted a fourth part, and were content to liue on the other three parts.

An. D.

An. Re.

The earle of
Dorset sent
with an armie
to France.

The Duke
of Burgundie
sent with the
English hois.

The earle of
Dorset belie-
ued by the
Englishmen.

The lord
Koffe and
Dacres of the
north were
appointed to
keepe the
borders against
Scotland.

The earle of
Dorset return-
ed with his
armie to France.

The king
appointed
the earle of
Shrewsburie
to be his
lieutenant
generall of
the north
parts.

This

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The circle of
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has an aromatic
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By Sir
James
Smith the
English poet.

The castle of
being built
by the
Englishmen.

Chronic of
Some return
with both in
case to

1

This demand was thought gréuous to them of
 the citie of London, where the cardinall first moued
 it; so that manie reasons were alleaged by them
 why they iudged themselves sore dealt with. In the
 end they brought in their billes, which were received
 vpon their honesties. The king in this meane time,
 being now entered into wars with France, thought
 not to suffer his enimies to rest in quiet: and there-
 fore leaued an armie which he sent ouer to Calis, ap-
 pointing the earle of Surrie to be generall of the
 same. When the earle was come to Calis, and had
 taken order in his businesse for that tournie, he set
 forward with his armie, being diuided into three bat-
 tles or wards, of the which, the first was led by sir
 Robert Katcliffe, lord Fitz Water, the middle ward
 or battell the earle himselfe guided, and with him
 his brother the lord Edmund Howard. The re-
 ward was gouerned by sir William Sands, and
 sir Richard Wilingfield, both being knights of the
 garter. Capteine of the horsemen was sir Edward
 Guilford.

of September, being tuesdaye, and toke their iour-
 nie toward Hedding. By the way there came to them
 a great powter of Burgognians from the ladie Mar-
 garet, as then regent of Flanders, according to the
 articles of the league. All the towncs, billages, and
 castels in the countrie thorough the which they mar-
 ched, were burned, wasted, and destroyed on euerie
 side of their waie : as the towne and castell of Sel-
 kois, the towne of Wume bylde, Senekerke, Wot-
 tingham, & Panstier, the towne and castell of Per-
 bins, the towne of Dauerne, the castels of Colum-
 berge, and Kew, the towne and church fortified of
 Boards, saint Marie de Bois, the towne of Waus,
 the towne and castell of Fringes. On the sixteenth
 daie of September, the earle of Surrie with his ar-
 mie of Englishmen and Burgognians, came before
 the castell of Hedding, and planted his siege before it.
 The towne was entered, and part thereof burned
 by the Burgognians.

Within the castell was capteine monsieur de
Biez, hauing provided for defense of the place all
things necessarie; so that the earle of Surrie, and o-
ther the capitaine of the hoast, perceiving they could
not within anie short time win it, after they had bin
before it eleuen daies, they raised their siege, the chief
because they had no great battering peeces to over-
throw the walles. For the weaether was such, and the
waies wared so deepe towards the latter end of that
summer, that they could not conueie with them anie
great ordinaunce. From Hedding they passed forward,
and coming to Dolens, burned the towne, and
raised the castell. From thence they came vnto the
towne of Warrier, which they burnt also and spoiled.
Thus they burned and spoiled all the waie as they
passed. But the weaether still wared worse and worse,
so that manie fell sicke through intemperance there-
of, and the Burgoginians and Spaniards which were
in the armie returned into Flanders.

Then the earle of Surrie, perceiuing that he could no longer keepe the field in that season of the yeare, turned backe towards Calis in good order of battell, and came thither the sixteenth of October. He would gladiie in deed (before the departure of the Burgonians and Spaniards) haue passed the wa- ter of Somme: but other capitaines considering the time of the yeare to be past, and that the whole armie consisted not above eightene thousand men, iudged it more wisdome to returne, and so in the end their opinions were followed. After that the English armie was returned to Calis, the earle of Surrie sent forth sir William Sands, sir Maurice Berkeleie, sir William Fitz Williams, and with them three thou-

and men, which burned Marguison, the towne of
saint Jehans rode, and also Temple towne, with ma-
nie villages.

They also bought a marvellous great bottie of goods out of the countrie, which they got at this robe, as fouretene thousand sheepe, a thousand four hundred oxen and kine, and other great cattell, a thousand three hundred hogs, and eight hundred mares and horses, besides prisoners. When the earle of Surrie had set things in order, and appointed forth such as he would haue remaine in the garrisons, on that side the sea; he returned, and all the residue of the armie (sauing those that were commanded to tarie) came ouer also with the nauie, and arrived in the Thames; and so euerie man into his countrie at his pleasure. There remained also behind a companie of men of warre called aduenterers, which serued without wages, liuing onlie on that which they could catch & win of the enimies. There were foure hundred of them that went with the armie now this last time into France, and did much hurt vnto the Frenchmen: for they were by practise become expert and skilfull in the points of warre, and daile exploited one enterprise or other, to their owne aduantage, and hinderance of the enimie.

The duke of Albanie being in this mean while established gouernour of Scotland, raised an armie of fourescore thousand men and aboue, with the which he approached to the English borders: but made no invasion. The mistrust that he had in the Scots caused him to staie, and therefore he sent to the French king for six thousand Almans, the which he daily looking for: (that in vaine) dyoue off time till the end of summer was now at hand, and then requiring a truce for certeine moneths, obtained it at the kings hand. The earle of Shewesburie had in a readinesse eight and twentie thousand men to haue resisted him, if he had entered vpon the English confines. After that an abstinence of warre was taken betwixt England and Scotland, then in October following there came into England three personages of small behauiour (as seemed) ambassadoers out of Scotland: they were smallie regarded, and shortly departed.

Their commission was onelie to vnderstand, whether the king had assented to the truce or not. Whereupon it was thought that they were sent rather for countenance onelie of fulfilling the promise made by the duke of Albanie at that present, when the truce was granted, than for any true meaning to accomplish that which was promised; that is to saie, to agree unto some briefnet and perfect conclusion of peace. The king hereupon doubting their old pranks, ordeined the earle of Northumberland and Henrie Percy the first of that name, warden of the whole marches who thankfullie received the hono: thereof, and so he departed. But whatsoeuer matter it was that mued him, hostlie after he began to make sute to the king, and ceased not, till he was of that office discharged: and then the earle of Surrie lord admirall of England was made generall warden, and the lord Sparquesse Dorset was made warden of the east and middle marches, and the lord Wacres of the west marches.

The earle of Dorchester was for this refused
fall of exercising the office of lord warden, greatly
blamed of his owne tenants, and accounted of all
men to be bold of the loue and desire that noblemen
ought to haue to honor and chivalrie. The lord Har-
quelle Dorset accompanied with sir William Bul-
mer, and sir Arthur Darcie, with manie other of the
nobilitie, the second of Aprill then being thursdai-
before Easter, entered into Tindale, and so passing
for ward ten miles into Galloswaie, burnt on euery
side the towne and villages. All the night he carried
with him

A great boote
swonne by the
Englishmen.

The earle of
Harris retur-
neth with his
armie into
England.

Adventurers

The duke of
Albanie leu-
eth an armie
of Scots to
inuaide Eng-
land.
Polydor,

Twixt Eng-
land & Scot-
land.
Edw. Hall.

It meane an-
ballage out of
Scotland,

The earle of Northumberland
landwarden
of the whole
marches.

The Mars
questle Dorse
entereth into
Scotland an
burneth di-
uerse townes
there.

within the Scotch ground, and on the morrow being goodfridaye, he withdrew backe into England with foure thousand neat, hauing burned Grimleie, Polowhouse, Donsford, Miles, Achfowth, Crowling, Polowes manour, Spidder, Crowling, Sparbottell, Polowog, Deforsh manor, Spiddell right, Pimsted, Bishet, Shalwes, Warwell, Wilde open haugh, with others.

The parlement holden at the Blackefriers in London. Edw. Hall. in H. 8. fol. Cvj.

On the fifteenth daie of Aprill began the parlement, which was holden as then at the Blackefriers, and that daie the masse of the Holie-ghost was song, all the lords being present in their parlement robes. ¶ Now when masse was finished, the k. came to the parlement chamber, and there sat downe in the seat roiall of thron, and at his feet on the right side sat the cardinall of Yorke and the archbishop of Canturburie, and at the raille behind stood doctor Tunstall bishop of London, which made to the whole parlement an eloquent oration, declaring to the people the office of a king. First he must be a man of iudgement, according to the saying of the prophet Dauid, *Domus iudicium tuum regi dā.* Also he must be a man of great learning, according to the saying of the prophet, *Erudimini qui indicatis terram.* According to which sayings he said, that God had sent vs a prince of great iudgement, of great learning, and great experience: which according to his princelie dutie, forgot not to studie to set forward all things which might be profitable to his people and realme, least might be laid to his charge the saying of Seneca; *Es rex & non habes tempus esse rex?* Art thou a king and hast no time to be a king? Which is as much to saie, as; Art thou a king, and doest nothing profitable to thy people? Art thou a king, and seest the people haue an insufficient law? Art thou a king, and wilt not provide remedie for the mischance of thy people?

The oration of doctor Tunstall bishop of London.

These things haue moued the kings most excellent maiestie to call this his high court of parlement, both for the remedie of mischances which be in the common law, as recoueries, foren vouchers & corrupt trials, and for making and ordering of new statutes, which mate be to the high advancement of the common-wealth. Wherefore he willeth his commons to repaire to the common house, and there to elect them a speaker, or their common mouth, and to certifie the lord chancelor of the same, who should thereof make report to the kings most noble grace, and should declare his pleasure when he would haue him presented to his person. This was the cause of the parlement, as he said. But suerlie of these things no word was spoken in the whole parlement, and in effect no good act made, except the grant of a great subsidie were one. But according to this instruction the commons departed to the common house, & chose for their speaker sir Thomas More knight, & presented him on the Saturday after in the parlement chamber, where he (according to the old vsage) disabled himselfe both in wit, learning, & discretion, to speake before the king, and brought in for his purpose how one Rhomio desired Haniball to come to his reading, which thereto assented, and when Haniball was come he began to read *De militari*, that is, of chenaltrie. When Haniball perceived him, he called him arrogant sole: because he would presume to teach him which was maister of chenaltrie, in the seats of warre. So the speaker said, if he should speake before the king, of learning and ordering of a common-wealth and such other like, the king so well learned and of such prudence and experience might saie to him as Haniball said to Rhomio. Wherefore he desired his grace that the commons might choose an other speaker.

The oration of sir Thomas More speaker for commons.

The cardinall answered, that the king knew his wit, learning, and discretion by long experience in

his seruice: wherefore he thought that the commons had chosen him as the most meetest of all; and so he did admit him. Then sir Thomas More gaue to the king his most humble thanks, and desired of him two petitions: the one, if he should be sent from the commons to the king on message and misake their intent, that he might with the kings pleasure resort againe vnto the commons for the knowledge of their true meaning. The other was, if in communication and reasoning, any man in the common house should speake more largelie than of dutie he ought to doe, that all such offenses should be pardoned, and that to be entered of record. Which two petitions were granted; and so thus began the parlement and continued as you shall heare.]

This yeare was the citie and the whole Ile of the Rhodes conquered by the Turke, and all the christians displaced: whereof Guicciardin hath discoursed as followeth. ¶ The end of this yeare (saith he) was made no lesse wretched and unhappie, than dangerous to all christian princes for the losse of the Ile of Rhodes: which Soliman Ottoman toke by violence, notwithstanding it was defended by the knights of Rhodes, called in other times more ancient the knights of saint John of Jerusalem. And abiding in that place since they were chased out of Jerusalem, notwithstanding they laie betwixt two so mightie princes as the Turke & the Soldan; yet their valour had preserved it of long time, and to the right worthie glorie of the christian religion in those seas: & yet they were not without their impatations: & notes of infamie, for that hauing a continuall custome for the better defending of those shoares, to spoile the vessels of the infidels, they were thought sometimes to make pillage of christian ships.

The Turke sent into the Island a wonderfull great armie, which remaining there manie moneths with no lesse horzour to good men for their cruelties, than terror to all men for their huge numbers, at last he came thither in person. And desiring to his desire of conquest and glorie, the respect of profit and riches which the victorie would yield, he lost not one minute of time to vex them. Wherein his industrie was nothing inferior to his valour, for sometimes he cast monstrous mines and trenches, sometimes he raised platfozmes of earth and wood, whose height ouertopped the wals of the towne, and sometimes he afflicted them with most furious and bloudie assaults: insomuch that as these works and engines were not performed without a wonderfull butcherie & slaughter of his souldiours; so also the defense of them was so dangerous to the liues of them within, that manie numbers were diminished, manie bodies maimed and made vnersurable, & the residue soze terrified by the calamitie of their companions and friends, to whom they could giue no other propertie of compassion, than to mourne with them in their common miserie.

Their aduersitie was so much the more intolerable, by how much their travels were without fruit, their words without comfort, and their valour disfaunored of fortune, & lastlie their store of gunpowder was consumed, which is not the least necessitie for the defense of a place. They saw before their eyes huge breaches made into their walles with the artilleries of their enemies, they discerned severall mines wrought into manie parts of the towne, and they found by lamentable experience, that the lesse god they did, the more painfullie they laboured, for that their fortune had reduced them to these termes of extrenmitie, that in abandoning one place to relieue another, they put both in danger, not hauing numbers sufficient to furnish the seruice, and lesse expectation

The Turke great industrie equall sent to his valour.

The calamities & ruines inflicted by the Turke.

Edw. Hall. 74.

Edw. Hall. in H. 8. fol. Cxvii. de demerps.

Cardinall More made bishop of Durham.

The cardinall More's death by the Turke's largelie.

Dom. 1577

Anno Reg. 14, 15.

expectation of rescue amid perils so raging and desperate: so that, what for that their necessities were greater than their hopes, & their defence less able by the continuall diminution of their numbers, & lastly holding it no breach of honour to preserve by wisdom and composition, that they could no longer defend by their valour and prowess, they gave place to their destinie, and capitulated with the Turke as followeth. That the great master of their order should leave the towne to him: that as well he as all his knights should depart in safetie, with libertie to carie with them as much of their goods as they could. And for assurance of this capitulation, the Turke should withdraw out of those seas, his fleet or naue, and retire his armie by land five miles from Rhodes. By vertue of which capitulation Rhodes remained to the Turkes, and the christians passed into Sicilie, and so into Italie, keeping their faith and profession unviolated. They found in Sicilie an armie by sea compounded of a certeine number of vessels, with great reliefe of vittells and munitions, and readie to hoise saile at the next wind to reuintle Rhodes. The noblesse of this rescue was laid to the popes fault.

After they were departed, Soliman for a more contempt of christian religion, made his entrie into the citie upon the daie of the birth of the sonne of God: which daie being celebrated in the churches of christians with noise of musike & holie innocations, he converted all the churches of Rhodes dedicated to the service of Iesus Christ, into Mosques (so they call their temples) which after all the christian rites and ceremonies were abolished, they made dedicate to Mahomet. God cause had the christians hereupon with heauie hearts to make their complaint to God by the president of the psalmist, lamenting the libertie of the enemies exercising the vehemencie of his rage against Gods people: & full well with swolne ries testifying the sorrow of their soules might (sauld he sounding the dumps of their threnomina) saie:

perde funditus
Hostes proteruos, qui tuum sacrum
Mant nefanda pollunt,
Clangunt sonora buccina, non que tuas
Ludes canat, ludibrio
Sed fides acerbo qua profanet: in tuis
Pecillia sequuntur turribus, &c.

To vnderstand more of this historie touching the taking of Rhodes, what moued the Turke to couet the same, his letter comminatorie to Philip de Willers who took part against him, with other accidents and circumstances belonging to this martiall action; read the report of Edward Hall, which is verie copious and plentifull in this behalfe. And now will we returne to our owne affaires here in England. About this time the bishop of Durham departed this life, & the king gaue that bishopricke to the cardinal, who resigned the bishopricke of Bath to doctor John Clerke master of the rolles, and sir Henrie Parre that was vicechamberleine, was made lord priuie seale, and shortly after was created lord Parre. In the end of this yeare, doctor Blith bishop of Chester was attached for treason, but he acquitted himselfe. About this time the cardinal exercised his authoritie (which he pretended by his power legatine) verie largelie, not onelie in prouiding of testaments in his court, calling the executors and administrators before him, of what diocesse soener they were, but also by prouisions he gaue all benefices belonging to spirituall persons, and ran thereby with in danger of the premonition, as after ward was laid to his charge.

But after that he perceiued his owne follie and rash doing herein, contrarie to the lawes, which would not permit that anie such things as were mo-

ued within the prouince of Cantuarburie, might be concluded without the authoritie of the archbishop, he sent them againe to Poules, and safe himselfe at Westminster with his cleargie of the prouince of Poike. And euen as there was much adoe amongst them of the common house about their agreement to the subsidie, so was there as hard hold for a while amongst them of the clergie in the conuocation house. Painelie Richard bishop of Winchester, & John bishop of Rochester held soze against it, but most of all sir Roland Philips vicar of Croidon, and one of the canons of Poules, being reputed a notable preacher in those daies, spake most against that payment.

But the cardinal taking him aside, so handled the matter with him, that he came no more into the house, willinglie absenting himselfe to his great infamie, and losse of that estimation which men had of his innocencie. Thus the belwedder giuing ouer his hold, the other yielded, and so was granted the halfe of all their spirituall reuenues for one yeare, to be paid in five yerres following, that the burthen might the more easilie be borne. The parlement being begun (as ye haue heard) the cardinal on the nine and twentieth day of Aprill came into the common house, and there shewing the great charges that the king necessarilie was at, and daile must be at in maintenance of his warres against the frenche and Scots, demanded the summes of eight hundred thousand pounds to bee raised of the first part of euerie mans goods and lands, that is to wit, foure shillings of euerie pound.

This demand was enforced on the morrow after, by sir Thomas More then speaker of the parlement: but he spake not so much in perswading the house to grant it, but other spake as earnestlie against it, so that the matter was argued to and fro, and handled to the bittermost. There were that proued how it was not possible to haue it leuied in morie, for men of lands and great substance had not the first part of the same in coine. And sith the king by the loan had received two shillings of the pound, which by this rate amounted to 400000 pounds: and now to haue foure shillings of the pound, it would amount in the whole vnto twelue hundred thousand pounds, which is first and last six shillings of the pound, being almost a third part of euerie mans goods, which in coine might not be had within this realme.

For the proofe whereof was alledged, that if there were in England but twentie thousand parishes, and euerie parish should giue an hundred markes, that were but fiftene hundred thousand markes, which is but an hundred thousand pounds; and there be not verie manie parishes in England one with another, as ble to spare an hundred markes, out of cities and townes. And where it is written, that in England there be fortie thousand parish churches, it was proued that there were not thirtene thousand at this daie. Hard hold there was about this demand, and certeine wise and discret persons were sent to the cardinal, to moue him to be a meane to the king, that a lesse summe might be accepted: but he answered that he would rather haue his tong plucked out of his head with a paire of pinners, than to moue the king to take anie lesse summe: and so with that answer they departed, reporting to the house the cardinals words. Then euerie daie was reasoning, but nothing concluded.

Whereupon the cardinal came againe into the lower house, and desired that he might reason with them that were against the demand: but he was answered that the order of that house was to heare, and not to reason, except amongst themselves. Where he began to shew arguments of the great wealth of the

The cleargie grant halfe of all their spirituall reuenues for one yeare.

Anno Reg. 14,

A great subsidie demanded by the cardinal in the common house.

Hard hold about grant of the great subsidie.

There are not 10000 parishes in England as Stow hath trauie noted.

The obstinate answer of the cardinal to the motion of the common house in the parliament.

Abu. Fl. Ex. One page 140. Rhodes taken by Soliman Ottoman.

The Turke great trouble sent to his valour.

The manifest calamities & ruines inflicted by this warre.

Exposition of the Turke.

Exposition of the Turke.

Exposition of the Turke.

Exposition of the Turke.

Cardinal made bishop of Durham.

Cardinal made bishop of Durham.

realme, so that it might be thought, that he repined and disdaind that anie man should be wealthie but himselfe. After he was gone, the commons debated the matter according to their former maner, and so in the end concluded of two shillings in the pound, from twentie pounds upward, and from forty shillings to twentie pounds, of euerie twentie shillings twelue pence, and vnder forty shillings of euerie head of sixtene pences and vnder four pence to be paid in two yeares. When this was notified to the cardinall, he was much therewith offended, so that to please him, at length, the gentlemen of fiftie pounds land and vnder, by the liberrall motion of sir John Huseie, a knight of Lincolnshire, were burdened with twelue pence more of the pound of the same lands, to be paid in three yeares.

Sir John Huseie.

The cardinall to moue them thereto, bare them in hand that the lords had agreed to foure shillings of the pound, which was untrue: for they had granted nothing, but staid till they might vnderstand what the commons would do. The king therefore hauing knowledge of this, and such other notable lies uttered by the cardinall, repproved him therefore verie sharpelie, and said that per it were long he would loke to things himselfe without anie substitute. A marvellous matter to consider how much the cardinall was coled herewith, and how lowlie for a while he bare himselfe, so that thereby it well appeared how the matters sharpenesse now and then, doth much to restrain the euill nature of the seruant. But the cardinall within a few daies after, pacifying the kings displeasure toward him, became nothing the better.

Polydor.

Cardinall Wolle repproved by the king.

After that the foresaid grant was passed and accorded, the parlement was prorogued till the tenth of June. During which prorogation, the common people said to the burgeses; Sirs, we heare say you will grant foure shillings of the pound, we aduise you to do so that you may go home: with manie euill words and threatenings. In this season the cardinall by his power legantine dissolued the conuocation at Doules called by the archbishop of Cantuarburie, calling him and all the cleergie to his conuocation at Westminster, which was neuer scene before in England (saith Hall) whereof maister Skelton a merrie poet wrote:

Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. Cx.

The cardinall dissolued the archbishop of Cantuarburie conuocation.

Gentle Paule lay downe thy sword,

For Peter of Westminster hath shauen thy beard.

When the parlement was begun againe, the gentlemen that saw themselves charged with twelue pence more of the pound for their lands, did so much, that it was granted, that men of fiftie pounds and vnder in goods, should also pay twelue pence of euerie pound in the fourth yeare: which could not be brought about but with great adu, and much grudging of the burgeses and commons. The one and thirtieth of Iulie, the parlement was adourned: Westminster, & there continuing till the thirteenth of August, was that day at nine of the clock at night dissolued. During the time of this parlement, the seven and twentieth of Aprill, was sir Arthur Platenagenet, bassard sonne to king Edward the fourth, at Wyndesore created vicount Lisle, in right of his wife, which was wife to Edmund Dupleie beheaded.

Arthur Platenagenet created vicount Lisle.

In this yeare the fiftenth of June, Christerne king of Denmarke, with his wife, and a small traine with them, landed at Douer, where he was noblely receiued by the earle of Devonshire, the bishops of Exeter and Rochester, and diuerse knights and esquieres which brought them to Greenwiche, where the king and queene receiued them with all honor. Now after he had remained at the court certaine daies, he was brought to London, & lodged at Bath place.

The king of Denmarke arriveth in England.

He saw the watch on saint Peters euen, being brought vnto the kings head in Cheape, accompanied with the duke of Suffolke, the earles of Dorset, &

See Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. Cx.

Essex, and Kent, and diuerse other lords and ladies. The citie made to him and to his wife a collicke banquet that night, and after he had passed the time a while in London, he resorted againe to the king, and had of him great gifts, and so likewise had his wife of the queene his aunt, & then taking their leave they departed, and were conueied to Douer. And thus after this king had bene in England two and twentie daies, he took shipping, and sailed againe into Flanders, where he remained as a banished man out of his owne countrie.

About the same time, the earle of Hildare being restored to the cardinals fauour, and taking to wife the ladie Elizabeth Graie, was sent ouer againe into Ireland to occupie his former office, where by the assistance of his faithfull friend Hugh Hynde archbishop of Dublin, and chancellour of that land, he brought the countrie into reasonable good order, so far as the rebellious doings of the wild Irish would permit. In this meane while, the warre was earnestly pursued betwene England & France, & England and Scotland, in somuch that each part did what in them lay to hurt other. On the borders toward Scotland lay the earle of Surrie high admerall of England, and the marques Dorset, with his brethren, sir William Compton, & sir William Kingston, with diuerse other knights and esquieres sent to them by the king, which daile invaded the realme of Scotland, and there vnto the castell of Wetherborne, the castell of West Melgate, the castell of Blackater, the tower of Spackwallles, the tower of east Melgate, & manie other, and burnt to the number of thirtie and seven villages, and haried the countrie from the east marches to the west, and neuer had skirmish.

For the Scots, albeit they shewed themselves in plumps, waiting some aduantage, they durst not yet approach to the maine battell of the Englishmen, so that in all this iournie there were but few Englishmen lost. When the lords perceived that the Scots ment not to make ante invasion into England this yeare, they took order for the fortifying of the frontiers, and so returned. It was thought that the cardinall perceiving in what fauour sir William Compton was with the king, and doubting least the same might diminish his authoritie, deuised to send him thus into the warres against the Scots. For the said sir William could not well brooke the cardinals presumption, in taking vpon him so highlie, to the derogation of the kings supreme gouernement, and therefore the cardinall in his absence thought to worke him out of fauour: but it would not be. For shortly after was sir William Compton called home to the court againe.

The Frenchmen burned a ship fraught with stone in the haven of Calis, vpon hope to haue destroyed the haven; but they missed the channell in bringing in the ship, and so after that the ship was consumed with fire, the stones were recovered out of the water, and brought into Calis, which serued the Englishmen to good vse. Diuerse enterprises were atchieued betwixt them of the garrisons French and English in those marches. In Iulie the lord Sands treasurer of Calis, with other capteins & souldiours, to the number of twelue hundred, entered into the confines of their enemies, and came before Bellingne, where they had a great skirmish, & put their enemies to the worse: and after marching into the countrie, took diuerse churches and other places which the Frenchmen had fortified, as the church of Wderfall, the steeple of Wdingham, and the castell of Hardingham, and so after they had bene within the enemies countrie almost two nights and two daies, they came backe to Calis, hauing not lost past a dozen of their men.

The king of England being aduertised that the

The Frenchmen meaning to destroy Calis, the hampers disappeared by miling the channell.

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Dom. 1523

Reg. 15.

es, The citie of London bene heretofore the of Denmark, at: The king of Denmark, es, porteth out of England into his planters.

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duke of Albanie would returne hostile into Scotland by sea, and bring with him a power of French men, prepared a fleet of tall and strong ships meet to encounter with the same duke and his power, and appointed for admirall, sir William Fitz Williams, & with him sir Francis Brian, sir Anthony Poyntes, sargeant Kot, John Hopton, William Gantson, Anthony Bneuet, Thomas West, and other, which used great diligence to have met with the said duke of Albanie. And as they laie on the French coast, the foure and twentieth of August being fundaie, at season of the clocke in the morning, they landed in the haven of Trepoist, and assaulted the Frenchmen that were in certeine bulwarks on the shore, and did what they could to impeach the Englishmens landing.

But the Englishmen encouraged by their captains, did so valiantlie (although they were but an handfull of men in comparison of their enemies, as seven hundred to six thousand) that in the end they repelled the Frenchmen, and wan their bulwarks of them, and in the same found diuerse peeces of ordinance, which they seized. And perceiuing that the Frenchmen fled to the towne of Trepoist, they followed, and shot at them right egerlie, so that manie of the Frenchmen were slaine and wounded, yet they could get to the towne. The Englishmen assaulted the gates but could not breake them open: yet they set fire on the suburbs, & also burnt seven ships which laie in the haven. The English captains perceiuing how the people of the countrie came downe in great numbers to the rescue of the towne, caused their men to get together such spoiles as they might bring awaie in that sudden: and then after they had bene on land five houres, with like speed as they came, they retired backe againe to their ships, not without some losse and damage of men both hurt & slaine; as it often hapneth, when those be not found vnprouided which a man vndoubtedly assaulteth.

In this season the king hauing put an armie of men in a readinesse, caused the same to be transported ouer to Calis, & appointed the duke of Suffolke to haue the leading thereof, and to make a forraie into France. The duke (according to his commission) came to Calis the foure and twentieth of August, and there abiding the armie, caused all things to be prepared necessarie for the same, as vittells, munition, and such like. There were appointed to attend him in this iourneie, the lord Pontacut, and his brother sir Arthur Pole, the lord Herbert sonne to the earle of Worcester, the lord Ferrers, the lord Sparne, the lord Sandes, the lord Barkleie, the lord Polwes, and the baron Curson: of knights sir Richard Wingfield chancellour of the duchie of Lancaster, sir John Uxer, sir Edward Penill, sir William Kingston, sir Richard Weston, sir Andrew Winton, sir Robert Wingfield, sir Anthony Wingfield, sir Edward Gullford, sir Edward Greuile, sir Edward Chamberleine, sir Thomas Lucie, sir Guerard Digbie, sir Adrian Folseto, sir Richard Cornwell, sir William Courtneie, sir William Sidneie, sir Henrie Owen, and manie others.

The whole armie (as appeared by the musters taken thereof) consisted in six hundred demilances, two hundred archers on horsebacke, three thousand archers on foot, and five thousand bill men. To these also were adioined seuentene hundred, which were taken out of the garisons and crewes of Hammes, Guines, & Calis, so that in all they were ten thousand and five hundred, well armed and appointed for the warre. Beside them, there were also two thousand sir hundred labourers and pioners. When this armie was come ouer to Calis, and all things readie for the iourneie, they issued out of Calis

and toke the fields. The vant-gard was led by the lord Sandes. Capteine of the right wing was sir William Kingston, & on the left sir Guerard Digbie. The marshall of Calis sir Edward Gullford was capteine of all the horsemen. The duke himselfe governed the battell, and sir Richard Wingfield was capteine of the reere-ward.

While the armie laie without Calis, they daile came into the towne. And so it happened that a simple fellow cut a purse, as he made to buie apples, which incontinent was taken, and brought to the maiors house to ward. Which thing diuerse Welshmen perceiuing, and not knowing what appertained to iustice, ran in great companies to the maiors house, & would haue broken the house. The officers of the towne intreated, but the Welshmen more & more approached. The number of the Welshmen was so great, that the watch of Calis strake alarm. Then the lord deputie and the lord Sandes did all that in them laie, to bring them to conformitie. But they were so rude, that they nothing them regarded: the priests brought forth the sacrament, which also was not regarded. Wherefore the lord Ferrers was straightlie commanded to appease their rage, for with him they came thither, which with great paine and intreatie them appeased. And then all the Welshmen were commanded to the field, and to depart the towne, and so were all other captains: and after wards diuerse of the head rioters were apprehended and sore punished for example.

The first enterprize that the duke attempted, was the winning of a castell called Bell castell, to which the lord Sandes, and the lord Ferrers being sent, did so much by the power of battrie, that after the walls were beaten, those that were appointed to giue the assault, prepared them therto. Which when the Frenchmen within perceiued, they yielded the place into the Englishmens hands, and themselves to the mercie of the duke, which receiued them as prisoners, and deliuered the castell to sir William Skeuington, the which he caused to be raised downe to the ground the seauen and twentieth of September. In this season was the duke of Warbon high constable of France revolted from service of the French king to the service of the emperor and the king of England. For after it was knowne that this duke had his mind alienated from the French king, sir John Russell (that was afterward created erle of Bedford) was sent into France vnto the said duke.

This gentleman being verie faire spoken, & well languaged, in disguised apparell, ordered himselfe so wiselie and fortunatlie in his forneie, that in covert manner he came to the duke, and so perswaded him, that he continued in his former determination, and adioined the realme of France, as in the French historye ye maie more at large perceiue. The more to encourage the English souldiers, there was a proclamation made in the host the eight and twentieth of September, how the said duke of Warbon was become enemie to the French king, and friend to the king of England; so that hauing in his wages ten thousand Almans, he was readie to invade France in another part, the more to let & disturb the French kings purposes. For the accomplishing therof there was sent to him monie in no small summes. After this proclamation the nine and twentieth of September, the duke of Suffolke remoued to Arto, and so forwarde into Picardie. At Corde betweene Tervine and saint Omers, there came to him the lord of Alstein, and with him of Spaniards, Almans, Cleueners, and others, three thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen.

The duke being thus furnished with new aid, marched forwarde in wet weather, and made bridges,

Triot at Calis. Edw. Hall, pag. Cxiiii.

Well castell assaulted.

Well castell yielded vp to the Englishmen.

Sir John Russell created afterwarde erle of Bedford.

The Spaniards ioune with the English armie.

Dom. 15.

in Reg. 15.

called Breckers, which had as good will to be still as broad, as the Welshmen had desire to returne home. For these Breckers by spoiling of townes, taking of prisoners, & other such practises of warlike exploits, made their haunts, and daillie brought to the campe, hollies, marcs, vittels, cloth, come, and other necessaries, which might not have bene missed.

After great raines and winds which had chanced in that season, there followed a soze frost, which was so extreame, that manie died for cold, and some lost fingers, some lost toes, and manie lost nailes be- fore their fingers, so extreame was the rigour of that frost. The thirtenth daie of November the duke re- moved to a place within two miles of Bogan ca- stell, and still it froze. The Welshmen in the morning set out a shout, and cried; Home, home. The Breckers hearing that, cried; Hang, hang. Hereof businesse was like to have ensued, but by policie it was ceas- ed. Sir Edward Guilford capitaine of the horsemen viewing the castell of Bogan, perceived that the marishes (wherewith it was inclosed) were so hard frozen, that great ordinance might passe over the same. Which he signified to the duke, & therewith the duke was contented that he should trie what successe would come of giving the attempt to win it. So was the ordinance brought over the marshy ground, where of they within being advertised, immediatlie after three shots of canon discharged against them, they yielded the castell, and all the artillerie within it, of the which there was good store, as three score & fiftene peeces great and small. The keeping of this castell was delivred to the seneſcall of Henegot.

In this meane while the lord Sands was come to the court, and informed the king of the state of the armie. The king had before his coming heard that his people in the said armie were in great miserie, both by reason of the intemperat weather, & unfor- tunable time of the yeare, the lacke of vittels, & such other discommodities: wherefore he caitled a new power of six thousand men to be prepared and sent unto the duke of Suffolke for a reliefe, under the lea- ding of the lord Pontifoe. But per this power could be put in order to passe the sea, and before the duke could have knowledge againe from the king of his further pleasure, he was constrained to breake up his armie, and returned by Valencennes, and so through flanders unto Calis. He left at Valencennes all the great artillerie. The king was somewhat displea- sed with the breaking up of the armie thus contrarie to his mind, but hearing the reasonable excuses which the duke & the capitaine had to alleage, he was shortly after pacified. And so after they had remained in Ca- lis a certeine time, untill their friends had asswaged the kings displeasure, they returned, and all things were well taken, and they received into as much fa- vour as before.

But now to returne to the doings in other parts, as betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, which chanced in this meane while that the duke of Suffolke was thus in France. We shall understand, that the Scots hearing that the warre was thus turned into France, thought that nothing should be attempted against them, and therefore waxed more bold, and began to rob and spoile on the marches of England. Wherefore the king sent againe thither the earle of Surrie treasurer, and high admerall of England, the which with all speed comming to the west borders, sent for an armie of six thousand men, with the which entering Scotland by the drie marishes, he over- threw certeine castels, piles, and small holds, till he came through the dales to Jedworth, wherein laie a great garrison of Scots, which skirmished with the English in right sharpe at their first comming, but yet at length the towne, abbeie, and castell were

wone, spoiled, and burned.

After this the earle incamped within the Scottish ground from the two and twentieth of September till the five and twentieth of the same moneth, & then returned backe againe into England. During which time the lord Dacres was the castell of Fernberst. The French king perceiving that the Scots did not worke anie notable trouble to the Englishmen to staie them from the invading of France (& the cause was (as he took it) for that they lacked the duke of Albanye, whome they named their gouvernour) he therefore provided a navie of ships to have transpor- ted him over into Scotland; so that all things were redie for his journe. But the Englishmen were re- die on the sea under the conduct of sir William Fitz Williams to stop his passage if he had let forward; wherefore he caused his ships to be brought into West haven, and byted it abroad, that he would not go into Scotland that yeare.

The king of England being certified that the duke meant not to depart out of France of all that yeare, about the middes of September, commanded that his ships should be laid up in haven till the next spring. The duke of Albanye being thereof adverti- sed, boldie then took his ships, and sailed into Scot- land with all convenient speed, as in the Scottish hi- storie ye maie read more at large. Shortly after his arrivall there, he wrought so with the Scots, that an armie was leaved, with the which he approached to the borders of England, & lodged at Calvestre, readie to enter into England. The king of Eng- land having advertisement given to him from time to time of the proceedings of his adversaries, with all diligence caused to be assembled the people of the north parts beyond Trent, in such numbers that there were three thousand gentlemen bearing coats of armes with their powers and strength, which were all commanded to repaire to the erle of Surrie with speed. The noble marquesse Dorset was appointed with six thousand men to keepe Berwik, lest the Scots should late siege thereto.

The duke of Albanye hearing of the preparation which the earle of Surrie made against him, sent to him an herald, promising him of his honour to give him battell; and if he took him prisoner, he would put him to courteous ransom, & his bodie to be safe. To whome the earle answered, that much he thanked the duke of his offer, promising him to abide battell if he durst give it; & that if the said duke chanced to be taken by him or his, he would strike off his head, and send it for a present to his majestie the king of Eng- land, and bade him that he should trust to none other. At this answer the duke and the Scots took great despite. The earle of Surrie being at Alnewicke, there came to him the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lords Clifford, Dacres, Lum- leie, Dgle, & Darcie, with manie knights, esquires, gentlemen, and other souldiers and men of warre, to the number of fortie thousand. And from the court there came the maister of the horse, sir Nicholas Ca- rew, sir Francis Brian, sir Edward Bainton, and others.

The last of October being saturday, in the night before the same daie, the duke of Albanye sent two or three thousand men over the water to besiege the castell of Marke, which comming thither with their great ordinance, beat the castell verie soze, and won the uttermost ward called the Barnekins. On sun- daie and mondaie being the first and second of No- vember, they continued their batterie, and then thin- king that the place was assailable, courageously set on the castell, and by strength entered the second ward. Sir William Lisle that was capitaine of this castell, perceiving the entimes to have wone the

The castell of Fernberst won by the lord Dacres.

See the histo- rie of Scot- land, pag. 309. & sic deinceps.

Berwik cheifie regar- ded.

The castell of Marke assai- led by the Scots.

The Scots & French driven backe from warke castell.

false bazels, and that nothing remained but onlie the inner ward or dungeon, incouraged his men to the best of his power, with words of great comfort and manhood, and therewith issued forth with those few that he had left about him (for he had lost manie at other assaults) and what with couragious shewing, and manfull fighting, the enemies were driven out of the place, and of them were slaine, and named lie of those Frenchmen which the duke had brought forth of France, to the number of three hundred; which laie there dead in fight when the earle of Surrie came thither, besides such as died of wounds, and were drowned.

When the Scots and Frenchmen removed their ordinance over the water in all hast, and by that time that they were got over, the earle of Surrie was come with five thousand horsemen, and all his great armie followed. He was forie that his enemies were gone, and much praised sir William Lisle for his valiance. The earle would gladlie have followed his enemies into their owne borders, but his commission was onlie to defend the realme, and not to invade Scotland; and therefore he said, not onlie unto the great displeasure of himselfe, but also of manie a lustie gentleman, that would gladlie have sene further proofe of the Scottish mens manhood. Shortly after, the queene of Scots, mother to the king, sent to hir brother the king of England, for an abstinence of warre, untill further communication might be had about the conclusion of some good agreement betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, which request to hir was granted; and so the English armie brake up, and the earle of Surrie returned to the court.

Edw. Hall in H. 8. fol. Cxvj. A present sent by the emperor to the king.

In this season the emperor Charles sent to the king of England two mules trapped in crimsin velvet curiouslie embroidered, all the buckles, stirrups and all such other garnishings were silver and gilt of marvellous cunning worke. He sent also eleven girdles full goodlie to behold trapped with rusted velvet richlie wrought, and foure speares, and two iavelins of strange timber & worke richlie garnished, and five brace of greihounds: and to the queene he sent two mules with rich trappers, and high chaires after the Spanish fashion. All these presents were thankfullie received both of the king and queene.]

In anticipation.

Whilest the earle of Surrie was in the marches of Scotland, and the duke of Suffolke in France (as before ye have heard) the cardinall sent out commissions in the moneth of October, that everie man being worth fortie pounds, should paie the whole subsidie before granted, out of hand, not tarrieng till the daies of payment limited. This was called an anticipation, that is to meane, a thing taken before the time appointed, and was a new term not knowne before those daies: but they paid sweetelie for their learning. In December were taken certeine traitors in Couentrie, one called Francis Philip, scholemaster to the kings henchmen, and one Christopher Pickering cleerke of the larder, and one Anthonie Painville gentleman, which by the perswasion of the said Francis Philip, intended to have taken the kings treasure of his subsidie, as the collectors of the same came towards London, and then to have raised men and taken the castell of Killingworth, and to have arrayed warre against the king. The said Francis, Christopher, and Anthonie, were hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tibothe the eleventh of Februarie, and the other were sent to Couentrie, and there executed.

The archduke of Austria made knight of the garter.

In this peare the king sent the lord Dorelle, sir William Huseie knight, & doctor Lee his almoner to don Ferdinando the archduke of Austria, with the order of the garter, which in the toke of Au-

remberge received the same, where all the princes of Germanie were then assembled at a diet or council. In this meane while, diuerse enterprises and feats of warre were practised and atchured by them of the garrisons in the marches of Calis, and the Frenchmen of Bullogne, and the borders thereabouts: but the Frenchmen commonlie were put to the worse. Amongest other exploits, it chanced that one Wexeton a gentleman, and capteine of a number of the aduenturers, as he went about to spoile the towne of Wall, was taken by the French horsemen, and sold unto the pezants of the countrie, the which unmercifullie slue him and fiftene more that were taken with him; after that the men of warre had deliuered them, and were departed. But this murder was reuenged shortly by other of the aduenturers, which comming unto the same towne of Wall, took thirtie eight prisoners of the inhabitants, & slue of them thirtie & six, & burned the towne.

In this peare thorough books of cphemerides, and prognostications, foreshewing much hurt to come by waters & floods, many persons bittelled themselves and went to high grounds for feare of drowning. Speciallie one Bolton prior of saint Bartholomewes in Smithfield, builded him an house upon Harrow on the hill, onlie for feare of this flood, and thither he went and made provision of all things necessarie for the space of two moneths. This great raine and waters should haue fallen in Februarie, but no such thing hapened, whereby the follie of men was shewed. The astronomers for their errie did saie, that in their computation they had miscounted in their number an hundred yeares. A legat was sent from the pope to the king to moue him to peace: but the king declared to him the whole circumstance of his title, for the which he made wars against the Frenchmen, and thereof deliuered notes to the said legat, the which departed with the same backe to Rome in post. He had bene first with the French king, and with the emperor, but could not bring them to any god consocietie, as his desire was to haue done; so that his trauell was without frute in manner, as it appeared.

Manie enterprises, skirmishes, foires, and other feats of warre were attempted and put in vze betwixt the Englishmen of Calis, Guisnes, and other fortresses there in those marches, and the Frenchmen of Bullogne, and other of the garrisons in the frontiers of Picardie, and still sir William Fitz Williams as then capteine of Guisnes, sir Robert Jerningham capteine of Pelwam bridge, sir John Mallop, and sir John Cage were those that did to the Frenchmen most damage. Also monsieur de Bees being capteine of Bullogne, did for his part what he could to defend the frontiers there, and to annoy his enemies. Yet one daie in Maie, sir William Fitz Williams, and sir Robert Jerningham, with seven hundred men (accounting in that number the Breckers) went to Bullogne, and there skirmished with the Frenchmen, whilest Christopher Co a capteine of foure English ships took land, and fought with them of bafe Bullogne on the one side, as the Breckers assailed them on an other.

There was a sharpe bickering, and in the end the Frenchmen were driven backe, and diuerse of them slaine & taken, speciallie by the Breckers, that won the barriers of them, & so when the tide was turned, Christopher Co with his men withdrew to his ships, & the Breckers returned to sir William Fitz Williams, who staid for them, and then gathering his men together by sound of a trumpet, sent forth such as might fetch the drifts of beasts and cattell in the countrie neere adjoining, & with the same returned backe in safetie. On the eight of August monsieur de Bees accompanied

Some captives of the French were taken.

The Scots and English were at Harrow on the hill.

The legat from the pope was sent to the king.

The Scots were driven backe.

The Breckers were taken.

The Breckers were taken.

The Breckers were taken.

The Breckers were taken.

Dom. 152

Reg. 16.

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accompanied with diuerse French lordes and men of war, to the number of eight hundred footmen, and as manie horsemen, came verie earlie in a morning to a village called Bommings, within the English pale, and leauing there three hundred horsemen in ambush, rood to Ballewell, and there appointed to tarrie with other three hundred men, and the residue of the horsemen and footmen with banner displayed went forth and forraied all the countrie.

Sir Robert Feringham also with foure score horsemen issued forth of Calis, to vnderstand the demeanour of the Frenchmen : but being not able to resist the great number of the Frenchmen, he was chased, and saued himselfe by flight. But this displeasure was shortly after reuenged by the said Robert, the which comming to Sparguison the twelue of August with three hundred footmen, and three score horsemen, he skirmished with the Frenchmen that stood at defence, chased them into the church, and fired them out of the same, so that the Frenchmen leapt out of the church to their destruction, for of three hundred there were saued but three score alive. On the one and twentieth of Maie being Trinitie sondaie, five hundred Scottishmen in the morning verie earlie, entred by severall wayes into England, and laie covertlie by the high wales, in purpose to haue surprised such market men as came to the faire that day kept at Berwtike. They toke diuerse, but finally being espied, the alarme rose, and they were fought with right sharple, who defended themselves with such manhood in drabwing backe to their aduantage, that if the young lord of Fulberie had not come to the succours of the Englishmen, the Scots had gone a waile with their bootie. Notwithstanding in the end they were glad to seeke refuge by flight, losing 200 of their number, which were taken in the chase.

On the first of Iulie next ensuing, sir John a Fentwike, Leonard Pusgrau, and bassard Heron, with diuerse other English captains, hauing with them nine hundred men of war, entred the Pers, mind- ing to fetch out of the same some bootie, and encount- ring with the Scots being in number two thousand, after soe and long fight, caused them to leaue their ground and to flie, so that in the chase were taken two hundred Scots, and manie slaine, & amongst them were diuerse gentlemen. But sir Rafe a Fentwike, Leonard Pusgrau, and the bassard Heron, with thirtie other Englishmen well horsed, followed so farre in the chase, that they were past rescue of their companie, whereof the Scots being aduised, sudden- ly returned, and set on the Englishmen, which oppres- sed with the multitude of their enemies, were some overcome, and there was taken sir Rafe a Fentwike, Leonard Pusgrau, and sir other : and bassard He- ron, with seauen other were slaine. The residue by chance escaped. The other Englishmen with their 200 prisoners returned safelie into England.

On the seuenth of Iulie, the Englishmen fought with like fortune against the Scots that were ente- red England at the west marches. For in the begin- ning they put the Scots to the worke, and toke three hundred of them prisoners: but afterwards, because the Englishmen that had taken those prisoners, withdrew out of the field with the same prisoners, the Scots perceiuing the number of the English- men to be diminished, gaue a new onset on the Eng- lishmen, and them distressed. After this, the Scots sued for a truce, and had it granted to indure till the feast of saint Andrew. This yeare the first of Sep- tember was doctor Thomas Haniball maister of the rolles receiued into London with earles, and bi- shops, and diuerse other nobles and gentlemen, as ambassadors from pope Clement, which brought with him a robe of gold for a token to the king. And

on the daie of the natiuitie of our ladie, after a so- lemne masse song by the cardinal of Poike, the said present was deliuered to the king : which was a tree forged of fine gold, & wrought with branches, leaues, and floures resembling roses. This tree was set in a pot of gold which had three feet of antike fashion. The pot was of measure halfe a pint, in the vpper most rose was a faire saphire loupes perked, the bignesse of an acorne, the tree was of heighth halfe an English yard, and a foot in breadth.

This yeare in Iulie the lord Archembald Dou- glas earle of Angus, which had married the queene of Scots sister to the king of England, escaped out of France (where he had remained for a season, in man- ner as a banished man) and came into England to the king, as then being at Grenewich, and was of him courteously receiued. Sir Anthonie Fitz Ber- bert one of the Iustices of the common ples, sir Rafe Egerton knight, and doctor Denton deane of Litchfield, being sent in the beginning of this yeare in- to Ireland as commissioners, behaued themselves so sagelie, that they reformed diuers wrongs, brought sundrie of the wild Irish by faire means vnto obedi- ence, and made (by the kings authoritie) the earle of Kildare deputie of the land; before whome the great Ordele bare the sword. And the lord Piers Butler earle of Ormond, which before was deputie, was now made high treasurer of Ireland. In Septem- ber the said commissioners returned.

During all this season, there were daile attempts made and practised by the Englishmen in the lowe countries, namelie the English horsemen; & the ad- uenturers rested not, but daile made inuasions vpon the French confines. But the aduenturers about the beginning of winter made an enterprize to fetch some bootie from a village lieng towards Spurrell. They were not fullie two hundred men, and of those there were five and twentie horsemen. The French- men by chance the same time were abroad vnder the conduct of the earle of Dammartine, which was going to S. Omers with fiftene hundred horse- men, and eight hundred footmen, and perceiuing where the aduenturers were comming, made to- wards them, and after long & cruell fight overcame them, and slue most part of them, for that in defend- ing themselves most stoutlie, they had slaine and wounded a great number of the Frenchmen per- they could be overcome, keeping themselves close to- gether, and might not be broken so long as they had anie arrowes to shot. This was the end of the ad- uenturers otherwile called Irakers, being as har- die men as euer serued prince.

In December there came to London diuerse ambassadoers out of Scotland, about a peace to be had, and a marriage concluded betwene the king of Scots, and the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England, as in the Scottish historie yee shall find more at large expressed. Before the feast of Christ- masse, the lord Leonard Grate, and the lord John Grate, brethren to the marquesse Dorset, sir George Cobham, sonne to the lord Cobham, William Ca- rie, sir John Dableie, Thomas Wiat, Francis Pointz, Francis Sidneie, sir Anthonie Browne, sir Edward Seimor, Oliuer Spanners, Perciuall Hart, Sebastian Pudigate, and Thomas Calen, esquires of the kings household, enterprised a cha- llenge of feats of armes against the feast of Christ- mas, which was proclaimed by Winsloe the herald, and performed at the time appointed after the best maner, both at tilt, tourneie, barriers, and assault of a cassell erected for that purpose in the tiltyard at Grenewich, where the king held a rotall Christmasse that yeare, with great mirth and princelie pastime.

In the moneth of Ianuarie, the cardinal by his power

Commis-
sioners sent into
Ireland to re-
forme the
countrie.

The earle of
Kildare made
deputie of
Ireland.

The end of
the Irakers.

See the histo-
rie of Scot-
land, pag. 312.

See these
triumphs in
Edw. Hall
pag. Cxxxij.

1525

The friers ob-
servants im-
pugne the
cardinals au-
thoritie.

An. Dom. 1552.

An. Reg. 16

power Legantine, would have visited the friers ob-
servants, but they in no wise would thereto condes-
cend, wherefore nineteen of the same religion were
accursed at Pauls crosse, by one of their owne reli-
gion, called frer Fozrest. John Fokin Steward of
household to the French kings mother, this yere whil-
est the French king was in Italie, came into Eng-
land, & was received in secret maner into the house
of one doctor Larke, a prebendarie of S. Stephens,
and oftentimes talked with the cardinal about the
affaires betwixt the kings of England and France,
motioning waies for a peace to be concluded. When
this was knowne abroad, as at the length it was,
monseigneur de Bzate the emperours ambassado; mis-
liked such covert doings, and soze grudged thereat.
The foure and twentieth of Januarie, the president of
Rome called monseigneur Bzinton, came to London as
ambassado; from the French king, and was lodged
with the said John Fokin.

Ambassadors
from the em-
perour and
their request.

On sundae the first of March were received in-
to London monseigneur de Bzate lord of Campher, ad-
mirall of Flanders, and maister John de la Cose, as
ambassadors from the ladie Margaret in the name
of the emperour. These ambassadors required three
things in their suit. First they demanded the ladie
Marie the kings onelie daughter to be deliuered out
of hand, and she to be named emperesse, and to take
possession of all the lowe countries, and to be gover-
nour of the same. Also that all such sums of monie as
the king should giue with hir in mariage for a dow-
er to be made to hir, should be paid instantlie.
Thirdlie, that the king of England himselfe should
passe the sea, and make warre in France the next
summer. The two first demands were not agreed to
for certeine causes, and as to this last, the king said
he would take aduilement.

News of the
siege of Pavia
& the taking
of the French
king prisoner.

On thursdae the ninth of March, at seauen of the
clocke in the morning, there came a gentleman in
posse from the ladie Margaret gouernesse of Flan-
ders, which brought letters containing how that the
seure and twentieth of Februarie, the siege of Pavia
(where the French king had lien long) was raised by
force of battell, and the French king himselfe taken
prisoner. The same day the president of Rome, & John
Fokin were going to the court (for they had not yet
spoken with the king) and in Wolborne in their waie
heard these things, whereupon they returned to their
lodging right sorrowfull, and within short space after
returned to the regent of France. It was thought
the king would have agreed with the French king, if
his chance had not hapned, for all the people of Eng-
land grudged against Flanders, for the euill demean-
our of the Flemings in time of the warre. Also the
king was displeased with them for inhancing his
come there, which caused much monie to be conueied
out of this realme baillie ouer into that countrie.
Vnconfort and great triumph was made in London
for the taking of the French king, on saturday the
eleuenth of March; and on the morow after being
sunday the twelfth of March, the king came to
Pauls, and there heard a solemne masse, and after
the same was ended, the quere sang *Te Deum*, and the
minstrels plaid on euerie side.

Ab. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 902.
& sic deinceps.
The battell
of Pavia,
wherein the
French king
is taken pris-
oner.

Here it is conuenient to adde the battell of Pa-
uia, wherein the French king was taken prisoner,
most notably discoursed by Guicciardine, in the fif-
teenth booke of his historie: the principall matter
whereof, to make the report of Pavia and the French
king moze perspicuous, it were good to inferre. On
the night (saith mine author) before the five and twen-
tith of Februarie, a daie dedicated by the christians
to the apostle saint Mattheu, and also the daie of the
natiuitie of the emperour, the imperialles determi-

ned to march to Spirabell, where late incamped cer-
teine companies of horsemen and footmen. In this
march they stood upon this intention, that if the
French men moued, then they had set at libertie the
siege of Pavia: and if they moued not, then to ad-
uenture the fortune of the battell. Therefore the bet-
ter to aduance this determination, all the beginning
of the night they gaue manie alarmes, the more to
keepe trauelled and wearie the French men, making
semblance as though they would charge them on
that side towards Pado, Vselin, and saint Lazarus.

About midnight enerie souldior, by the comman-
dement of the capteins, put on a white cassakin ouer
his armor, to be knowne from the Frenchmen. They
were cast into two squadrons of horsemen, a foure
of footmen. In the first were six thousand footmen
equallie compounded of lanceknights, Spaniards,
and Italians: this squadron was led by the mar-
quesse of Guast: the second stood onelie upon cer-
teine bands of Spanisch footmen under the charge of
the marquesse of Palsquairo: the third and fourth
squadron were of lanceknights, commanded by the
viceroy and the duke of Bourbon. They arrived
at the parke walles certeine houres before daie, and
by the working of their masons, and readie willes
of their souldiers, they cast downe to the earth three
score fadome of wall: by which breach, being entred
within the parke, the first squadron drew towards
Spirabell, and the residue of the armie toke the waie
to the campe.

As soone as the king understood that they were
entred into the parke, thinking they would draw to
Spirabell, he issued out of his lodging to fight in
plaine and open field, desiring to draw the battell
rather to that place than to any other, for the ad-
uantages which it gaue to the horsemen: he com-
manded to turne the artilleries toward the enemies,
which beating them in flanke, brought great da-
mage to the reregard. But in the meane while, the
battell of the imperialles gave a furious charge vpon
the kings squadron, which ordinarily was the
battell: but as the Spaniards went, it was the
reregard. The king fought valiantlie, & abode with
great courage the violence of his enemies, who with
the furie of their harquebuziers forced his men to
giue ground, till the rescue of the Switzers came,
when the Spaniards were repelled, as well by them
as by the horsemen that charged them in flanke.
But the viceroy being called in by the marquesse of
Palsquairo, who brought to the fight his lanceknights,
they were easilie broken, not without great slaugh-
ter of the Switzers, who that daie did nothing a-
gainst the opinion of balo; which sometimes they had
waied to honorablie to expresse in battelles.

The king kept alwaies the middle of the battell,
being insurrounded with a great gard of men at armes.
And albeit he did what he could to containe and con-
firme his people: yet after he had fought long with
his owne hands, his horse being slaine under him,
him selfe lightlie hurt in the face and in the hand, he
was stricken downe to the earth, and taken pris-
oner by five souldiers that knew not what he was. In
which misfortune the viceroy pressing into the
throng his maiestie disclosed him selfe to him, who
with great reuerence kissed his hand, and received
him prisoner in the emperours name. At the same
time the marquesse of Guast with the first squadron
had defeated the horsemen that were at Spirabell.
And Antonie de Leua, who (as was said) had to that
end cast downe to the earth so great a quantitie and
space of wall, as an hundred and fiftie horsemen
might fallie forth in front, issued out of Pavia, & he
charged the French behind, that he put them to flight.
And in that feare they were almost all stricken
yes

The number
of the French
that were
killed in this
battell.

The number
of the same
in the impe-
rallie side.

The manner
how the
French king
was taken
prisoner.

Guic. pag. 904.

ped and trusted, except the reregard of the hoſte-
men, which being led by monsieur de Alanſon from
the beginning of the battell, retired almoſt whole.

It is holden for certeine, that in this battell were
ſaine more than eight thouſand men of the French
campe, part by ſword, and part of bodies drowned
in the river of Aheſſin, ſeeking their ſafetie by ſwim-
ming.

Of this generall number were about twen-
tie of the moſt noble and apparant lords of France,
as the admerall, the lord James Chebanes, the lord
Palilla, and Trimonille, the maſter of the hoſtie,
monsieur de Aubignie, monsieur de Boiſſie, and
monsieur de la Coud, who being taken graeuouſlie
wounded by his enimies, gaue to them his life in
ſted of a ranſome. The priſoners that were taken
were the king of Navarre, the baſtard of Sauoie,
the lord Pontmerancie, Saint Paule, Biſon, A-
mall, monsieur de Chandon, monsieur de Amber-
court, Galeas Viſconte, Frederike Boſſolo, Barna-
bie Viſconte, Cuidanes, with manie gentlemen,
and almoſt all the capteins that eſcaped the ſlaugh-
ter of the ſword. There was alſo taken priſoner Je-
rome Leandzo biſhop of Brundisio the popes nun-
tio, but by commandement of the viceroy, he was
eſſones ſet at libertie: as alſo monsieur Saint
Paule and Frederike Boſſolo committed to the ca-
ſtell of Paula, brake priſon a little after, by the cor-
ruption of the Spaniards that had them in charge.

Of the imperialles ſide the vniuerſall ſlaughter
exceeded not ſeauen hundred bodies; and not one
capteine of name except Ferrand Caſtriot mar-
queſſe of Anco, the marqueſſe of Diſquatio was
wounded in two places, & Anthonie de Leua light-
lie hurt in the leg. The preie and ſpoile of this battell
was ſo great, as there had not bene ſene in Italie
more rich ſouldiours.

Of ſo great an armie there was preſerned but the
reregard of foure hundred lances, commanded by
monsieur de Alanſon, they neuer came to the fight,
neuer ſuffered charge, nor neuer were followed, but
leauing behind them their baggage, they retired
whole to Piemont, their feare making them more
haſtie to ſlie, than carefull of their honor. And as
one calamitie followeth another, ſo the loſſe of the
battell was no ſoner reappozed at Millaine, than
Theodor Triunſce, who laie there in gariſon with
foure hundred lances, departed and toke his waie to
Bulſoquo, all the ſouldiours following him by troops:
inſomuch as the ſame daie that the king loſt the
battell, all the dutchie of Millaine was made free
from the iuriſdiction of the French. The daie after
the victorie, the king was led priſoner to the rocke of
Biquetion, for that the duke of Millaine, in regard
of his proper ſuretie, conſented hardlie that the per-
ſon of the king ſhould be kept within the caſtell of
Millaine: he was garded with great gelouſie and
watch; but in all other things (except his libertie) he
was uſed and honozed as appertained to the ſtate
and maiestie of a king.

Now ſaith mine author, ſpeaking to the readers
of his hiſtorie) you haue ſene ſet downe the ouer-
throw of the French armie in the battell of Paula:
a wretched ſuccelle, where was ſo great expectation
of victorie. You haue ſene a mightie king deliue-
red by priſoner into the hands of him, with whom he
contended for glorie and emperie: a ſpectacle moſt
tragical amongſt all the calamities that fortune
bringeth vpon mans mortalitie. You haue ſene the
moſt part of the nobilitie, and honozable capteins
of France, ſaine in the ſernice and preſence of their
king: a matter that made more lamentable his
owne condition and aduerſitie. You haue ſene the
reſidue of that armie, ſo vniuerſallie perplered with
ſcare and confuſion, that the ſame thing that ſhould

haue retained them in ſo great affliction, made them
the leſſe aſſured, and further off from confidence.

When word came to the emperour of all the ſoy-
mer accidents, the eies of euerie man were ſet to
behold with what propriete of affection he would
receiue his gladſome newes, and to what ends his
thoughts were diſpoſed: who ſo farre as exterior de-
monſtrations made ſhew, expreſſed great tokens
of a mind much moderated, and verie apt to reſiſt
eaſilie the proſperitie of fortune: yea the ſignes and
inclinations appearing ſo much the more incredible,
by how much he was a prince mightie & yong, and as
yet had neuer taſted but of felicitie. For after he
was informed truelie of ſo great a victorie, whereof
he had the reappozt the tenth of March, together with
letters of the French kings owne hand, witten ra-
ther in the ſpirit and condition of a priſoner, than
with the courage of a king, he went forthwith to the
church to make his holie oblations to God with ma-
nie ſolemnities. And the morning folowing he recei-
ued with ſignes of right great deuotion the ſacra-
ment of the eucharist, and ſo went in proceſſion to
our ladies church out of Paduill, where was his
court at that time.

His temperance and moderation was aboute
the expectation of his eſtate, and farre contrarie to
the courſe of the time in matters of that nature: for
he would not ſuffer anie bels to be rung, nor boun-
daires to be made, nor anie other manner of publicke
demonſtrations, ſuch as are uſed for glorie or glad-
neſſe, alledging with a mind more vertuous than in-
ſolent, that ſuch propriete of feaſting and reioicing
was due to victories obtained againſt infidels, but
ought to haue no ſhew where one chriſtian ouercame
another. Neither were the actions and geſtures of
his perſon and ſpeeches differing from ſo great a
temperance and continencie of mind, which he well
expreſſed in the anſwers he made to the congratula-
tions of the ambalaſſadours and great men that were
about him: to whome he ſaid he was not glad of the
accident according to the glorious operation of fleſh
and blond, but his reioicing was in that God had ſo
manfeſtie aided him: which he interpreted to be an
aſſured ſigne that he ſtood in his grace and ſanour,
though not through his owne merit, yet by his cele-
ſtial election. The French king being in the cuſto-
die of the viceroy of Naples (who much comforted
him, and praieſed his valiantneſſe, and praieſed him to
be content, for he ſhould haue a gentle end) deſired to
write to his mother, which was to him granted. His
verie words were theſe.

The French kings letter to his mo- ther the regent of France.

Adauertise you of my infortumat
chance: nothing is left but the
honour and the life that is ſaued.
And ſeing ſome other newes ſhall
recomfort you, I haue deſired to write to
you this letter, the which liberallie hath
bene granted to me: beſeeching you to re-
gard the extremitie of your ſelfe, in inſi-
ring your accuſtomed wiſedome. For I hope
that at length God will not forget me, to
you recommending your little infants and
mine, ſupplieng you to giue ſafe conduct, to
paſſe and returne from Spaine, to this
brarer that goeth toward the emperoz, to
know in what wiſe I ſhall be intreated.
And thus right humbly to your good grace
I haue me recommended. This ſubſcri-
bed

Guic. pag. 915.
The modera-
tion and tem-
perance of the
emperour bp-
on the newes
of the victorie.

A moſt excel-
lent conceit
and ſaieing of
the emperour.

Ed. Hall in H. 8.
fol. Cxxxvj.

This he
ſayeth being
the emperors
priſoner.

Ex number
of the French
armie were
ſaine in this
battell.

Ex number
of the Spanie
armie were
ſaine in this
battell.

Whie the
French
king deſired
to fight in
plaine and open
field.

Ex French
king who pri-
ſoned the
duke of Mil-
laine.

The manner
how the
French king
was banqui-
ſhed and ta-
ken priſoner.

Ex page 94.

bed by your humble and obedient sonne
Francis.

Guic. pag. 625.
The manifold
passions of
perplexities
of the people
in general.

In this estate of aduersitie the people set before
their eyes all that feare and despaire could imagine:
they doubted least so great a calamitie were not the
beginning of a further ruine & subuersion: they saw
their king prisoner, and with him either taken or
slaine in the battell the chieftains of the kingdome,
which in the imagination of their sorowes they held
a losse irreparable: they beheld their captiues dis-
comfited, and their souldiers discouraged: a calamitie
which stopped in them all hope to be readressed or re-
assured: they saw the realme made naked of mo-
nie and treasure, and inuironed with most mightie
enimies: an affliction which most of all caried their
thoughts into the last cogitation of desperat ruine:
for the king of England, notwithstanding that he
had holden manie pactes and treaties, and shewed
in manie things a variation of mind, yet not manie
daies before the battell, he had cut off all the nego-
ciations which he had interteined with the king, and
had published that he would descend into France, if
the things of Italie took anie good successe.

So that the Frenchmen feared least in so great
an oportunitie, the emperor and he would not le-
aue warre against France, either for that there was
no other head or gouernour than a woman, and the
little children of the king, of whom the eldest had not
yet run eight yeares accomplished: or else because
the enimies had with them the duke of Burbon, for
his otone particular a puissant prince, and for his
authoritie in the realme of France verie popular
and strong in opinion, a mightie instrument to stirre
vp most dangerous emotions. Besides, the ladie re-
gent, as well for the loue she bare to the king, as for
the dangers of the realme was not without hir pas-
sions both proper and particular: for being full of
ambition, and most greedy of the gouernment, she
feared that if the kings deliuerie drew any long tract
of time, or if anie new difficultie hapned in France,
she should be constrained to yield by the administra-
tion of the crowne to such as should be delegate and
assigned by the voices of the kingdome. Fewer the-
lesse amid so manie astonishments and confusions,
she drew hir spirits to hir, and by hir example were
recomforted the nobles that were of counsell with
hir, who took speedie order to man the frontiers of
the realme, and with diligence to leaue a good pro-
vision of monie.

The ladie regent, in whose name all expeditions
and dispatches went out, wrote to the emperor let-
ters full of humilitie and compassion, wherein she for-
gat not by degrees vehement and inducing to solicit
a negotiation of accord: by vertue whereof, hauing
a little after deliuered don Hugo de Poncodo, she
sent him to the emperor, to offer him that hir sonne
should renounce and disclaime from all rights of the
kingdome of Naples, and the estate of Millan, with
contentment to refer to the censure and arbitration
of the law, the titles and rights of Burgundie, which
if it appertained to the emperor, he should acknow-
ledge it for the dowrie of his sister: that he should
render to monsieur Burbon his estate together with
his mouables which were of great valour,
and also the suits and revenues which had bene le-
nued by the commissioners sent out of the regall
chamber: that he should giue to his sister in ma-
riage, and deliuer vp to him Pouence, if iudgement
of the interest and right were made of his side.

And for the more facilitie and speedie passage of
this negotiation, rather than for anie desire he had
to nourish hir inclination to the warre, she dispat-
ched immediatlie ambassadours into Italie, to re-

commend to the pope and the Venetians the safetie
of hir sonne. To whom she offered, that if for their
proper securitie, they would contract with hir, and
raile armes against the emperor, she would for the
particular aduance five hundred lances, together
with a great contribution of monie. But amid these
trauels and astonishments, the principall desire as
well of hir, as of the whole realme of France, was, to
appease and assure the mind of the king of England,
inducing trulie that if they could reduce him to amitie
and reconcilement, the crowne of France should re-
maine without quarrell or molestation. Where, if he
on the one side, and the emperor on the other, should
rise in one ioint force, hauing concurrent with them
the person of the duke of Burbon, and manie other
oportunities and occasions, it could not be but all
things would be full of difficulties and dangers.

At this the ladie regent began to discern manie
tokens and apparances of god hope: for notwith-
standing the king of England immediatlie after the
first reappoirts of the victorie, had not onelie expresse
great tokens of gladnesse and reioysing, but also pub-
lished that he would in person passe into France:
and withall had sent ambassadours to the emperor
to solicit and treat of the mowing of warre iointlie
together: yet proceeding in deed with more mildnesse
than was expected of so furious thewes and tokens,
he dispatched a messenger to the ladie regent, to send
to him an expresse ambassadour: which accordingly
was accomplished, and that with fulnesse of authori-
tie and commission, such as brought with it also all
sorts of submitions & implozations which she thought
apt to reduce to appeasement the mind of that king
so highlie displeased. He reposed himselfe altogether
upon the will and counsell of the cardinall of Poix,
who seemed to restraine the king and his thoughts
to this principall end, that bearing such a hand upon
the controuersies and quarrels that ran betwene o-
ther princes, all the world might acknowledge to de-
pend upon him and his authoritie the resolution and
expectation of all affaires.

And for this cause he offered to the emperor at
the same time to descend into France with a puis-
sant armie, both to giue perfection vnto the aliance
concluded betwene them before; and also to remove
all scruple and gelousie, he offered presentlie to con-
signe vnto him his daughter, who was not as yet in
an age and disposition able for marriage. But in these
matters were very great difficulties, partlie depen-
ding upon himselfe, and partlie deriving from the
emperor, who now shewed nothing of that readi-
nesse to contract with him which he had used before:
for the king of England demanded almost all the
rewards of the victorie, as Normandie, Guien, and
Gascoigne, with the title of king of France. And
that the emperor, notwithstanding the inequality
of the conditions should passe likewise into France,
and communicate equalitie in the expences and
dangers. The inequality of these demands troubled
not a little the emperor, to whom they were by so
much the more grievous, by how much he remem-
bered that in the yeares next before, he had alwaies
deferred to make warre euen in the greatest dan-
gers of the French king. So that he persuaded him-
selfe that he should not be able to make anie founda-
tion upon that confederation.

And standing in a state no lesse impouerished for
monie and treasure, than made wearie with labours
and perils, he hoped to draw more commodities
from the French king by the meane of peace, than
by the violence of armes and warres, speciallie tol-
nering with the king of England. Besides, he made
not that accompt which he was wont to doe of the
marriage of his daughter, both for hir minoretie in
age,

The ladie re-
gent hir selfe
was partaker
of these griefs
and fears.

The ladie re-
gents offer to
the emperor
for the deliue-
rie of hir sonne

what mowed
the king of
England
rationallie
perceive the
the regent's
ambassadour.

Guic. pag. 930.
The person of
the French
king led pri-
soner into
Spainne.

The emperor
would have
to receive
more profit
by the French
king in peace
than in warre.

The emperor
would have
to receive
more profit
by the French
king in peace
than in warre.

Dom. 15. 5.

Re. 16.

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Exposition
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grievance
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Exposition
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towards
France.

age, and also for the dowrie for the which he should stand accountable for: so much as the emperor had received by waite of loane of the king of England: he seemed by many tokens in nature to nourish a wonderfull desire to have children, and by the necessity of his condition he was carried with great contentment of monie: upon which two reasons he took a great desire to marie the sister of the house of Portugall, which was both in an age able for marriage, and with whom he hoped to receive a plentiful portion in gold and treasure, besides the liberalities of his owne people offered by waite of beneuolence in case the marriage went forward: such was their desire to haue a queene of the same nation and language, and of hope to procure children.

For these causes the negociation became euery daie more hard and desperat betwene both those princes, wherein was also concurrent the ordinarie inclination of the cardinall of Portie towards the French king, together with the open complaints he made of the emperor, as well for the interests and respects of his king, as for the small reputation the emperor began to hold of him. He considered that afoze the battell of Pavia, the emperor neuer sent letters unto him which were not written with his owne hand, and subscribed, your sonne and cosine Charles: but after the battell, he used the seruice of secretaries in all the letters he wrote to him, insiring nothing of his owne hand but the subscription, not with titles of so great reuerence and submission, but onelie with this bare word Charles. In this alteration of affection in the emperor, the king of England took occasion to receiue with gracious words and demonstrations, the ambassadour sent by the ladie regent, to whome he gaue comfort to hope well in things to come. And a little afterward, estranging his mind wholie from the affaires which were in negociation betwene him and the emperor, he made a confederation with the ladie regent, contracting in the name of hir sonne, wherein he would haue inserted this expresse condition, that for the kings ransom and deliuerie, should not be deliuered to the emperor any thing that at that time should be vnder the power or possession of the crowne of France.

Shortlie after, the viceroy & the other capitaine imperiall were induced vpon urgent reasons to transport the person of the French king into a surer hold, than where presentlie he was kept, iudging that for the ill disposition of others, they could not without perill kepe him garded in the duchie of Milan: in which feare ioined to their continuall desire so to do, they resolved to conueie him to Genes, and from thence by sea to Naples, where his lodging was prepared within the new castell. This determination brought no little græfe to the king, who from the beginning of his captinitie, had vehementlie desired to be carried into Spaine: perhaps he had opinion (measuring happie an other man by his owne nature, or else running with the common error of mortall men being easlie beguiled in things they desire) that if once he were brought to the presence of the emperor, he doubted not of some easie passage for his libertie, either through the emperours benignitie, or by the conditions he meant to offer. The viceroy was of the same desire for the augmentation of his owne glorie.

But being retained for feare of the French armie by sea, they dispatched by common consent monsieur Montmerancie to the ladie regent: who granted to him six light gallies of those that late in the port of Barcelles vpon promise to haue them restored as soon as the king was arrived in Spaine. With these gallies, he returned to Portofino, where the kings person was alreadie arrived, and ioining them to six

tene gallies of the emperor, which was the nauie appointed at first to conduct him to Naples, he reduced them all into one fleet, and armed them all with soldiers of the Spanishe. The captaine imperiall and the duke of Bourbon were perswaded, that the kings person should be led to Naples: but of the contrarie, setting by saile the seuenth of June, they took such course, that the eight daie they arrived with a happie voyage at Rosas a haven of Catalogna: there coming brought no small ioy to the emperor, who till that daie had vnderstood nothing at all of that resolution.

Now as soon as he was made assured of the kings being there, he dispatched commandments unto all places where he should passe, to receiue him with great honours: onelie till it should be otherwise determined, he gave order to kepe him in the castell of Sciatina nere to Valence, a castell ancientlie used by the kings of Aragon for the garding of great prisoners, and wherein had bene kept prisoner for many yeares the duke of Calabria. But the deliberation to kepe him in that place, seeming farre too rigorous to the viceroy, and nothing agreable to the promises he had made to the king in Italie, he wone so much of the emperor, that till he had taken another counsell, the kings person might remaine nere Valence in a place apt for hunting and other delights of the field. Where he left him lodged with sufficient gard, vnder the charge of capitaine Alarcon, in whose custodie he had alwaies remained since his vnfortunate daie.

From thence the viceroy, together with Montmerancie, went to the emperor to make reappoynt of the state of Italie, and the discourse of things which till that daie had bene debated with the king, with whome he perswaded the emperor with many reasons to draw to accord, for that he could not haue a faithfull amitie and coniunction with the Italians. The emperor after he had heard the viceroy and Montmerancie, determined to conueie the king into Castille to the castell of Madrid, a place farre removed from the sea and the confines of France, where being honozed with ceremonies & reuerences agreable to so great a prince, he should neuertheless be kept vnder carefull and strait gard, with libertie to take the aire abroad certeine times of the daie, mounted onelie vpon a mule. The emperor could neuer be brought to admit the king to his presence, if first the accord were not either established, or at least in an assured hope of resolution.

And to the end there might be interposed in the negociation a personage honorable, & almost equall with the king, Montmerancie was sent in great diligence into France, to bring the duchesse of Alanson the kings sister and a widow, with fullnesse of authority to debate and contract. And to the end this negociation of accord were not hindered by new difficulties, there was made a little afterwards a truce vntill the end of December, betwene the emperor and such as administrated the gouernment of France. Afterward the emperor gaue order that one part of those gallies which were come with the viceroy, should returne into Italie to bring the duke of Bourbon into Spaine, without whose presence and priuatie he gaue out that he would make no conuention: and yet the gallies that for want of monie, and other impediments, were prepared but with slow diligence.

Whiles the case of the French king was in demand, but not yet determined, by means of sundrie ouerthwarts that ouerthrew the foundation of euerie purpose tending to his deliuerance: it fortuned that the French king falling sicke in the castell of Madrid, and having in vaine desired the presence of

The emperor
commandeth
that the
French king
should be re-
ceiued with
honour in all
places wher
he should
passe.

A truce for a
time betwene
the emperor
and the gouer-
nors of France.

The French
king extreme-
lie sicke in the
castell of Ma-
drid.
Guic. pag. 237.

the emperor, was caried by his discontentment and melancholie into such extremitie and danger of his life, that the physicians appointed for his cure, told the emperor that they stood desperat of his recovery, if himselfe in person came not to comfort him with some hope of his deliuerie. The emperor obteyning more compassion than the reason of things, was not curious to condescend to perforce so good an office, and as he prepared to visit him accordingly, his high chancelor seeking to turne him from the issue, told him with manie strong reasons, that he could not go to him in honour, but with intention to deliuer him presentlie and without anie covenant: otherwise as it would be a humanitie not roiall but mercenarie, so it would disclose a desire to recouer him, not moued of charitie, but pushed on by his proper interest, as not to lose by his death the occasion of the profit hoped for by the victorie.

The emperor
visith the
French king
in durance.

This counsell assuredlie was graue and honourable touching the man that gaue it, and no lesse worthy to be followed by so great a prince as the emperor: and yet being more caried by the reasons of others, he took post to go to him. But for the danger of the king being almost at the extremitie, the visitation was short, and yet for the time accompanied with gracious words full of hope that he would deliuer him immediatlie vpon his returning to health: in so much that whether it was by the comfort that he breathed into him (in the sicknesse of captiuitie the promise of libertie excuseth all medicines) or by the benefit of his youth, which with the fauour of nature was stronger than the maladie, he began after this visitation to resume so good disposition, that within few daies he was out of danger, notwithstanding he could not recouer his former health but with verie slowe time.

And now neither the difficulties that were shewed on the emperours side, nor the hopes which were given by the Italians, nor anie other nature of impediments whatsoever, could staie the volage of the ladie Alanson into Spaine. For that as nothing was more hard or heauie to the Frenchmen than to leane off the practises and negotiations of accord being with those that had power to restore their king: so nothing was more easie to the emperor, than feeding the French with hopes, to draw their minds from taking armes; and by that meane so to keepe the Italians in suspence, as not to dare to enter into new deliberations. And in that cunning maner, sometimes using delaties, and sometimes pressing forward the affaires, he thought to keepe the minds of all men confused and intangled. The ladie Alanson was receiued by the emperor with verie gracious demonstrations and hopes: but the effects fell out both hard and heauie. For when she ministred speech to him for the marriage of his sister the widowe with the king: he made answer; that it was a matter which could not be done without the consent of the duke of Bourbon.

The ladie Alanson treateth with the emperor for the kings deliuerie.

The other particularities were debated by deputies of both parts, wherein, as the emperor insisted obstinatlie to haue the dutchie of Burgognie restored as appertaining to him: so the French refused to consent, unless he would accept it for dowrie; or else to referre it to the sentence of the law and iustice to decide the true title. And albeit they could easilie haue condescended to the residue, yet for that they were so farre off for the demand of Burgognie, the ladie Alanson returned at last into France, without winning anie other grace, than a fauour to see the king his brother; who growing more and more into distrust of his deliuerie, desired him at his departing to admonish his mother, and all the counsell from him, to looke carefulie to the profit of the crowne of

The French king is careful of the

France, without having anie consideration of him, as if he liued not. But notwithstanding the departure of the ladie Alanson, the solicitations for the kings deliuerie did not cease, for that there remained behind the president of Paris, and the bishops of Ambrun and Carbe, who had till then followed the negotiation but with verie little hope, with the emperor would not harken to anie condition, if first Burgognie were not restored, which the king would not be brought to restore; but in a last necessitie.

After this unfortunate accident of the French king ensued manie troublesome and intricate matters, among which the case of the French king was descanted vpon, and a solicitation of peace resolved, which contained these covenants following. That betwene the emperor and the French king should be a peace perpetuall, in which should be comprehended all such as should be named by their common consent. That the French king by the first daie of the next moneth of March, should be set at libertie vpon the marches in the coast of Fontarabie. That within six weeks after he should consigne to the emperor the dutchie of Burgognie, the countie of Charrolois, the iurisdiction of Polers, the castell Chainro, dependancies of the said dutchie, the countie of Fflouona, the reloyt of St. Laurence de la Roche, a dependant of Franch countie, together with all the appurtenances as well of the said dutchie as vicountie, all which for hereafter should be separate and exempted from the soueraintie of the realme of France. That at the same and verie instant that the king should be deliuered, there should be put into the emperours hands the Dolphin of France, and with him either the duke of Breance the kings second sonne, or else twelue principall lords of France, whom the emperor did name.

It was left to the election of the ladie regent, either to deliuer the kings second sonne, or the twelue barons, and they to remaine as hostages until restitution were made of the lands and places aforesaid, and the peace swoyne and ratified, together with all the articles by the estates generall of France, and inregistered in all the courts of parlement of the kingdome with forme and solemnities necessarie. For the accomplishing wherof, there was set downe a terme of foure moneths: at which time returning the hostages, there should be put into the emperours hands the duke de Angouleme the kings third son, to the end to traine him by with the emperor, the better to intertaine and assure the peace. That the French king should renounce and giue by to the emperor all his rights to the realme of Naples, together with all such titles and preeminences as were to come to him by the intersture of the church. That he should do the like touching his interest in the state of Millaine, of Venes, of Als, and likewise of Arras, Tourneie, of the Isle, and of Motuete. That he should render by the towne and castell of Hedin as a member of the countie of Artois, with all the munitions, artilleries, and moueables that were in it when it was last taken. That he should disclaime and yeld by all soueraintie in Flanders and Artois, and all other places or peeces which the emperor possessed.

That on the other side, the emperor should resigne and giue by to him all the right, title, and quarrell which he pretended to anie place possessed by the Frenchmen, and especiallie the townes and castells of Perone, Montdidier, Roie, the counties of Bullongne, Guines, & Donchiero, with other townes standing vpon the one and other shore of the river of Some. That there should be betwene them a league and confederation perpetuall for the defense of their estates, with obligation to aid one another when

Guines, the countie of Arras, touching the deliuerie of the French king.

These covenants contained a great part of the French kings roialtie.

Robert first left to the regents election in this capitulation.

The king of England included in this peace.

Concerning the emperor, and of him to be kept and performed.

The prince of Orange included also in this peace.

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In. Reg. 16.

Guic. 961. &
deinceps.
The treatie
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king.

what was left to the lad regents election in this capitulation.

The King of
England in-
duced in this
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Treaties
concerning
the emperor
and of him to
be kept and
performed.

While this ac-
cord set all
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The French king married the emperor's sister according to a clause in the capitulation.

The king of
England gis
of the french
kings dehus
raies.

courteous remembrance, the French king thought himselfe much bound (as he confesseth himselfe here after) to the king of England, & thanked him greatly hereafter.

Quic. pag. 966.
The manner of
the deliuerie
of the French
king.

After much a do and manie remonings, the French king was come on the confines of Fontarabie, a towne appertaining to the emperor, standing vpon the Ocean sea, and is a frontier betwene Biskaye and the duchie of Gules. And on the other side, the ladie regent was arrived with the children of France, at Baion, not manie leagues from Fontarabie. The torments of the golfe toke hit by the waie, which was the cause that he had lingred some time longer than the date appointed of permutation. But at last, the eighteenth daie of March, the French king accompanied with the viceroy and capteine Alarcon with fiftie horse, was presented vpon the shore of the river that diuideth the realme of France from the kingdome of Spaine. And on the other side, vpon the shore opposite appeared monsieur Lawtrech with the kings children and like number of horse. There was in the midst of the river a great barke made fast with anchors, in which was no person. The king was rowed nere to this barke in a little boat, wherein he was accompanied with the viceroy, capteine Alarcon, and eight others, all armed with short weapons: and on the other side of the barke were likewise brought in a little boat, monsieur Lawtrech with the hostages & eight others, weaponed according to the others.

The French
king with the
viceroy are
imbarkeed.

After this the viceroy went into the barke with the king, and all his companie: and also monsieur Lawtrech with his eight that accompanied him, so that they were within the barke a like number of both parts, Alarcon and his eight being with the viceroy, and Lawtrech and the others with the person of the king. And when they were all thus within the barke, the Dolphin, who being giuen to the viceroy and by him committed to capteine Alarcon, was forthwith bestowed in their boate, and after him followed the little duke of Orleans, who was no sooner entred the barke, than the French king leaped out of the barke into his boate, which he did with such quicknesse and celeritie, that the exchange or permutation was thought to be done at one selfe instant; so welcome to him was libertie, without the which nothing is sweet, nothing is comfortable, as the poet saith:

Libertas per dulce bonum, bona cetera reddit.

The French
king is not a little
glad of his libertie.

Asone as the king was on the other side of the shore, his new libertie making him fearefull of ambush, he mounted vpon a Turkish horse of a wonderfull swiftnesse, which was prepared for the purpose: and running betwene feare and gladnesse vpon the spur, he neuer staid till he came to St. John de Lus, a towne of his obedience, foure leagues from the place. And being there readilie relieved with a fresh horse, he ran with the same swiftnesse to Baion, where, after he had passed ouer the offices of court done to him by his people, he dispatched with great diligence a gentleman to the king of England, to whom he wrote with his owne hand letters of his deliuerie, charging the messenger under verie lying commission, to tell the king of England, that as he acknowledged the effect of his libertie to be wrought wholely by him and his operations, so in recompense, he offered to remaine to him a perpetuall and assured friend, and to be guided in all his affaires by his counsell. And afterwards he sent an other solempne ambassage into England, to ratifie the peace which his mother had made with him, as one that reaped a verie great foundation in the amitie of that king.

Quic. pag. 968.

When the French king was gotten into Baion,

being required by a gentleman of the viceroy, to ratifie the accord according to the obligation of his word, being come into a place free and assured, he deferred it from one daie to another, interposing reasons and excuses general: wherein, to the end to hold still the emperor in hope, he sent to aduertise him by a man especiall, that he forbore for the present to accomplish the ratification, not by omission or wilful negligence, but vpon this necessitie, that before he proceeded realitie to such an act, he was to labour to reapeale and reduce the minds of his subjects contented with the obligations he had made, tending to the diminution of the crowne of France. Nevertheless, he would in his time resolve all difficulties, and obserue with fidelitie all that he had promised to him, both in substance and circumstance. By this dealing, no lesse doubtfull for the manner, than dangerous in meaning, might easilie be comprehended what were his intentions, the same being more manifestlie detected at the arrivall of the messengers sent to him not manie daies after, by the pope and Venetians, in whome was no great need of industrie or labour, to sound out the plaine course of his inclination.

For, after he had receiued them with manie demonstrations and offices of court, he intertained them severallie and apart with sundrie speeches of compassion, such as tended to manifest complaints against the inhumanitie of the emperor: who he said did neuer administer to him during his captivitie, and one office appertaining to the rank of a prince, nor at anie time shewed himselfe touched with that affection and commiseration which one prince ought to expresse in the calamities of another; and much lesse would vse anie course of common comfort, either to relieue the heauinesse of his condition with anie propertie of apt consolation, or once to enter into consideration, that the same accident that had fallen vpon him, might also be as heauilie heaped vpon his owne head. In this complaint, he alleged the example of Edward king of England called of some Edward Long-Shanks. To whome when was presented as prisoner John king of the Frenchmen, taken by the prince of Wales his son in the battell of Poitiers, he did not onelie receive him with great comfort and compassion of his afflicted case, but also, all the time of his imprisonment within the realme of England, he let him go at libertie vnder a free gard.

Furthermore he had daile familiar conuersation with him, he would oftentimes haue him to accompany him on hunting, to communicate in the open aire and solace of the field, and was not curious to call him to eat with him at his table. And by these humanities much lesse that he lost his prisoner, or ranged him to an accord lesse favourable; but of the contrarie, by the operation of those graces and good offices, there grew betwene them such a familiaritie and confidence, that the French king, after he had continued manie yeares in France, made a voluntarie voiage into England, to honour and gratifie vnder that propertie of office, the liberalitie and frankenesse of the king. He alleged that as there was onelie remembrance of two kings of France that had bene taken prisoners in battell, king John and himselfe, so the diuersitie of the examples was also worthie of singular memorie, seeing vpon the one was expressed all facilitie and mildnesse of the victor, and to the other were ministred all those rigours and severities, which tyrants in the height and pride of their fortune are wont to vse. Whereby to he added manie circumstances discovering the discontentment of his mind, wherevpon ensued practices wherewith the emperor was not well pleased.

The French
king compla-
ineth vpon the
emperor to the
messengers sent
from the pope
and the Venetians.

The king of
England dis-
sembled by the
French king
as a picture
of humilitie
in the case of
a captive
king.

The emper-
or's ambassa-
dor directly
to the king
of England
and without
delay taking
the king.

Death of the
king of France.
An. Reg. 17.

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Dom. 1525.

The French king is not yette ready to rathe the accord.

The French king is not yette ready to rathe the accord.

The French king complaith upon the empour to the messengers sent from the pope and the nations.

The French king complaith upon the empour to the messengers sent from the pope and the nations.

The king of England alledged by the French king as a president of humilitie in the case of a captive king.

The king of England alledged by the French king as a president of humilitie in the case of a captive king.

Thus soon after that this peace was accorded, and the French king delivered, the emperor married the lady Isabel daughter to Emanuel king of Portugal, and had with him eleven hundred thousand marks. This treaty the French affairs intermured, as we have heard with our owne, and were needfull to us, and wher we will end, and returne to England.

Cardinal Wolsey being still most highlie in the emperours favour, obtained licence to erect a college at Oxford, and another at Ipswich, the towne where he was borne, the which foundations he began rather of a vain desire of glorie and worldlie praise, than of the institution of true religion and advancement of doctrine, and therefore sith he was not moved thereto by the grace of true godlinesse and bountifull liberality, he went about to clype Peter and Paul: for the great goodlikenesse of the king to suppress certeine small monasteries, and after got a confirmation of the pope that he might impleure the goods, lands, and revenues belonging to those houses, to the maintenance of two colleges, wherby not onely he, but also the pope were evil spoken of through the whole realme. In March the king sent Cuthbert Lenthall bishop of London, and Sir Richard Whittington merchant of the dukedome of Lancaster, a knight of the order, into Spain, to conferre with the emperor touching causes concerning the taking of the French king, and to warre to be made into France on euery side.

The emperor being determined thus to make warre in France, he wrote to his himselfe in prison, his council considered that about all things great treasure and victuals of monie must needs be provided. Wherupon the cardinal there was deputed strange commissions, and sent in the end of March into euery shire, and commissioners appointed, and printed instructions sent to them how they should proceed in their shires, and order the people to bring them to their percoles: which was, that the first part of euery mans substance should be paid in monie or plate to the king without delay, for the furniture of his warre: heere followed much crying, weeping, and exclamation against both king & cardinal, that pite it was to see. And to be worse, notwithstanding all that could be said or done, forged or occassioned by the commissioners to perswade the people to this contribution, the same would not be granted. And in excuse of their default it was alledged, that wrong was offered, and the ancient customs & lawes of the realme broken, which would not any man to be charged with lay payment, except it were granted by the estates of the realme in parlement assembled. The like answer was made by them of the spiritualitie, whom was demanded the fourth part of their goods.

Wherupon the emperor sent ambassadores, and offered to admit of John Bokun into the realme as before we have heard, for some other cause. The ninth of April departed out of England, not taking leave of the king, nor of the cardinal, and so much did he use condole, that he passed through France in post, and came to the emperor before the ambassadores of England came thither. And together with his report, or otherwise, the accustomed lawe that the emperor followed to the Englishmen, began again to occur, as was well perceived, what the matter was. This yeare at Westminster died Thomas a duke of Suffolke, and was honourable buried at Westmouster. The cardinal travelled earthenly with the maier and aldermen of London, about the same monie to be granted, and likewise the commissioners appointed in the shires of the realme, left upon the same: but the barthen was so greivous,

that it was generallye vented, and the common in euery place so moued, that it was like to grow to rebellion.

After the people would not assemble before the commissioners in no houses, but in open places, and in Huntingtonshire diuerse resisted the commissioners, and would not suffer them to sit, which were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. The duke of Suffolke sitting in commission about this subflowe in Suffolke, perswaded by courteous meanes the rich clothiers to assent thereto: but when they came home, and went about to discharge and put from them their spinners, carders, fullers, weavers, and other artificers, which they kept in worke afore time, the people began to assemble in companies. Wherof when the duke was aduertised, he commanded the constables that euery mans hartes should be taken from him. But when that was knowne, then the rage of the people increased, raising openie on the duke, and Sir Robert Druce, and threatened them with death, and the cardinal also. And herewith there assembled together after the manner of rebels four thousand men of Lanham, Sudburie, Wyndesore, and other towne sherrifments, which put themselves in hartesse, and raised the beis alarme, and began still to assemble in great number.

The duke of Suffolke perceiving this, began to gather such power as he could, but that was verie slender, for the gentlemen that were with the duke, but so much that all the bridges were broken, so that the assemble of those rebels was somewhat letted. The duke of Suffolke being therof aduertised, gathered a great power in Suffolke, and came to warre the commons, sending to them to know their intent: received answer, that they would live and die in the kings causes, and be to him obedient. Wherupon he came himselfe to talke with them, and willing to know who was their captain, that he might answer for them all: it was told him by one John Greene a man of fifte yeares of age, that Howertie was their captain, the which with his cousin Jherolme, had brought them to that doing. For wher as they and a great number of other in that countie, had not put upon themselves, but upon the substantiall occupiers, now that they through such payments as were demanded of them, were not able to maintain them in worke, they must of necessity perishe, want of sustentance.

The duke hearing this matter, was sore for their case, and promised them, that if they would depart home to their dwellings, he would be a meane to their pardon to the king. Wherupon they were contented to depart. After this, the duke of Suffolke, and the duke of Suffolke came to Burie, and thither collected much people of the countie in their shires with halberts about their neckes, meekely desiring pardon for their offences. The dukes in which demeaned themselves, that the commons were appeased, and the demand of monie ceased in all the realme, for well it was perceived that the commons would pay none. Then went the two dukes to London, and brought with them the chiefe captains of the rebellion, which were put in the Fleet. The king then came to Westminster to the cardinals palace, and assembled there a great councell, in the which he openly protested, that his mind was neuer to aske any thing of his commons which might sound to the breach of his lawes, wherefore he wished to know by whose meanes the commissions were so freine gotten forth, to demand the first part of euery mans goods.

The cardinal excused himselfe, and said, that when it was moved in councell how to raise monie to the kings use, the kings councell, and name the commons, for the king

The commons were not yette ready to rathe the accord.

2 rebellion in Suffolke, and the gentlemen of the shire, and the commons of the shire.

The duke of Suffolke gathered a great power in Suffolke, and came to warre the commons, sending to them to know their intent.

Howertie and Jherolme, the which with his cousin Jherolme, had brought them to that doing.

The commons of the rebellion committed rebellion.

The cardinal of York excused himselfe touching the commissions gotten forth, to demand the first part of euery mans goods.

ges, said, that he might lawfullie demand anie summe by commission, and that by the consent of the whole councell it was done, and toke God to witnes that he neuer desired the hinderance of the commons, but like a true counsellor deuised how to enrich the king. The king indeed was much offended that his commons thus intreated, & thought it touched his honoz, that his counsell should attempt such a doubtfull matter in his name, and to be denied both of the spirituatlie and temporaltie. Therefore he would no more of that trouble, but caused letters to be sent into all shires, that the matter should no further be talked of: & he pardoned all them that had denied the demand openlie or secretlie. The cardinal, to deliuer himselfe of the euill will of the commons, purchased by procuring & aduancing of this demand, affirmed, and caused it to be huted abroad, that though his intercession the king had pardoned and released all things.

The rebels pardoned after their appearance in the Star chamber.

Those that were in the Towler and fleet for the rebellion in Suffolke, and resisting the commissioners aswell there as in Huntingdon shire and Kent, were brought before the lords in the Star chamber, and there had their offences opened and shewed to them: and finally the kings pardon declared, and thereon they were deliuered. In this season a great number of men of warre laie at Bullongne, and in other places thereabout, which diuerse times attempted to indamage the Englishmen, and to spoile the English pale: but they could neuer spoile the marshes where the greatest part of the cattell belonging to the inhabitants was kept. Tindale men with aid of the Scots, did much hurt in England by robberies, which they exercised: and therefore were sent thither, sir Richard Bulmer, and sir Christopher Dacres, to restraine their doings. Diuerse came to them, and submitted themselves: but the greatest theues kept them in the mounteins of Cheuiot, and did much hurt, yet at length they leuered, and manie of them were taken.

Tindale men great robbers

The cardinall by his power legantine sent one of his chapleins called doctor John Allen, to visit the religious houses of this realme about this season, which doctor praised amongst them greatly to his profit, but more to the slander both of himselfe and of his maister. On the eighteenth daie of June, at the manor place of Wyndesore, the kings sonne (which he had begot of Elizabeth Blunt, daughter to sir John Blunt knight) called Henrie Fitzroie, was created first earle of Nottingham, and after on the selfe same daie he was created duke of Richmond and Somerset. Also the same daie the lord Henrie Courtenie earle of Denonshire, and cosine germane to the king, was created marquisse of Excester: and the lord Henrie Brandon sonne to the duke of Suffolke and the French queene, a child of two yeares old, was created earle of Lincolne: and sir Thomas Banniers lord Ross was created earle of Rutland, and sir Henrie Clifford earle of Cumberland, and the lord Fitzwater sir Robert Katcliffe was created vicount Fitzwater, and sir Thomas Bullen treasurer of the kings household was created vicount Rochefort.

Henries hafe sonne created earle and duke in one daie.

The French kings mother as then regent of France, procured a safe conduct for an ambassadoz to be sent into England to treat of peace, and there, with sir John Fokin called monsieur de Clair, which (as we haue heard) in the last yeare was kept secret in maister Larks house. By his procurement a truce was granted to indure from the thirtieth of Iulie for fortie daies betwene England and France both by sea and land. In the later end of Iulie came into England the cheefe president of Rome with sufficient authoritie to conclude anie agreement that

A truce betwene England & France for fortie daies.

should be granted. At his suite the king was contented that a truce should be taken, to endure from the fourteenth of August, till the first of December. This yeare the king sent doctor Henrie Standish bishop of saint Asse, and sir John Baker knight into Denmarke, to intreat with the nobles of that countrie for the reduction of their king Christierne to his realme and former dignitie: but the Danes hated him so much for his crueltie, that they could not abide to heare of anie such matter, and so these ambassadoz returned without speeding of their purpose for the which they were sent.

But the French ambassadoz did so much both by offers and intreaties, that the king condescended to a peace, which being concluded, was proclaimed in London with a trumpet the eight of September. By the covenants of this peace the king of England should receiue at certeine daies twentie hundred thousand crownes, which then amounted in sterling monie to the summe of foure hundred thousand pounds sterling, of which one payment of fiftie thousand pounds was paid in hand. In October were sent into France, sir William Fitzwilliam treasurer of the kings house, and doctor Taylor, as ambassadoz from the king of England to the ladie regent, whome they found at the citie of Lion, where of hir they were honozable receiued: and in their presence the said ladie regent toke a corporall oth in solemne wise, and according to the custome in such cases vied, to performe all the articles and covenants passed and concluded in the league and treatie of peace by hir commissioners.

The emperor was nothing pleased, in that the king of England had thus concluded peace with the Frenchmen, and therefore the English merchants were not so courtouslie dealt with, as they had bene afore time. In this winter was great death in London, so that the terme was adourned: and the king kept his Christenmasse at Eltham, with a small number, and therefore it was called the still Christenmasse. In Januarie was a peace concluded betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland for three yeares and six moneths. The cardinall about this time coming to the court, which then laie (as before we haue heard) at Eltham, toke order for altering the state of the kings house. Spanie officers and other seruants were discharged, and put to their pensions and annuities. In which number were fourtescore and foure yeomen of the gard, which before hauing twelue pence the daie with checke, were now allowed five pence the daie without checke, and commanded to go home into their countries. Diuers ordinances were made at that season by the cardinall, touching the gouernance of the kings house, more profitable than honozable, as some said, and were called long after, The statutes of Eltham.

On Shrouetuesdaie there was a solemne iusts held at the manor of Grenewich, the king & eleuen other on the one part, and the marquisse of Excester with eleuen other on the contrarie part. At those iusts by chance of shiuring of a speare sir Francis Brian lost one of his eyes. The eleuenth of february being fundaie, the cardinall with great pompe came to the cathedrall church of Wantes, where he sat in pontificalibus under his cloth of estate of rich cloth of gold, and there doctor Barnes an Augustine frier bare a fagot for certeine points of heretic alleaged against him; and two merchants of the Stillard bare fagots for eating of flesh on a fridaie: and there the bishop of Rochester doctor Fisher made a sermon against spartine Luther, which certeine yeares before, that is to wit, about the yeare a thousand five hundred and rightene, had begun to preach and write against the authoritie of the pope.

The letter sent to the regent to performe the articles of the league.

The still Christenmasse.

The cardinals altering the state of the kings household.

The statutes of Eltham.

Doctor Barnes and two merchants of the Stillard bare fagots.

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Embassado; sent into Denmark.

A peace proclaimed betwene England & France.

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A Solinters death. The still Christmalle.

1526

The cardinal altereth the state of the kings household.

The Statutes of Gloucestre.

Dot. Barnes and two more changes of the Shillards beare sagets.

Henrie Reg.

Henrie Regent to performe the league.

Henrie Regent to performe the league.

Henrie Regent to performe the league.

Henrie Regent to performe the league.

Henrie Regent to performe the league.

Henrie Regent to performe the league.

We must here note, that the emperour being at Windsor in the fourteenth yere of the kings reigne covenanted, amongst other things, to take to wife the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England: but now upon considerations his mind changed, for the which the Englishmen sore murmured against him. On the nine and twentieth of Aprill being Sundaye, the cardinall long a solemne masse in the kings chappell at Greenwich, and after the same was ended, the king swore in presence of the ambassadoys of France, and of the ambassadoys of Rome, of the emperour of Venice, and of Florence, to observe and keepe the peace and league concluded betwixt him and his loving brother, and perpetuall alie the French king, during his life and one yere after.

In this meane while, there was a secret league concluded betwixt the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines, and Francis Sforza duke of Milan: into the which league the French king also entered, after he was returned into France. There was also place left to the king of England would, he should be admitted as protector of the same. But the emperour might not be admitted, till he had delivered the French kings children (having a reasonable summe of monie for the same) and had restored the duke of Milan to his whole duchie. It was thought indeed, that the emperour being wrongfullie informed against this duke, rather through envie of some of the emperours capteins, than for any cause ministered by the duke, dealt verie treightlie with him, & meant to defeat him of his duchie. For redresse therof, and also to provide that the emperour should not grow too strong in Italie to the danger of other estates, this league was devised: by force whereof he might be brought to reason, if he would refuse convenient offers and indifferent waies of agreement.

This league was concluded the two and twentieth of Maie in this yere. What followed thereof, ye may read more at large in the histories of Italie and France, where the warres are more at large touched, which chanced in that season betwixt the emperour, and the confederats, and how the imperiall armie toke the citie of Rome, and besieging the pope in castell saint Angelo, constrained him to yield, and agree to certaine propositions put unto him. ¶ Who being by his aduersitie made naked of all helpe present, and lesse expectation to be rescued there was so great want of valour and order, was driven to turn the race of his fortune, compounding the first daie of June with the imperials almost under the same conditions with the which he might have accorded before. That the pope should paie to the armie foure hundred thousand ducketts in this order: one hundred thousand presentlie to be defraied of the gold, monie, and treasure reserved in the castell: fiftie thousand within twentie daies, and two hundred and fiftie thousand within two moneths: assigning to him for these defraiments, an impole of monie to be charged upon the whole church state. That he should deliver into the power of the emperour, to reteine them so long as he thought good, the castell saint Angelo, the rockes of Ostia, of Civita Vecchia, of Civita Castellana, together with the cities of Parma, Piasanca, and Modena.

Furthermore, that the pope together with all those cardinals that were with him, which were thirtene in number, should remaine prisoners within the castell, untill the first payment of an hundred and fiftie thousand ducketts were satisfied. That afterwards they should go to Naples or to Caietta, to expect what the emperour would determine of them. That for assurance of the payments, wherof he third part

apportioned to the Spaniards, he should deliver in for hostages, the archbishops of Siponto and Viterbo, the bishops of Viterbo & Verona, together with James Salviato, Simon de Alcalá, and Laurence brother to cardinall Rodolfo. That Hans de Cero, Albert Pio, Datto Bailon, the knight Casalo, the ambassadour of England, with all others that were saved within the castell, except the pope and the cardinals, should depart in suertie. That the pope should give absolution to the Colonnois of the censures they had incurred. And that when he should be led out of Rome, a legat should remaine there for him with authoritie to dispose and administer iustice.

During the popes captivitie, Rome was sore afflicted with the plague, in somuch that the rage thereof so greatlie increased, that the castell of saint Angelo was visited, to the great danger of the life of the pope; about whome died certeine spectall men that did service to his person: who amid so manie afflictions and aduersities, and no other hope remaining to him than in the clemencie of the emperour, appointed for legat with the consent of the capteins, cardinall Alexander of Farnese, who notwithstanding being issued out of the castell, and Rome, refused under that occasion to go in the said legation. The capteins desired to carie the person of the pope with the thirtene cardinals that were with him, to Caietta: but he laboured against that resolution with great diligence, petitions, and art.]

¶ In the month of Maie was a proclamation made against all unlawfull games, according to the statutes made in this behalfe, and commissions awarded into euerie shire for the execution of the same; so that in all places, tables, dice, cards, and boules were taken and burnt. Wherefore the people murmured against the cardinall, saying: that he grudged at euerie mans pleasure, saving his owne. But this proclamation small time indured. For when yong men were forbidden boules and such other games: some fell to drinking, some to setting of other mens comies, some to stealing of deere in parks, and other vniustices.

This yere in the citie of London a great grudge was conceived against merchants strangers, for that they by vertue of licences, which they had purchased to bring woad into the realme, contrarie to a statute thereof provided, brought ouer such plentie thereof, and vttered it aswell in the citie, as abroad in the countrie, so franklie, that Englishmens woad laie unbought. At length the maior called a common council in the month of August, and there were manie billes laied against the strangers, and at last it was enacted, that no citizen nor freman should buy nor sell in no place, nor exchange nor meddle with certeine strangers, called Anthoine Bonuice, Laurence Bonuice, Anthoine Auald, Anthoine Caueler, Francis de Ward, Thomas Calneant, and a great sort more, whose names I let passe. And if any person did meddle or occupie with them contrarie to this act, he should lose his freedom and libertie in the citie of London. By which act the strangers were so bideled, that they came to a reasonable point and conclusion.

In this season the angell noble was tuff the first part of an ounce Trote, so that six angells were tuff an ounce, which was fourtie shillings sterling; & the angell was worth two ounces of silver: so that six angells were worth twelue ounces, which was but fourtie shillings in silver. By reason of the good weight and low valuation of the English coine, merchants daily carried ouer great store, because the same was much inhauced there. So that, to meet with this inconuenience, in September proclamation was made through all England, that the angell

Guic. pag. 1072

The castell where the pope was prisoner infected with the plague.

Ed. Hall in H. 8. fol. Cxlix.

Great grudge against strangers for procuring licences to sell woad.

Edw. Hall. H. 8. fol. Clij.

Valuation of certeine coins as angells, rials, crowns, &c.

should go for seven shillings foure pence, the roiall for eleuen shillings, & the crowne for foure shillings foure pence. On the first of Nouember following, by proclamation againe, the angell was enhanced to seven shillings six pence, and so euery ounce of gold should be five and fourtie shillings, and an ounce of siluer at three shillings and nine pence in value.

Edw. Hall in
H.8. fol. Clijij.

The king kept a solemne Christmasse at Greene, with with reuerles, maskes, disguisings, & bankets: and the thirtieth daie of December, was an enterpise of iusts made at the tilt by six gentlemen, against all comers, which balliantlie furnished the same, both with speare and sword: and like iusts were kept the third daie of Januarie, where were three hundred speares broken. That same night, the king and manie yong gentlemen with him, came to Bidewell, and there put him and sixtene other, all in masking apparell, and then toke his barge, and rowed to the cardinals place, where were at supper a great compaignie of lords and ladies, and then the maskers danced, and made goodlie pastime: and when they had well danced, the ladies plucked awate their visors, and so they were all knownen, and to the king was made a great banket.

1527
An ambassa-
dour from the
emperour.

On the fourteenth of Januarie came to the court don Hugo de Mendoza, a man of a noble familie in Spaine: he came as ambassadour from the emperour to the king, with large commission, for the emperour put it to the kings determination, whether his demands which he required of the French king were reasonable or not. This noble man tarried here two yeres. This Christmasse was a goodlie disguising plaied at Graies In, which was compiled for the most part by maister John Ho, sergeant at the law manie yeres past, and long before the cardinall had any authoritie. The effect of the play was, that lord gouernance was ruled by dissipation and negligence, by whose misgouernance and euill order ladies publike weale was put from gouernance: which caused rumor popul, inward grudge and disdain of wanton souereignetie, to rise with a great multitude, to expell negligence and dissipation, and to restore publike welth againe to hir estate, which was so done.

Abr. Fl. ex
Edw. Hall in
H.8. fol. Clijij.
A plaie at
Graies In.

The argu-
ment of the
plaie

This plaie was so set forth with rich and costlie apparell, with strange deuises of maskes & morisyes, that it was highlie praised of all men, sauing of the cardinall, which imagined that the play had bene deuised of him, and in a great furie sent for the said maister Ho, and toke from him his cosse, and sent him to the flect: and after he sent for the yong gentlemen, that plaied in the plaie, and them highlie rebuked and threatned, and sent one of them called Thomas Poile of Kent to the flect, but by means of friends maister Ho and he were deliuered at last. This plaie soze displeased the cardinall, and yet it was neuer meant to him, as you haue heard. Wherefore manie wisemen grudged to see him take it so hartilie, and euer the cardinall said that the king was highlie displeased with it, and spake nothing of himselfe. But what will you haue of a guiltie conscience but to suspect all things to be said of him (as if all the world knew his wickednesse) according to the old verse:

Conscius ipse sibi de se putat omnia dici.

Ambassadors
fro the French
king.

The second of March were receiued into London the bishop of Tarbe, Francis bicount of Thurane, and maister Anthonie Welsie second president of Paris, as ambassadours from the French king. They were lodged in Tailors hall. On Shrouetuesdaie the king himselfe in a new harnesse all gilt, of a strange fashon that had not bene scene, and with him eight gentlemen all in cloth of gold of one suite, embroidered with knots of siluer, and the marques of Cresset, and eight with him in blew beluet and

Edw. Hall
pag. Clij.
A iustes.

white sattin, like the waves of the sea, these men of armes came to the tilt, and there ran manie fresh courses, till two hundred fourscore and six speares were broken, and then they disarmed and went to the quenes chamber, where for them was provided a costlie banket.

The French ambassadours sued (as was said) to haue the ladie Marie daughter to the K. of England, giuen in mariage to the duke of Orleans, second sonne to their master the French king: but that matter was put in suspence for diuerse considerations. And one was, for that the president of Paris doubted whether the mariage betwene the king and hir mother (the being his brother's wife) was lawfull or not. While the French ambassadours late thus in London, it happened one euening as they were coming from the Blache friers, from supper to the Tailors hall, two boies were in a gutter casting downe rubbish, which the raine had giuen there, and vntwares hit a lackeie belonging to the bicount of Thurane, and hurt him nothing, for scantlie touched it his cote. But the French lords toke the matter highlie, as a thing done in despite, & sent word to the cardinall. Who being too hasty of credence, sent for sir Thomas Seimor knight, lord maior of the citie, and in all hast commanded him upon his allegiance, to take the husband, wife, children, and seruants of the house, and them to imprison, till he knew further of the kings pleasure, and that the two boies apprentices should be sent to the Tower: which commandement was accomplished without anie fauor. For the man, and his wife, and seruants, were kept in the counter till the first daie of Maie, which was six weekes full, and their neighbours of gentleness kept their house in the meane time, and one of the apprentices died in the Tower, and the other was almost lame. Of the crueltie of the cardinall, and of the pride of the Frenchmen, much people spake, & would haue bene reuenged on the Frenchmen, if wise men in the citie had not appeased it with faire words.

Some say the
French am-
bassadors
the ladie Ma-
rie to be mar-
ried to the
duke of Or-
leans.

Edw. Hall in
H.8. fol. Clij.
The bogged
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The card-
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Am-
bassadors
from the king
of Hungarie.

In question
made by ma-
ster Fisher.

On the fourteenth daie of March were conueied from London to Grenewich by the earle of Rutland and others, the lord Gabriel de Salamanca earle of Ottonburgh, John Burgrau of Silberberge, and John Faber a famous cleerke, after bishop of Elicn, as ambassadours from don Ferdinand, brother to the emperour, newlie elect king of Hungarie and Beaine, after the death of his brother in law king Lewes, which was slaine by the Turke the last summer, as you haue heard before. This compaignie was welcomed of the high officers, and after brought in to the kings presence, all the nobilitie being present, and there after great reuerence made, maister Faber made a notable oration, taking his ground of the gospel, *Exiit seminator seminare semen suum*, and of that he declared how Christ and his disciples went forth to sow, and how their seed was good that fell in to the good ground, and brought forth good fruit, which was the christian faith: and then he declared how contrarie to that sowing, Mahomet had sowne seed, which brought forth euill fruit. He also shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue increased in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued euen to that daie.

He declared further what acts the great Turke then lining had done, and in especiall he noted the getting of Belgrad, and of the Rhodes, and the slaying of the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he said) of all the kings christened. He set forth also what power the Turke had, what diuersities of compaignies, what armor, what captains he had, so that he thought, that without a marvellous great number of people he could not be overthowne. Wherefore he most humbly besought the king, as S. Georges knight,

The kings
ambassador by the
mouth of sir
Thomas
Seimor

Marie was
taken for a
long time by
continual
raie.

Anno. Reg. 1
Edw. Hall.
in H.8. fol. Clij.
I caueat to
the cardinall
by a libell set
by in a door

The citizen
of London
hated of the
cardinall, an
he also of the

The French
ambassadors
in the name
their maister
were to sit
serue the
league.
See Edw. H.
in H.8. fol. C
& deinceps.

The king's
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ambassador.

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lw. Hall, in
8. fol. Clv.
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The card-
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ambassadors
in the king
Hungarie.

in notation
ide by mat-
r f. abet.

knight, and defender of the faith, to assist the king his
master in that godlie warre and vertuous purpose.
To this oration the k. by the mouth of sir Thomas
Apoze answered, that much he lamented the losse
that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the
warre which were betwene the two great princes, he
thought that the Turke would not haue enterprised
that act. Wherefore he with all his studie would take
paine, first, to set an brittle and peace throughout all
christendome; and after that, both with monie and
men, he wold be redie to helpe toward that glorious
warre, as much as any other prince in christendome.
After this done, the ambassadours were well theri-
fied, and diuerse times resorted to the court, and had
great cheare and good rewards, and so the third daie
of Maie next ensuing, they toke their leaue and de-
parted homeward.

In the winter season of this yeare fell great a-
bundance of raine, and namelie in September, Oc-
tober, and December. And on the firstenth of Ja-
nuarie it rained so abundantly, that great floods
thereby insuing, destroyed corne fields, pastures, and
drowned manie sheepe and beasts. When was it dyie
till the twelue of Aprill, and from thence it rained
euerie day or night till the third of June, & in Maie
it rained thirtie hours continuallie without ceasing,
which caused great floods, & did much harme, namelie
in corne, so that the next yeare it failed within this
realme, and great dearth ensued.

This time a bill was set vp in London, much con-
trarie to the honour of the cardinall, in the which the
cardinall was learned that he should not counsell the
king to marrie his daughter into France: for if he
did, he should shew himselfe enimie to the king and
the realme, with manie threatening words. This bill
was deliuered to the cardinall by sir Thomas Sei-
mor, maior of the citie, which thanked him for the
same, & made much search for the author of that bill,
but he could not be found, which soe displeased the
cardinall. And vpon this occasion the last daie of A-
prill at night he caused a great watch to be kept at
Westminster, and had there cart guns readie char-
ged, & caused diuerse watches to be kept about Lon-
don, in Pewington, St. Johns Street, Westminster,
saint Giles, Kingston, and other places nere Lon-
don: which watches were kept by gentlemen & their
seruants, with householders, and all for feare of the
Londoners because of this bill. When the citizens
knew of this, they said that they marvelled why the
cardinall hated them so, for they said that if he mis-
trusted them, he loued them not: and where loue is
not, there is hatred: and they affirmed that they ne-
uer intended any harme toward him, and mused of
this chance. For if five or six persons had made alarm
in the citie, then had entred all these watchmen with
their traine, which might haue spoiled the citie with-
out cause. Wherefore they much murmured against
the cardinall and his indiscret doings.]

The French ambassadours at Greenwich on sunday
the first of Maie, sware in the name of their master
the French king to obserue the peace and league con-
cluded betwene them, for tearme of two princes
lines. These ambassadours had great cheare, and
lustes were enterprised for the honour and pleasure
of them at the kings commandement by sir Nicho-
las Carew, sir Robert Jerningham, sir Anthonie
Browne, and Nicholas Haruic squier challengers.
Against whome ran the marques of Orcester, and
thirteen with him as defendants. When these ambal-
sadors should returne, they had great rewards gi-
uen them of the king, and so toke their leaue and de-
parted. Shortly after the king sent sir Thomas
Bullen vicount Rochford, and sir Anthonie Browne
knight, as ambassadours from him into France,

which came to Paris to the bishop of Bath that late
there for the king as legier.

Then these three went to the court, and saw the
French king in person sware to keepe the league &
amitie concluded betwene him & the king of Eng-
land. Also the king sent sir Francis Poins knight
ambassadour from him to Charles the emperor,
and with him went Clarenceaur king of armes, to
demand the one halfe of the treasure and ordinance
which was taken at Paula, for so much as that warre
was made as well at the kings charge as at the em-
perours. Also they were commanded to demand
one of the French kings sonnes, which lay in hostage
with the emperor, that is to wit, the duke of Ale-
ance to be deliuered to the king of England; and fur-
ther that he shuld call backe his armie out of Italie.
And if it were so that he refused these reasonable re-
quests, then shoud they in the kings name denounce
open warre against him: The English merchants
liked the matter nothing at all, that there should be
any warres betwixt the emperor and the king of
England. And where they were desired by the card-
inall to keepe their marts at Calis, they would not
assent thereto.

In this meane time great warres were mana-
ged betwene the pope and other princes, amongst
whom the duke of Burbon (of whom you haue heard
often mention before in sundrie actions) lenieng a
great power, led the same towards Rome, and in-
camped within the medow nere to the citie, from
whence with the insolencie of a souldier he sent a
trumpet to demand passage of the pope through the
citie of Rome, to go with his armie to the realme of
Naples. The morning following vpon the point of
the daie, by the consideration of his case and the ad-
uerities thereof, he found there remained no other
hope for his affaires, than to be resolute to relaeue the
afflictions of his armie, and according to the opportu-
nitie that was offered by the citie of Rome, either to
die or to vanquish. In which resolution pushed on
more and more by the murmurs and exclamations
of his souldiers, in whom he could not discern which
was greater, either their insolencies or their ne-
cessities, he dyed nere the suburbs by the waie of
the mounteine and Santo Spirito, where he began to
giue a furious assault. Wherein he seemed to haue the
saueur of fortune, who made him present his armie in
more suertie by the benefit of a thicke mist, which be-
ing risen before daie, and increased with degrees of
fog and thicknesse, became such a couer to his whole
campe, that his souldiers were not discerned till they
were nere the place where they began to giue the
assault.

The duke of Burbon through a last despaire of his
estate advanced before all his companies, either for
that he had no other expectation of refuge, in case he
returned not victorious, or else by his owne example
he thought to call on with a greater courage the
lanceknights, who it seemed went not resolute to
the seruice. But such was his destinie to determine
his life & his glorie together, or rather such the reward
of his wilfull forwardnes, which for the most part bra-
uely wreched effects vpon such as seeke not to ac-
companye their valour with counsell and discretion.
In the beginning of the assault he was stricken with
a bullet of an harquebuz, of which wound he fell
downe dead to the earth, receiuing instant vpon his
bodie and life the price of the action, which contrarie
to all iustice and pietie he went about to execute. But
much lesse that his death did abate or diminish, seeing
it did inflame and redouble the courage of his sould-
iers, who fighting with a wonderfull constancie
the space of two houres, made waie at last by their
hands and weapons to enter the suburbs, where they
were

Ambassadours
into France.

An ambassage
to the emperor

English mer-
chants.

Abt. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 1060
The duke of
Burbon in-
campeth nere
Rome.

The duke of
Burbon slayd
at the assault
of Rome.

were not onelie holpen by the weaknesse of the rampires which were great and generall, but also they found helpe in the slender resistance which the defendants made.

The morall of the foze laid action worth the noting.

An experience of right good doctrine, to such as haue not as yet gotten by the benefit of examples past, the knowledge of things present, who in that action maie discern what propertie of difference is betwene the vertue of souldiours exercised and trained in war, and armes newlie and hapillie leuied, and compounded of the multitude of a people more wilfull than skilfull; and by so much lesse apt to be drawn vnder discipline, by how much more by their nature and custome they are seldome conformable to anie good order. For there was at the defense of the suburbs one part of the youth of Rome, vnder the ensignes of the people; notwithstanding that manie of the Cebelines & faction of Colonna desired, or at least did not feare the victorie of the imperials. They hoped in regard of their faction, to receiue no harme or offense by the victors: the same being the cause whie they proceeded so coldlie in the defense. neuer thelesse, for that according to the rules of warre, it is a hard matter to take toiwnes without artilleries, there died of the assailants, partlie by that want, and partlie through their wilfull forwardnesse, about a thousand footmen; who hauing once by their valor made the waie open to enter in, all the defendants fled before them as men whose feare was far above anie other sense or passion in them.

Rome taken and sacked.

In which disorder, some took the waie which his fortune and not his wit laid out for him: some in the astonishment taking to fle, who durst no more fight, were slaine by the entrie afoze he could resolve vpon the waie of his safetie; some either better prepared, or more hapillie preferred, found that safetie in running away, which they could not but doubt if they had longer endured the fight: and some with that resolution which their present calamitie would suffer, ran by heapes towards the castell, where in place of rescue they found a feare conformable to their owne: inasmuch as all things being reduced to confusion and manifest flight, the suburbs were entierlie abandoned & left a preie to the victors. And the person of the pope, who expected with great deuotion in the palace of Clatican what would be the issue of the assault, hearing that the enemies were entered, had also (with the others) his passions of feare & frailtie, and in that timorous contemplation of his owne perill, he fled with certeine cardinales to the castell.

The pope with certeine cardinales fle to the castell of saint Angelo.

This feare kept him from being resolute in a perill that was so desperate, neither did he thinke, that with the presence and maiestie of his person, though it was couered with the haile of the highest dignitie on earth, he was able to put by the danger, which the valor and fidelitie of his souldiours could not defend with their weapons. Where he consulted with the cardinales, whether it were more for his safetie to remaine there, or during the furie of the astonishment, to retire with the light horsemen of his guard into some place of more suertie by the waie of Rome. But he, who was appointed by destinie, to be an erample of the calamities that maie thunder vpon popes, and how fraile is the authoritie and maiestie of that see, being certified by the relation of Berard de Padoa, who was fled from the armie imperiall, that the duke of Burboin was dead, and that the whole armie standing abated in courage for the death of their capteine, desired to come to accord with him. In which matter they sent out men to parlee with the principallies there, he watched lie left there all his counsellies to go awaie, both he and his capteins remaining no lesse irresolute in the prouisions for defense, than they had bene slow in

the expeditions.

So that the daie following, the Spaniards neither taking order nor counsell, to defend the quarter beyond Liber, entered the place without anie resistance. And from thence, not finding anie impediments to stop their victorie, the same evening they entered the citie of Rome by the bridge Nisio, where, except such as reposed in the confidence of their faction, and certeine cardinales, who for that they bare a name to embrace the emperours quarrell, beleeued to find more suertie than the others, all the residue of the court and citie (as happeneth in accidents so furious) was conuerted into fleeing and confusion. But the souldiours being within the citie, which they knew wanted nothing to make them right glorious, and well satisfied of all things appertaining to their desires, they began to omit no time to execute the thing they had so deartlie bought. Curious one ran to pillage with the same vnbidded libertie, which in such cases maketh souldiours both insolent and impious.

The Spaniards entered to Rome by the bridge Nisio.

There was small care or regard borne either to the name of friends, factions, or fauourers; and much lesse was respected the authoritie of cardinales and prelats, or dignitie of temples and monasteries; and lastlie, not reserved from violaton, the holie relics brought thither from all parts of the world; yea, uen things sacred, and speciallie dedicated, were profaned from their shrines and holie places, and made subiect to the furious wills and discretion of the souldiours. It is not onelie impossible to reaccount, but also to imagine the calamities of that citie raised to a wonderfull greatnesse, and appointed by Gods ordinance to suffer manie fortunes and directions, hauing bene sacked by the Goths within ix. C. and lxxx. yeares. It is hard to particulate the greatnesse of the prete, both for the generall wealth and riches which the greedy hands of the souldiours had made by in heaps, and for other things more rare and pretious drawn out of the store-houses of merchants and courtiers. But the matter which made the spoile infinit in value, was the qualitie and great number of prisoners redeemed with most rich and huge ransomes.

The reader is to tolerate the report of this misfortune though fauouring of superstition.

And to make by a full tragedie of miserie and infamie, the lanceknights being so much the more insolent and cruell, by how much they bare hatred to the name of the church of Rome, took prisoners certeine prelats, whom with great contempt and indignitie they set vpon asses and leane mules, and with their faces reuered to the croup of the beasts, they led them thorough the citie of Rome, apparelled with the habits and markes of their dignitie: yea they passed manie of them to cruell toiments, who either died in the furie of the action, or at least with the painefulnesse thereof they liued not long after, first yielding a rancome, and afterwards rendering their liues. The generall slaughter as well at the assault as in the rage of sacking, was about foure thousand bodies. All the palaces of the cardinales were sacked, except some particulars, who to saue the merchants that were retired thither with their goods, together with the persons and goods of manie others reserved of the generall calamitie, made promise of great summes of monie. To whom notwithstanding was vsed this iniquitie, that some of them that had compounded with the Spaniards, were afterwards sacked by the lanceknights, or at least constrained to a second rancome.

This spectacle could not but afford plentie of hart-griefe.

The ladie marquesse of Mantua compounded for hir palace for the summe of fiftie thousand ducats, which were paid by the merchants and others retired thither: of which summe the rumour ran, that Ferrand hir sonne had ten thousand for his share. The

Compounding with the lanceknights to save certein places bulwarke.

The Italian mente use to souldier to make

Th this god and

Th this god and

The Spaniards
enter into
Rome by
the bridge
Elio.

The cardinall of Sienita dedicated in a perpetuall devotion to the name of the emperoz, after he had agreed with the Spaniards, as well for him selfe as for his palace, was afterwards made prisoner by the lanceknights, who made botie and pricke of his palace; and afterwards leading him all naked with buffets and bastinadoes into the bozough, he was placed to redeeme his life out of their hands, with a promise of five thousand ducats. The cardinales Smerua and Bonsero passed vnder almost the like calamitie, who being prisoners to the lanceknights, were rated at a ranfome which they paid, after they had bene in a vile spectacle caried in procession thorough the towne of Rome.

The reader is
to tolerate the
report of this
illorie though
accusing of
superstition.

The flames
and the
combustion
which the
soldiers offered
to the se-
culars.

This furie of souldiours executed in a place of so great riches and profit, could endure no dispensation of anie sort or qualitie of men, seeing the prelates and cardinales, Spanissh and Germans, who made themselves assured that the souldiours of their nation would spare them from oppression and taxation, were taken and passed by the same measure of miserie and calamitie as others did. Right pittifull were the criengs and lamentations of the women of Rome: and no lesse worthy of compassion, the calamitie of nunnies and virgins professed, whom the souldiours rauished by tropes out of their houses to satiate their lust, no age, no sex, no dignitie or calling was free from the violation of souldiours, in whom it was doubtfull whether bare more rule, the humors of crueltie to kill, or the appetite of lust to defouler, or lastlie, the rage of couetousnesse to rob and spoile: yea in the violation of these women might be discerned a confirmation of the iudgements of God hid den from mortall men, for that he suffered to be deliuered by to the violence of men, barbarous and bloody, the renowned chastitie of women professed and virgins.

This spectacle could not
but afford
evidence of
part-grace.

To this compassion was ioined the infinite clamors of men forced against all law of humanitie, partie to wrest from them unreasonable ranfomes, and partie to disclose their goods which they had hid den from the ruine of the souldiours. All these things, sacraments and relikes of saints, whereof the churches were full, being despoiled of their ornaments, were pulled downe, and laid vpon the earth, suffering no small propfanations, by the vile hands of the lanceknights. And whatsoever remained vpon the preies and spoillings of the imperiales, which were things but base and vile, were raked and caried away by the pezants and tenants of the lands of the Colonnois, whose insolencie caried them into Rome during the generall furie. Whelie the cardinall of Colonno attaining the daie after, preferred in his compassion the honoz of manie women that hapilie were fled for rescue into his house. The rumoz went that the valuation and price of this sacke in gold, silver, and iewels, amounted to more than a million of ducats, but the matter of ranfomes contained a greater quantitie.]

The value of
this sacke in
gold, silver,
and iewels.

The kings
marriage
brought in
question.

When Rome was thus taken by the imperiales, and the pope brought into captiuitie, therewith the king was so incensed against the emperour by the instigation of the cardinall, that he had determined not to spare anie treasure for the popes deliuerance. There rose a secret bruite in London that the kings confessor doctor Longland, and diuerse other great clerks had told the king that the marriage betwene him and the ladie Katharine, late wife to his brother prince Arthur was not lawfull: whereupon the king should sue a diuorse, and marrie the duchesse of Alanz for sister to the French king at the towne of Calis this summer: and that the vicount Rochford had brought with him the picture of the said ladie. The king was offended with those tales, and sent for sir

Compositi-
on with the
soul-
to save
certein
place
as bul-
lards.

Thomas Seimoz mazo of the citie of London, secretly charging him to see that the people ceased from such talke.

But what so euer the commons talked, it was determined that the cardinall should go ouer into France as high ambassadour for the king, and to take with him twelue score thousand pounds, to be employed on the warres to be made by the confederats against the emperour, if he would not condescend to such demands as the English ambassadours on the kings behalfe should exhibit vnto him. The third of Iulie this triumphant cardinall passed thorough London with twelue hundred horse towards the sea side, and coming vnto Canturburie rested there, and there declared to the people what had charged vnto the pope, and caused the monks of Chisties church to sing their Letanie after this maner: *Sancta Maria ora pro Clemente papa, &c.* Then he exhorted the people to fast and pray for the popes deliuerance, accordinglie as he had already sent commissions vnto all the bishops within the realme to follow that order, which was to fast three daies in the weeke, and to be in euerie parish solemne processions. The eleuenth of Iulie the cardinall toke shipping at Dover, and landed the same daie at Calis, from whence he departed the two and twentieth of Iulie, and with him was the bishop of London Cuthbert Tunstall, the lord Sands chamberleine to the king, the earle of Derby, sir Henrie Guilford, sir Thomas Poze, with manie other knights and esquires, in all to the number of twelue hundred horse, and of carriages there were foure score wagons, and three score mules and sumpter horses.

The cardinall
goeth ambal-
sador into
France.

A procession.
A new deu-
ted letanie.

He that is desirous to vnderstand with what honour this triumphant cardinall was receiued in all places as he passed thorough Picardie by order giuen by the French king, maie read thereof at large in the chronicles of maister Edward Hall. At Amiens he was receiued by the French king himselfe, and by his mother with all other chiefe peres of France. There was nothing forgot that might do him honour or pleasure. But to the effect of his businesse. After he had shewed his commission, they fell in counsell, and in the end grew to a full conclusion of a league to be accorded and established betwixt the kings of England and France: the couenants and articles whereof were drawne and written vp in a faire charter, which was sealed in solemne wise, and deliuered vnto the cardinals by the kings owne hand.

The cardinall
is honou-
rable receiued
by the French
king.

A league be-
tweene Eng-
land and
France.

After this, it was agreed, that Duot de Foies, commonlie called monsieur de Lawtrech, should go into Italie with a puissant armie to procure the popes deliuerance, & repell the emperours power out of all the partie of Italie, if he refused such reasonable offers & articles of agreement as were drawen, & should be exhibited to him. In this armie went sir Robert Jerningham, John Carew of Hakam, & 80 other English gentlemen, which were sent by the cardinall from Amiens. When the armie was assembled, the cardinall deliuered the monie which he had brought out of England with him in barrels, with the which the armie was paid two moneths before hand, & the surpluse was deliuered to sir Robert Jerningham, which was called treasure of the wars. This armie was called in Latine, *Exercitus Anglia & Gallorum regum pro pontifice Romano liberando congregatus*, that is to saie, The armie of the kings of England and France, gathered for the deliuerance of the bishop of Rome: and so was it reputed.

Monsieur de
Lawtrech.

Sir Robert
Jerningham.

The name of
the armie sent
into Italie.

In this meane time the English ambassadours, sir Francis Poinis and Clarenceaux the herald, were come into Spaine, and there to the emperour in the towne of Ale Dolliffe the first of Iulie deliuered

The emperor's answer to the ambassadors.

the kings letters, and further declared their message as they had in commandement. The emperor made to them a courteous answer for that time, and said he would take counsell in the matter, and then should they receiue further answer, and in the meane time they might repose them. Within a date or two after he called to him doctor Le that was the kings ambassador legier there with him, & the said sir Francis Poins, and said to them; My lords we haue perceiued the king your maisters demands, which are weightie and of great importance. Wherefore we intend with all speed to write to the king our uncle, and when we haue receiued answer from him, we shall deliuer you of such things as you require, praieng you in the meane time to take patience.

The emperor protracted time of purpose, because he was loth to answer directlie to such grieuous and most irkesome complaints, because he gessed by the course of things that the French king would shortly be constrained to agree to those conditions of peace, which he at the first had offered. But the French king & the cardinall being together at Amiens, amongst other things determined there betwixt them in counsell, deuised further what articles of offer should be sent to the emperor, which if he refused, then open defiance to be made vnto him in name of both the kings. The articles were these in effect.

Articles proposed to the emperor being in number sixteen.

1 First that the French king should paie for his ransome 25000 crownes: one winter callet it two millions. 2 Also that he should release all the pension that he had in Naples, with all the right of the same. 3 Also that he should neuer claime title to the dutchie of Millane. 4 Also he should release the superiortie of Flanders for ever, and the right which he had to the citie of Doine. 5 Also he should release all the homages of all persons within those countries. 6 Also to withdraue his armie out of Italie. 7 Also to forsake the aid of the Switzers against the emperor. 8 Also to take no more part with Robert de la Marck against the emperor. 9 Also neuer to aid the king of Nauarre against him, although he had married the kings sister. 10 Also neuer to aid the duke of Gelderland, nor to challenge the same dutchie. 11 Also to aid the emperor with ships and men to his coronation. 12 Also to marie the ladie Eleonor quene of Portugall sister to the emperor. 13 Also that the Dolphine should marie the said quenes daughter. 14 Also that if the French king had anie children male by the said quene, then the dutchie of Burgognie to remaine to the said child being male. 15 Also that the French king should be friend to the emperor & his friends; and enemie to his enemies.

These with manie other articles, which were not openlie knowne, were sent to the bishop of Tarbe, and to the vicount of Thuraine ambassadors with the emperor from the French king. Other articles were also sent to the English ambassadors being in Spaine, as to moue the emperor to some reasonable end with the French king: and that the king of England would release vnto him all the summes of monie due to him, as well by the emperor Maximilian his grandfather as himselfe, and take the French king as debto: for the same. If he would not agree to these offers, then was it accorded, that the French king should marrie the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England, and they both to be enemies to the emperor. When all these things were concluded, the cardinall took his leaue of the French king & his mother, and with great rewards returned, comming to Richmond, where the king then laie, the last of September.

The cardinall returneth out of France.

Ambassadors from the French king.

In October, there came ambassadors from the French king into England, the lord Annas de Mont-

merancie, great maister of the said French kings house, the bishop of Baion chiefe president of Rione, and monsieur de Humiers accompanied with sicke gentlemen well appointed. These ambassadors were receiued with all honour that might be deuised. On Alhalloves daie the king comming to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, where the cardinall sang masse, swore befoze the high altar in the presence of the French ambassadors to keepe and performe the league. On sundaie the tenth of Nouember, the king being elected knight of the order of St. Michael, receiued at Greenwich the said order by the hands of the great maister of France, and monsieur Humiers that were companions of the same order: in like case as the French king the same daie at Paris receiued the order of the garter by the hands of the lord Lisle, doctor Tailor, maister of the rolles, sir Nicholas Carew knight maister of the kings hozles, sir Anthonie Botone knight, and sir Thomas Wriothesle knight, otherwise called Cartier king of armes, the which were sent thither with the whole habit, collar, and other habillements of the order as apperteined.

After that the French ambassadors had bene highlie feasted, banketed, and interteined, with all hono: and pastime conuenient, the great maister and all his companie took leaue of the king, and with great rewards returned into France, leaving the bishop of Baion behind them, who abode ambassador legier in England. In this moneth of Nouember, Arthur Bilsnie, Gesteire Lome, and one Garet that spake against the popes authoritie, were abjured by the cardinall. By reason of the great wet that fell in the sowing time of the corne, and in the beginning of the last yeare, not in the beginning of this, corne so failed, that in the citie of London for a while bread was scant, by reason that commissioners appointed to see order taken in shires about, ordeined that none should be conueied out of one shire into another.

Which order had like to haue bred disorder, for that enerie countrie and place was not prouided alike, and namelie London, that maketh his prouision out of other places, felt great inconuenience hereby, till the merchants of the Stiliard, and others out of the Dutch countries, brought such plentie, that it was better cheape in London than in anie other part of England, for the king also releued the citizens in time of their need with a thousand quarters by waie of lone of his owne prouision. The scarcitie at the first was more than the dearth. For in the beginning of their want, wheat was onelie at sixteen shillings a quarter, & from thence it rose to twentie shillings, and after to six and twentie shillings eight pence the quarter, till remedie by outward prouision was procured and had. In this meane while the lord Lautrech with his armie was entred into Italie, where how he sped, and what came of that expedition, we shall find in the histories of France and Italie, and therefore in this place I passe it over. Sir Francis Poins knight, in the end of December, returned out of Spaine into England, leaving Clarceur behind him to bring further answer.

The emperor at the request of this sir Francis Poins, who made the same in name of his maister the king of England, was contented to release twelue articles, which were reputed most preiudiciall to the French king, onelie to gratifie the king of England: but the cardinall kept the king still in displeasure toward the emperor, for the fauour which he bare to the French king, whose onelie purposes he sought to aduance. The articles which were drauene at Amiens when the cardinall was there, were exhibited to the emperor by the French ambassadors, and because

The king of England receiveth the order of saint Michael.

The emperor commeth to the hour audience

The two of Charles and his armie emperor.

The emperor herald sic to f

Dearth of corne in London and other shires.

The emperor releaseth 12 preiudiciall articles to the French king.

The king of England receiveth the order of saint Michell.

The French king receiveth the order of the garter.

Wilne and other aburys.

Dearth of corne in London and elsewhere.

The emperor releaseth the prisoners taken at the French king.

because he refused the same, word was sent to Clarenceur king of armes, to make defiance to the emperor. Whereupon on the Wednesday the two and twentieth of Januarie, Guien king of armes to the French king, and Clarenceur king of armes to the king of England, being in the cite of Burges in Spaine, came to the court of Charles the elect emperor, about nine of the clocke in the morning, and there did request of his maiestie, that it would please him to appoint them an houre of audience.

The lord de Chaour by ordinance from his maiestie gave them answer, that it should be about ten of the clocke before none the same daie. And at the same houre his maiestie came into the great hall of his court accompanied with diuerse pzelats, dukes, marquestes, earles, barons, and other great lords and good personages, of diuerse nations of his kingdom and seignories in great number. The emperor sitting in a chaire prepared according to his dignitie, the two kings of armes of France & England being in the nether end of the hall, holding upon their left arms each one his coat of armes, did make three solenne reuerences accustomed, with knee to the ground. And when they were at the lowest staire before his imperiall maiestie, Clarenceur king of armes of England, hauing the words in both their names, spake as followeth.

Sir, following the thre edicts inuolablie kept and obserued by your predecessours emperours of Rome, kings, princes, and capteins, Guien king of armes of the most christened king; and also Clarenceur king of armes to the king of England our soueraigne & naturall lords: we presenting our selues before your sacred maiestie, for to declare certeine things from the said kings our maisters: beseech your maiestie, that haauing regard to the said lawes according to your benignitie and mercie, that it would please you to giue vs sure accesse and good intreating in your countries, lands, and seignories, attending your answer, with sure conduct to returne vnto the countries, lands, and seignories of our said soueraigne lords. The emperor then had them saie on what foucer the kings your maisters haue giuen you in charge: your priuileges shall be kept, none shall do you anie displeasure within my kingdomes or territories. After this, Guien read a writing signed with the hand of the said Guien king of armes.

A copie of the said writing
read as followeth.

Sir, the most christened king my soueraigne and naturall lord hath commanded me to saie to you, that he hath conceived a maruelous greife and displeasure of that, that in place of amitie, which he so much desired to haue with you, the former enmitie in full force still remaineth. By the which he seeth and perceiueth, that the evils and inconueniences long since begun, shall continue and augment, not onelie vnto you, and vnto him, with your vassals and subiects, but also vnto all christendome: and that the forces and youths which the one and the other ought to employe against the enemies of the faith, shall be spent to the effusion of christian blood, and in offense vnto God: and that you and he endowd with so manie gracions gifts, shall not inioy the benefits, which it pleased the son of God to leane to vs, by his testament, which is peace, wherof all goodnesse proceedeth; and in place of the same shall haue war, wherof foloweth all calamities, dangers, inconueniences, poverties, and miseries. Wherevnto you shall submit your selfe vnto them

whome yee may command, and shall hazard the blood and substance of your subiects in the pursues of strangers. Euerie one as for himselfe ought to haue regard thereto, and for the short time that we haue here to liue, not to go about to depriue himselfe of that tranquillitie, ioy, god regard and pastime, that the princes may haue by peace: and by following the warre, to be in povertie, heauinesse, and hazard of losse of goods, honours, and liues: and that worst is, after they haue had euill daies in this world, to be in danger of eternall paine in the world to come, thorough them that haue bene the cause thereof, and that would not yeld vnto reason.

The king my soueraigne lord is ready to put himselfe for his part in all deuoir, and more than so, to haue peace and amitie with you: and by this means peace shall be procured throughout all christendome, whereby men might do God good seruice, in making warre on the Infidels, which will be so thankfull to him, that it will put off the punishment of faultes, which haue bene committed heretofore by reason of the warres, which haue too long indured betwene you two, and not yet like to cease, considering the termes which you hold and seeke to mainteine, sith on the one part, certeine aduocbing themselves on you, haue assailed and taken by force the cite of Rome, which is the place of the holie and apostolike see, where they haue committed and done all the mischefe that might be deuised.

The churches and reliques were profaned, the pope holding saint Peters seat, as vicar of God on earth, taken and put out of his libertie. By means whereof, they that haue committed and executed the said execrable deeds and wickednesse, with their authors and fauours, be fallen and run in paines of right; and they that hold them captiues, beare themselves on you; and he that doth keepe them, hath bene and is of the principall capteins, of whome you haue bene serued in your warres in Italie and other parts. And on the other side, the difference which at this time resteth betwene you and the king my soueraigne and naturall lord, is principallie vpon the ranfome and recouerie of the princes his sonnes, which you hold for hostages of the same. He hath oftentimes offered, and yet doth offer to paie to you, and giue to you, not onelie that which may be said to be reasonable, and in such cases accustomed, but also more largelie.

You ought not to stand vpon things which by force and constraint he hath promised, the which iustlie and honestlie he maie not performe nor accomplish: you had a great deale more gained, to haue taken the said ranfome which was offered vnto you, than to continue the warre, and to giue occasion of all the evils and inconueniences that daily happen thereby thorough christendome. You see the king of England, with whome he hath brotherlie amitie for euer, and also the Venetians, Florentines, and duke of War, and other princes and potentats, following and holding the partie of the said christian king, for that they see he yeldeth to reason, and by reason you will not thereto incline, the vniuersall peace can not be concluded in christendome. The enemies of the faith gaine countries: all Italie is in armes, blood and rapine, and the apostolical see in trouble: so that if on your part you seeke not reindie, and that things do thus continue as they haue begun, it is to be feared that God will be angrie.

And for as much (sir) as to the declarations which the aboue said princes haue offered vnto you, and the presentations which the said christian king hath made vnto you, you haue refused to giue eare, thereby to come to some accord with him, and to content your selfe with a ranfome more than reasonablie: also for

The inconueniences of warre moued to the emperor.

The herald prosecuteth the state of Rome & the pope in lamentable sort.

The herald moueth the emperor with the king of England's example.

The herald cometh to the vertue of his message.

that you will not render unto his god brother, perpetuall alie and confederat, the king of England, that which is his, let the pope at libertie, and leaue I talie in peace and tranquillitie, he hath commanded me to declare, signifie, and notifie unto you, his great græfe and displeasure, with his said god brother the king of England, that they will hold and take you for their enimie, declaring all maner of treaties and covenants heretofore passed betwene them and you, in all that concerneth your profit & utilitie to be nothing, and that for his part he will not obserue nor keepe the same.

what the king of England desireth of the emperor in the French kings behalf.

Paie he hath resolved by all meanes that he may imagine with his god friends, alies, & confederats, & with all his forces to indamage you, your countries, lands, and bassals by warre, or otherwise, in such sort as he maie devise, untill the time that you haue restored unto him his children, with honest meanes and covenants touching his ransom, delivered the pope, rendered unto the king of England that you hold of him, and acquitted the summe which you owe him, and suffer his alies and confederats to lue in peace, rest, and tranquillitie, and protesteth before God and all the world, that he doth not wish nor desire the warre, but that it wholie displeaseth him, and is not therefore the cause of the evil that is or maie come thereof, considering that he hath put, and will put himselfe unto all reason, as he hath offered and signified unto you and to all other christian princes, and yet doth.

The king of England's meaning and the French kings for the returne of the emperours subjects out of their countries, and contrariwise.

And of all this he calleth God (who knoweth all things) to witnesse. And for that under colour of the publication of the pretended trette of Madrid made, he being yet prisoner in Spaine, diuerse of your subjects, and of them of the king of England, and of his haue carried their merchandises and other goods into the kingdomes, freights, and seignories the one of the other, whereby maie insue great damages, if of them no mention should be made in this present declaration and signification: my soueraine lord and the said king of England be contented that libertie be giuen unto all subjects being in the said kingdomes, countries, freights, and seignories, to retire and depart from thence with all their goods and merchandises within fortie daies after this intimation made. Prouided that you shall do the like unto their subjects in all & euerie their merchandises. Giuen the eleuenth daie of Nouember 1527, & signed Cuien king of armes.

The emperours words to Cuien the French kings herald.

The emperor after the defiance giuen by Cuien, spake in this sort: I do vnderstand that which you haue read from the king your maister, & I do much maruell why he doth desire me, for he being my prisoner by right warre, and I hauing his faith by reason he can not do it. It is unto me a noueltie to be defied of him, seeing it is six or seuen yeares that he hath warred against me, and yet giuen me no defiance. And sith that by the grace of God I haue defended my selfe from him (as he hath scene, and euerie one else) without that he hath giuen me anie warning, or considering the reason and iustification whereon I do rest my selfe, for the which I thinke I haue not otherwise deserved towards God: I hope that at this time now you aduertise me of it, being aduertised I shall defend my selfe the better, in such sort that the king your maister shall do me no hurt: for sith he doth desire me, I am halfe assured.

How the emperor was affectioned for the pope in his captivity.

And touching that which you spake of the pope, none hath bene more sorrowfull than I of that which was done, and it was without my knowledge or commandement: and that which hath bene done, was done by vntrulle people, without obedience to anie of my captains. And yet I aduertise you, that

the pope long since is set at libertie, and yesterday I had certeine newes of it. And touching the sonnes of your maister, he knoweth that I haue them for pledges; and also my lords his ambassadors know well, that the fault hath not lien in me that they haue not bene delivered. And as for that of the king of England my god brother and vnckle, I beleue if it be so as you do say, that he is not well informed of things passed: and if he were, yet could I not saie as your writing containeth, I desire to send him my reasons for to aduertise him of all the truth. And I beleue when he shall know it, that he will be unto me as he hath bene.

The emperor's answer to the king of England's displeasure.

The here bleth an ament from bene rectified to moue the emperor

I neuer denied the monie which I borrowed of him, and I am ready to paie it as by reason & right I am bound: and thanked be God I haue enough to do it. Neuertheless, if he will make warre against me, it will be to my great displeasure, & I cannot but defend my selfe. I praye to God that he giue me no more occasion than I thinke I haue giuen unto him. And to the rest, for that your writing is great, and the paper sheweth it selfe to be gentle, seeing that they haue written what they would, you shall giue me the writing, whereby more particularlie I maie answer in another paper, wherein shall be nothing but truth. This answer being made by his maiestie with his owne mouth unto Cuien king of armes, the said Cuien toke his cote of armes that he had on his left arme (as before is said) and put it on, and then Clarenceur king of armes of England said vnto his maiestie, not by writing, but by mouth, as followeth.

The English heralds message delivered by word of mouth.

It, the king my soueraine lord hath commanded me to say vnto you, that seeing the necessitie of peace in the christian religion, as well by reason of the inforcements manie yeers past, begun by the great Turke enimie vnto our faith, which by force of armes hath taken awaie from the christians the citie and Ile of Rhodes, one of the principall bulwarks of christendome, and in Hungarie the fortress of Belgrad, and part of the cuntry there, as also by heresies and new sects, of late risen in diuerse places of christendome; and likewise knowing the great warres being kindled in all parts, by meanes of which all christendome is in trouble, confusion, and marvellous diuision, and not long since by your people and ministers and souldiers in your armie, and vnder your captains the holie citie of Rome hath bene sacked and robbed, the person of our holie father the pope taken prisoner, and kept by your people, the cardinals likewise taken and put to ransom, the churches robbed, bishops, priests, and people of religion put to the sword, and so manie other evils, cruelties, and innumerable facts committed by your people, that the aire and the land are infected therewith.

The report of the heralds faithfull and irrefragable by Cuien's answer, lib. 18.

And it is verie like, that God is verie greatly stirred and prouoked vnto it. And to speake after the maner of men, if by amendment it be not pacified, innumerable evils and inconueniences shall happen vnto all christendome. And for that the rot and increase of the said warre, proceedeth of the contentions and debates betwene you, and the most christened king his god brother, and perpetuall alie: to make an end of which debates, the king my soueraine lord hath sent his ambassadors and others, vnto the most christened king his god brother, with whom he hath done so much, that for the loue that he hath borne him; he hath made vnto you so great offers, and so reasonable, that you cannot, nor ought

The king of England's answer to the pope's French king

The here English hereth the emperor's what is the king of England's p determine this off be refuse

The d tion of king o land to pope as France

An. Reg. 19.

The herald
with an argu-
ment spawne
from benefits
received
to mount the
emperor.

reasonable to refuse them, as conditions and offers
for his ranfome exceeding the ranfome accustomed
of all kings. And if in this, the confideration of peace
had not bene, an euill example might thereof grow
for other kings and chieffest princes subiect vnto
the like fortune.

Of which offers and conditions he hath likewise advertised you by his ambassadours, praised and besought you for the honour of God, and the wealth of all christendome, for the benefits and pleasures that he hath done vnto you diuerse waies; and that in time of your great need, that it would please you to accept the said offers; and make an end of the said warres, that haue so long endured. Likewise as a chastened prince bound to the protection of his pope, and so apostolike, and consequentie, to the deliuerance of his boldnesse (whom you cannot, nor ought to, haue prisoner without great offense) that you would restore his boldnesse vnto a full and entier libertie. Also he hath oftentimes shewed by diuerse obligations, and other means, how you are indebted vnto him in diuerse great summes of monie, that he hath giuen and lent you in your necessitie, requiring you to make payment.

¶ All which things you haue made no account from time to time, but deferred it, and held in suspence the ambassadours of the king my soveraigne, without having regard to Gods honour, and the necessity of all childeingame, and the reverence that ye ought to haue vnto the holie seate and person of our holie father the pope, the vicar of God on earth, or vnto the pleasures that you haue receiued of him, or vnto your faith and promise that you so oftentimes haue made. And for this cause the king my said soveraigne, by honest reason and iustice constrained, by great and ripe deliberation of his counsell, hoping for a small conclusion, hath caused againe to be presented offers more large and to greater advantage than the others before, to put you in deuoir, and to a void and take awaie all occasion to deferre and dissimble to come to treason.

Which offers, and the augmenting of the same, haue bene made and made againe, with all demonstrations and honest reasons that haue bene possible, And in the end there hath bene made vnto you instance for the deliuerie of our holie father, whom you haue restrained or caused to be restrained in place of deliuerie, which is very strange, & against the true estate & dutie of a christian prince. So that the king my soueraigne, & the most christian king his brother, and perpetuall alie, can no longer indure it with their honours and dutie towards God and the church. And seeing you will not condescend to reason, nor accept the said offers being more than reasonable; no; satisfie the king my said soueraigne of the debts by you due, as you are bound, he hath concluded with the said most christian king his good brother & perpetuall alie, & other of his confederats, to doe his endeavour to constrain you by force & might of armes to deliuer our holie father, & likewise the children of France, whom you hold, in pateng you a reasonable ranfome, and to satisfie him of that you owe him.

Therefore the king my Sovereigne lord, as a true and constant prince, willing to keepe inviolable his faith, which he hath promised unto the said chrysian prince, and other his allies, and not willing to leave the person of our said holie father the pope in captivity, as also will not the said chrysian king: they two doe summon you at this time for all, to accept these last offers, for the deliuerance of the said children of France, and for the wealth of an vniuersall peace, & to deliuer the person of our said holie father, & also to paie speedilie and without anie more delaye, the debts by you due unto the king my Sovereigne,

And if you refuse these small offers, and also to deliver the person of our said holie father, and paie the said debtes, as a good christian prince; and lover of peace is bound to do; the king my soueraigne, and the said christian king his good brother, not without great sorrow and displeasure, do declare to be your enemies, and so hereafter do hold and repute you for such one, denouncing vnto you warre by sea and land, and desiring you with all their forces,

10 **H**erethefore, considering that there be diuers
of your subiects, and great quantitie of their goods
in the realmes of England and France, and other
lands & lordships of the said pincines: likewise there
be diuers of the subiects of the kings of England
and France; and of their goods in your kingdomes,
countreies, lands, and lordships, the which may re-
cieve aswell of the one part as of the other, great
and unrecoverable hurts and damages, if without
advertisements and monition they should be taken
20 and detained: the kings maiestie my soueraigne, and
the most christian king of France his god brother
be willing that libertie be giuen vnto your subiects
being in their kingdomes, countreies, and lordships,
for to retire and depart with all their goods and mer-
chandise, within fourtie daies after this intimation,
so that the like libertie and permission be in like sort
granted to their subiects. ¶ To this defiance of the
king at armes of England the emperours maiestie
did answer in these wordes.

The emperours answer to the
English heralds oration.

Do vnderstand that which you haue declared, and I cannot thinke that if the king of England were thoroughlie aduertised of things as they haue passed, and of the reason to which I haue yeilded, he woulde not saie that which you haue said, and therefore mine intention is to aduertise him. As to that which you spake of the pope, I was neuer consenting to his destruction, which was neuer done by my commandement: & I giue you to vnderstand, that he is deliuered, and I am sorie for the harmes that were done at the time when he was taken, of the which I take my selfe not to be in fault, as I haue told the king at armes of France, And as to the deliuerance of the French kings sons, where means haue bene made for their deliuerance, I haue bene ready to giue eare thereto, and the fault resteth not in me, for that the peace hath not bene concluded.

But now that you tell me that the king your mai-
ster will force me to deliuer them, I will answer
thereto in other sort than hitherto I haue done, and
I trust to keepe them in such wise, that by force I
shall not need to deliuer them: for I am not accus-
tomed to be forced in things which I do. As to the debts
which the king of England hath lent me, I haue ne-
uer denied it, neither do I denie it, but am ready to
60 paie it as right requiteth, as I haue caused it to be de-
clared vnto him, and I my selfe haue shewed no-
lesse to his ambassadors, and deliuered my saying by
writing, and I cannot beloeue that for such things
(which I refuse not to accomplish) he will make war
against me, and if he will so do it will grieue me, but
yet I must defend my selfe: and I praye God that
the king your maister giue me not greater occasion
to make him war, than I haue giuen him. You shall
deliuer me in writing, that which you haue said, to
the which I will answer by writing particularlie.

This answer made by the emperour to the king of armes Clarenceaur, the said Clarenceaur took his coat of armes, which he had lieng on his left armie.

The defiance
intimated to
the emperor
by the herald
of England.

Libertie granted to the emperors subjects in England and France to return to their owne countries, and the like demanded on the contrary part.

The herald of
England
brought the
emperor
what is the
king of Eng-
lands present
determination
the offer
refused.

The report of
the herald
falleth out in-
justifiable by
Guicciardines
discourse,
lib. 18.

The king of
England fa-
voured the
French king.

The emperor's modesty in this point is notable.

The English
herald is com-
manded by the
emperour to
leave his oration
behind
him in writing.

Guic. pag. 108
Accord be-
tweene the
pope & the
emperours
agents.

Heauie pay-
ments for the
pope to dis-
charge.

Guic. pag. 108
The manner of
the popes go-
ing out of pri-
son.

arme (as before is said) and put it upon him. The emperour herewith commanded him to deliuer by writing into the hands of the lord of Buclans all that he had uttered by word of mouth, as is above exprest. Which Clarenceaur promised to do, so he did afterwards, signed with his owne hand, word for word. Clarenceaur hauing thus done his dutie, incontinentlie withdrew: but before his departure, the lord of Buclans said to him, and also to Guen, these wordes ensuing. Behold here this writing in my hand, containing the articles of the composition betwene the emperour and the pope.

That the pope should be no partie against the emperour, neither in the affaires of Millaine, nor in the kingdome of Naples. That he should accord vnto the emperour the crossade in Spaine, and a tenth of the reuenues ecclesiastike through all his dominions. That to assure the obseruation of these things, Ostia should remaine in the hands of the emperour, and Ciuita Vecchia which Andrea Dore had left to him before. That he should assigne ouer to him Ciuita Castellana, a towne which had refused to receiue the imperials, Pario Perusquo procaro of the like being entred within the rocke by secret commission from the pope, notwithstanding he made semblance of the contrarie. That he should also deliuer ouer to him the rocke of Farlie, and to put into his hands for hostages Hippolito and Alexander his nephues, and till they were come from Parma the emperour to be possessed of the cardinals Pisani, Triulco, and Caddi, whome they led to the reahme of Naples.

Further more, that he should make present payment to the lanceknights of three score thousand ducates, and to the Spaniards thirtie & five thousand. That in so doing they should let him come out at libertie with all the cardinals, and they to go out of Rome and out of the castell, alwaies interpreting to libertie when soeuer they should be conueied in safetie to Vmbetto, Spoleto, or Perousa. That within fiftene daies after his going out of Rome he should paie the like quantitie of monie to the lanceknights, and afterwards the residue within thre moneths to the Spaniards & lanceknights souerlie, according to their shares and portions. Which residue together with the summes paid, amounted to more than three hundred and fiftie thousand ducats.

This is the true copie (said the lord of Buclans) of the capitulation, made touching the deliuerance of the pope, and how he is deliuered, and departed from castell saint Angelo, the tenth of December last past: put it in your relation. The said king of armes answered; We will so do: and so for that time they parted. Here, because mention is made of the popes deliuerance out of prison, it shall not be amisse to set downe the manner thereof as it is reported by Guicciardine. All things hauing their orderlie expedition, & the resolution set downe, that the tenth of December the Spaniards should accompanie him into a place of surterie, he fearing some variation either for the ill mind which he knew don Hugo bare to him, or for anie other accident that might happen, the night before he stole secretlie out of the castell in the closing of the evening, disguised in the attire of a merchant. Lewis de Consaguo who was in the paie of the emperour, taried for him in the medowes with a strong companie of harquebuziers, and with that gard did accompanie him to Montfalcon, where dismissing almost all his bands of footmen, he was led by the same Lewis euen to Vmbetto, into which citie he entred by night without the companie of anie one cardinall. An example worthe of consideration, and perhaps neuer happened since the church was great: that a pope should in that sort fall from so great a puissance and

reuerence, his eyes to behold the losse and sacke of Rome, his person to be turned ouer into captiuitie, and his whole estate reduced to the disposing of an other, and within fets moneths after, to be restored & established in his former greatnesse. So great towards princes Christian is the authoritie of the pope, and the respect which mostall men doe beare to him.

At the same instant that the heralds were at the emperours court, the emperour called before him the said Guen king of armes of France, and said to him as followeth. It is reason that you enioy your priuileges, you ought also to do your dutie; and therefore I praye your selfe to be your master, per ceau to his bone person, that which I shall tell you, which is this: that since the libertie of Milan, contrarie to the same, ouer of his subjects haue bene taken going about the it bisnesse, and other also going to serue me in Italie, which haue bene detained prisoners, with intreaties, and by force thrust into the galies; and besides I haue of his subjects the which I might likewise take, ye shall aduertise him, that if he deliuer me some mine, I will deliuer his; if not, as he shall intreat mine, I will intreat his; and that he send me answer hereof within fortie daies: if not, I will take the refusal for an answer.

The king of armes Guen asked if his maiestie ment this concerning the merchants. Wherevnto the emperour answered: This is be like that which is contained in your writing, touching the merchants, to which point (said he) I will answer by writing. And herewith Guen making thre obeisances, said; Sir I will glasse do it. Then said the emperour, Let the king your master further, that I beleue that which hath not bene aduertised of that which I told to his ambassadors in Granada, which toucheth him nere. For I told him in such a case so noble a prince, that if he had understood the same, he would haue made me an answer. Ye shall do well to know it of his ambassador. For by that he shall understand, that I haue kept better faith to him in that I haue promised at Madrid than he to me, and I praye you to tell him, and saile not before. Guen answered, Without doubt sir I will do it: and so making his obeisance he departed.

The emperour appointed John le Alemand the baron of Buclans to see that no displeasure nor trouble speach were vnto the said kings of armes; but that they should be well vsed: which was done to their good contentation. After this, the seauen and twentieth of Januarie, the said kings of armes came to the said lord of Buclans, who by the emperours appointment deliuered an answer vnto either of them in writing, accordinglie as the emperour had promised; the copies thereof are set forth at large in the annales of Aquitaine, and so belesse here omitted. To conclude, the French king toke such displeasure with the emperours answers made vnto his king of armes Guen, whereby he was charged to do otherwise than by his faith giuen he ought to haue done, that the eight and twentieth daie of March being in the citie of Paris, accompanied with a great number of the princes of his blood, cardinals and other prelates and nobles of his realme, and also the ambassadors of diuerse princes and potentates, he called before him Nicholas Wererot lord of Granuelle, vnto whom he said in effect as followeth.

The French kings oration before an honourable assemblée at Paris.



My lord ambassadors, it hath grieued me, and doth grieue me, that I haue bene constrained to handle you not so courteously and gracionlie as for the god and honou-

The emperour
sends the French
herald.

Thus the emperour
replyeth to which
his owne dealings
by law of compen-

The heralds
receiue the
emperours an-
swer in writing.

The French
king's
Guic. pag. 108

This speech
of the king
doth belesse
concern the
emperour and
his courtiers

what inda
the French
king to die
time discou
re again
the emperou
ambassadoy

The king
sweareth th
emperours
wordes bet
red to Gu
his herald.

The French
king's faith
condemni
necessitie
made him
tractable
the emper

The emper
ours amb
doth refus
to read th
French k
letters si
his some
Wigne.

The emperors
was written by
the French
craide.

The French
king's letter
to the emperor
concerning
the emperor's
ambassadors.

This the emperors
inferred to
his own
dealing by
word of
comparison

The king
of France
the emperor's
letter to
himself.

The heralds
receiveth the
emperors
word in
writing.

The French
king's letter
to the emperor
concerning
the emperor's
ambassadors.

The French
king's letter
to the emperor
concerning
the emperor's
ambassadors.

This speech
of the king
doth shew
concerning
the emperor
and
savourer of
displeasure.

The emperor's
ambassadors
read the
French king's
letter to
himself.

honourable behauiour, which you haue shewed in doing your dutie being here with me, you haue deserved at my hands, sith I must needs saie, ye haue acquit your selfe in euerie behalfe, as well to the honoz of your maister, as god contentation of each man else, so that I am assured the fault resteth not in you, whie things haue not come to better end and purpose than they haue done, for the god zeale and affection, which I haue euer proued in you to the advancement of peace and quieting of things, wherein I doubt not but you haue done your due to the full.

But being informed that your maister the elect emperour, against all right and law, as well diuine as humane, had commanded to be done vnto my ambassadors, and likewise to the other of the league remaining with him, for the furtherance of things toward a peace, and contrarie to all godd custums, which hitherto haue bene obserued betwixt princes, not onelie christians, but also infidels, me thought I could not otherwise do, for the behoufe of mine owne ambassadors, arrested and against reason kept in ward, but to do the same to you, although I had no mind to vse you euill, for the reasons aboue said, for the which, and for the dutie you haue shewed in doing that appertained, I assure you my lord ambassador, that beside that I doubt not but your maister will recompense you for the same, ye may be assured that where particularlie in anie thing I may pleasure you, I will do it with as good a will as you can require me.

And to make answer to that which your maister by word of mouth hath said vnto Guien and Clarenceau kings of armes of the king my god brother and perpetuall and best alie, and of me vpon the intimation of the warre which hath bene made by vs, consisting in eight points, I will that each one vnderstand it. First, as to the which he saith he marvelleth that he hauing me a prisoner by iust warre, and hauing also my faith, I should desie him, and that in reason I neither may nor ought to do it; I answer thereto, that if I were his prisoner here, and that he had my faith, he had spoken true: but I know not that the emperour hath euer at anie time had my faith, that may in anie wise auaille him. For first in what warre so euer I haue bene, I know not that I haue either seene him or encountered with him.

When I was prisoner, garded with foure or fift hundred harquebusers, sicke in my bed, and in danger of death, it was an easie matter to constrain me, but not verie honorable to him that should do it: and after that I returned into France, I know not anie that hath had power to compell me to it: and to do it willingly without constraint, it is a thing which I waie moze, than so lightlie to bind my selfe thereto. And because I will not that my honoz come in disputation, although I know well that euerie man of warre knoweth sufficientlie, that a prisoner garded is not bound to anie faith, nor can bind himselfe thereto in anie thing: I do neuertheless send to your maister this writing signed with mine owne hand, the which my lord ambassador I priaie you read, and afterwards promise me to deliuer it vnto your maister, and not to anie other. And herewith the king caused it to be deliuered to the said ambassador by maister John Robertet, one of the secretaries of the estate, and of his chamber.

The ambassador toke the writing in his hand, and after excused himselfe to the king, saing: That as to him, by the letter which his maister & soveraigne lord had written vnto him now lastlie, his commission was already expired, and that he had no farther commandement nor instructions from his maiestie, but to take leave of the king with as much speed as he might, and to returne home. Which he most hum-

blie besought him to permit him to do, without further charge or commission, although he knew that he was at his commandement, and that he might at his pleasure constrain him, as seemed to him god. Herevnto the king answered; My lord ambassador, sith you will not take vpon you to read this writing, I will cause it to be read in this companie, to the end that euerie one may vnderstand and know that I am clared in that, whereof against truchy he goeth about to accuse me.

Beside that, if you afterwards will not beare it, & deliuer it to him, I will send one of my heralds here present to go in companie with you: for whom you shall procure a good & available safe conduct, that he may passe vnto your maister, protesting & demanding, that an act maie be registred before this companie, that if he will not it should come to his knowledge, that I am discharged, in that I do my best to cause him to vnderstand it accordingly as I ought to do, and in such sort as he can not pretend cause of ignorance. After the king had ended these words, he called to him the said Robertet, and commanded him to reade the said writing with a loud voice, which was done word for word.

The copie of the said writing directed to the emperour.

Francis, by the grace of God, king of France, lord of Genes, &c. To you Charles, by the same grace, chosen emperour of Rome, and king of Spaine. We do you to wit, that being aduertised, that in all the answers that you haue made to our ambassadors and heralds, sent to you for the establishing of peace, in excusing your selfe, without all reason you haue accused vs, saing, that we haue plight you our faith, and that thereupon (besides our promise) we departed out of your hands and power. In defense of our honour, which hereby might be burthened too much against all truth, we thought good to send you this writing; by which we giue you to vnderstand, that notwithstanding that no man being in ward is bound to keepe faith, and that the same might be a sufficient excuse for vs: yet for the satisfieng of all men, and our said honoz (which we mind to keepe, and will keepe, if it please God, vnto the death) that if ye haue charged, or will charge vs, not onelie with our said faith, and deliuerance, but that euer we did anie thing that became not a gentleman that had respect to his honoz; that ye lie fallie in your throat: and as oft as ye saie it, ye lie: and we determine to defend our honoz to the uttermost drop of our blood. Wherefore, seeing ye haue charged vs against all truth, write no moze to vs hereafter: but appoint vs the field, and we will bring you the weapons. Protesting, that if after this declaration ye write into anie place, or vse anie words against our honoz, that the shame of the delaie of the combat shall light on you, seeing that the offering of combat is the end of all writing: Made at our god towne and citie of Paris, the eight and twentieth daie of March.

The French king deliuereth his mind with a courage, as bitter enemie to the emperor.

The French king's allegations in defense of his honoz charged with vntut.

The French king giueth the emperor the lie: for Guic. pag 1095

March. In the pere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, before Easter. Thus signed. Francis.

This Robertet was one of the secretaries to the estate.

After that Robertet had read this writing there in presence of the emperours ambassadores, the king made further replie unto the points contained in the emperours answers to the defiance: and withall to conclude, told the said ambassadores, that his master the emperour had constrained him by such mes- sage as he had sent to him, to make the answer in truth, which he had made: and further willed him to deliver unto the emperour the writing which he had signed with his hand, and to saie to him, that he took him for so honorable a prince, that considering the matter therewith he charged him, and the answer that he made, he would not faile but to answer him like a gentleman, and not by writing like an advocate. For if he otherwise do (saie the king) I will answer his chancelor by an advocate, and a man of his estate, and a more honest man than he.

Shortlie after, the emperours ambassadores returned home into Spaine in safetie, and well intreated. And uppon their returne, the ambassadores of France were set at libertie, and delivered beyond Frontierabie, & so came safelie home into France. Then a French herald, appointed to accompanie the ambassadour Grandeuill, brought the writing of the combat unto the emperour, because Grandeuill refused to meele with it. So the which the emperour five months after, or thereabouts, sent an answer by one of his heralds; who being arrived at Paris, meant uppon the sudden to present his letters unto the French king. But the king getting intelligence thereof, the tenth of September, sitting within his great hall of his palace at Paris aforesaid, before the table of marble in a roiall seat, addressed and set up for him sixteen steps in height, appointed to give audience to the said herald.

The emperour answered the French kings letters.

What states both native and foreign were present in the French kings hall.

On his right hand sate in chaires the king of Navarre, the duke of Alanson and Berrie, the earle of Foix and Arminacke. And on the same side sate also upon a bench, the duke of Wandosme a pere of France, lieutenant generall, and gouverneur of Picardie, don Hercules de Est, eldest sonne to the duke of Ferrar, duke of Chartres and Montargers, who latelie before had married the ladie Kener, a daughter of France, the duke of Albanie regent and gouverneur of Scotland, the duke of Longueville, great chamberleine of France. And nere to them upon another bench sate the presidents and counsellors of the court of parlement; and behind them manie gentlemen, doctors, and learned men. On the left hand were set in chaires prepared for them, the cardinall Saluarie the popes legat, the cardinall of Bourbon, and duke of Laon, a pere of France, the cardinall of Sens chancelor of France, the cardinall of Lorain, the archbishop of Parbon, the ambassadores of the kings of England and Scotland, of the segniorie of Venice, of Millan, of the Cantons, of the Swisses, and of Florence.

On an other bench sate the bishop of Transilvania, ambassadour for the king of Hungarie, the bishop and duke of Angres, one of the peeres of France, the bishop & earle of Poion, an other of the peeres of France, the archbishop of Lion, primate of all France, the archbishop of Burges primate of Aquitaine, the archbishops of Aux and Rouen, the bishops of Paris, Meaux, Lisieux, Pascon, Limoges, Abbeys, Conserans and Terbe. And behind them sate the masters of the requests, and the counsellors of the great councill. On either side the kings seate stood the earle of Beaumont great master and marshall of France, the lord de Wion admirall of France

who stood on either side of the French kings seate

lieutenant generall, and gouverneur of Burgognie. And behind the same seate were manie knights of the order, that is to wit, the earle of Laual, lieutenant generall and gouverneur of Britaine, the lord of Pontmerancie, the lord Daubignie capitaine of an hundred lances, and of the Scottish gard, the earle of Brienne, Lignie, and Rouille, the lord of Fleurang, ges marshall of France, the lord of Ruffois, the lord of Cenoilliac great esquier and master of the artillerie of France, Loys monsieur de Cenes, the lord of Hunters, and the earle of Carptle.

Behind them was the earle of Estamps prioness of Paris, and with him manie gentlemen of the kings chamber: among the which was the earle of Lancarull, the lord of Guien, the son of the earle of Rouille, the son of the lord of Fleurang, the lord de la Rochepot, the lord Donartie great master of the waters and forrests, the lord of Lude, the lord of Janlis, the lord de Villebon, ballie of Rouen, the baron of Chateau Poiant, the lord de la Loue, the count de la Potheaugroing, and the lord of Merces. And besides these, the masters and officers of the household & gentlemen waiters, with the more part of the two hundred gentlemen or pensioners, as we terme them. At the entrie into the said thronor or tribunall seat, were the capteins of the garbs, and the prioness of the household. And before the king kneeled the others of the chamber upon the one knee: and at the foot of the step that went up to the kings seate were the prionesses of the merchants and escheins of the towne of Paris. Beneath in the hall (the gates whereof were still open) there was an infinite number of people of all nations: and in presence of them all, the king made this declaration.

The cause wherefore I have made this assemblee, is, for that the emperour elect hath sent to me an herald of armes, who (as I coniecture, and as the same herald hath said, and as his safe conduct importeth) hath brought me letters, patents and autentike, concerning the sacertie of the field for the combat that should be betwixt the said elected emperour and me. And forasmuch as the said herald, under colour to bring the sacertie of the field, may use certeine flacions, dissimulations, or hypocrites, to shift off the matter, whereas I desire expedition, and to have it dispatched out of hand; so that by the same an end of the warres, which have so long continued, may be had, to the ease and comfort of all chistendome, to avoid the effusion of blood, and other mischances which come thereof: I have wished it knowne to all chistendome, to the end that euerie one may understand the truth, from whence procedeth the mischance and the long continuance thereof.

I have also caused this assemblee to be made, to shew that I have not without great cause enterprised such an act; for the right is on my side: and if I should otherwise have done, mine hono: had bene greatlie blemished. A thing which my lords that are of my blood, and other my subiects would have taken in euill part. And knowing the cause of the combat, and my right, they will beare with it, as god and loiall subiects ought to do, trusting by Gods helpe to proceed in such sort therein, that it shall plainelie appere if the right be on my side or not: and how, against truth, I have bene accused for a breaker of my faith, which I would be loth to do, nor at anie time have meant so to do. The kings my predecessours and ancessors, whose pictures are ingrauen and set here in order within this hall, which in their daies have successivelie atchued glorious acts, and greatlie augmented the realme of France, would thinke me unworthie, and not capable to be their successor, if against mine hono: I should suffer my selfe to be charged with such a note,

The king the cause of this assemblee of honorable personages.

The field, that is, a place where they may fight in iustice before iudges

Further cause where the said assemblee was procured.

Guic. pag. 12

French in presence of all his nobles, that he gave such notice to his enemies, ergo not the emperour.

The king the cause of this assemblee of honorable personages.

Dom. 1527.

Reg. 19.

noie by the emperor, and should not defend my person and honoꝝ in the manner and forme accustomed.

And herewith he declared the whole case as it stood. First, how being taken at Pania by fortune of war, he neuer gaue his faith to anie of his enemies, & consenting to be led into Spaine, caused his owne gallies to be made ready to conueie him thither, where at his arrivall, he was committed to ward within the castell of Spadill, garded with a great number of harquebuziers & others. Which unconteous dealing found in the emperor, so much grieved him, that he fell sicke, and laie in danger of death: Whereupon the emperor comming to visit him after his recovery of health, an accord was made betwixt the deputies of the emperor and the ambassadours of the ladie his mother then regent of France: which accord was so unreasonable, that no prince being in libertie would haue consented thereto, noꝝ for his deliuerance haue promised so great a ranfome. Which trette yet they constrained him (as he said) to sweare to performe, being prisoner, against the protestation which he diuerse times had made, yea as yet being sicke, and in danger of reciduation; and so consequentie of death.

After this, he was conueied forth on his iourne home wards, still garded & not set at libertie. And it was told him, that after he came into France, it was conuenient that he should giue his faith; for that it was knowne well enough, that what he did or promised in Spaine, it nothing auailed. And further he remembred not that the emperor had told him at anie time, that if he performed not the contents of the treatie, he would hold him for a breaker of his faith, & though he had, he was not in his libertie to make anie answer. Two things therefore said he in this case are to be considered. One, that the trette was violentlie wꝛong out from them that could not bind his person, and the which (as to the residue) had bene accomplished by his mother, deliuering his sonnes in hollage. The other thing was his pretended faith, on which they can make no ground, sith he was not set at libertie. And herewith he shewed manie reasons, to proue that his enemies could not pretend in right that they had his faith.

Further he said, that in matter of combat there was the assaillant, which ought to giue suertie of the field, and the defendant the weapons. Herewith also he caused a letter to be read, which the emperor had written to maister John de Calumont president of Bourdeaux, the said kings ambassadour in the court of the said emperor: the tenor of which letter imported, that the emperor put the said ambassadour in remembrance of speech which he had uttered to the said ambassadour in Granada, repeating the same in substance as followeth. That the king his maister had done naughtilie in not keeping his faith which he had of him, according to the treatie of Spadill; and if the king would saie the contrarie, I will (said the emperor) mainteine the quarrell with my bodie against his. And these be the same words that I spake to the king your maister in Spadill, that I would hold him for a lewd and haughtie man, if he brake the faith which I had of him, &c.

Then after the said letter had bene read, he caused also his answer made by way of a cartell to be read, the tenor whereof ye haue heard before. That done, he continued his tale, in declaring what order he had obserued to procure the emperor to the combat, without all shifting delaies: so as if the herald now come from the emperor would vse anie talke, other than to deliuer him an authentike writing for suertie of the field, and not obserue the contents of his safe conduct, he meant not to giue him audience. And

hereupon was the herald called to come in, and declare his message. Who apparelled in his cote of armes, made his apperance before the king there sitting, accompanied (as ye haue heard) into whose presence the king said.

Herald, dost thou bring the suertie of the field, such one as thy maister, being the assaillant, ought to deliuer unto the defendant, being such a personage as I am? The herald herewith said: Sir, make it please you to giue my licence to do mine office: Then said the king: Giue me the pattent of the field, and saie what thou wilt. The herald beginning his tale, The sacred. Then said the king: Shew me the pattent of the field, for I hold thy maister for so noble a prince, that he hath not sent thee without the suertie of the field, sith I haue demanded it; and thou knowest that thy safe conduct, containeth no lesse but that thou shouldest bring it. The herald answered, that he trusted he had brought that which might content his maiestie.

The king replied & said: Herald, giue me the pattent of the field, giue it me: and if it be sufficient, I will receiue it, and after saie what thou wilt. The herald said he had in commandement not to deliuer it, except he might declare that which he had first to saie. The king said: Thy maister can not giue lawes to vs in France. To conclude he told the herald, that he peraduenture might speake things that his maister would not anouch, and that he had not to deale with him, but with his maister. The herald then required that he might haue licence to depart: which the king granted. And withall the king commanded that it might be registred what had passed in this behalfe, for a testimonie that the fault rested not in him in that he receiued not the pattent. The herald likewise for his discharge, required a copie in writing of that which had passed, and the same was granted.

Thus far haue I ouerpasse the common bounds of my purpose, in speaking so largelie of this matter of combat, because of the rarenes thereof, changing betwixt two so mightie princes, although it came not to the effect of triall. And now to returne to that which folloved further upon the defiance, denounced to the emperor by the two kings of armes, Guen and Clarenceur. Ye shall vnderstand, that the lords and nobilitie, to the number of seuen hundred in whose presence it was giuen, toke it so offeruatiue, that drawing forth their swords, they swaie that the same should be reuenged: for other wise they protested, that the infamie would rebound to them and their heires for ever. Herewith the warre was proclaimed through all Spaine with baners displayed, in which were painted a red sword, with a burning cresset against the French king and his partakers, but not mentioning the king of England by expresse name. But it was recited in the proclamation, that the king of England had menaced and defied the emperor in the French kings quarrell.

Then were the English merchants in Spaine attached, and their goods put in safetie, till it might be knowne how the emperours subiects were ordered in England. Then likewise were all the ships of the emperours subiects here arrested: and in semblable manner all the Englishmen and their goods and ships were arrested by the ladie regent in the low countries. The common people in England much lamented, that warre should arise betwixt the emperor and the king of England, speciallie because the emperours dominions had holpen and releued them with graine in time of their necessitie & want. But chesellie this matter touched merchants which haunted the emperours dominions. Yet at length were those of the low countries set at libertie, and their goods to them deliuered, in fauour of intercourese of

The French king's talke and communication to the emperours ambassadours betwixt indignation.

The herald requireth its bertie to depart.

1 5 2 8 The emperor defied by the kings of England and France.

English merchants attached in Spaine.

merchandise. But so: for much as the Spaniards were still deteined, the ladie regent also deteined the ships and goods of the English merchants though the set their persons at libertie.

The incōmoditie rising of lacke of interest course for traffike.

By this meanes the trade of merchandise was in manner fore-let here in England, and namelie the clothes laie on their hands, whereby the common-wealth suffered great decaye, and great numbers of spinners, carders, tuckers, and such other that lived by clothworking, remained idle, to their great impoverishment. And as this warre was displeasing to the Englishmen, so was it as much or more displeasing to the townes and people of the low countries, & in especiall to the townes of Antwerpe & Barrois, where the marts are kept. So that at length there came ambassadours from the ladie regent, the which associating themselves with don Hugo de Spendoza ambassadour for the emperour, came to the king at Richmond the twentieth and ninth of March, and there moved their sute so effectually, that an abstinence of warre was granted, till time that a further communication might be had: and upon this point letters were sent into Spaine, France, and Flanders, and so this matter continued untill answers were brought from thence againe.

In abstinence of war granted upon sute made to the king of England.

The emperours ambassadours intreated not so earnestly to move the king to haue peace with their master, but the French ambassadours solicited the king as earnestly to enter into the warre against him, and suerly they had the cardinall on their side. But yet the king wisely considering with other of his counsell, what damage should insue thereby unto his subjects, and speciallie to the merchants and clothiers, would not consent so easilie to the purpose of the Frenchmen, though he had twentieth thousand pounds sterling out of France, of yearely pension, to continue friend & alie to the French king. But he protested euer that he would see the realm of France defended to his power, and studie no lesse to haue a peace concluded, which might be as honourable to the French king as to himselfe, and beneficiall unto their people, of whom by warres, might be made both slaughter and bloudshed, which are companions inseparable of battell; as the poet well saith:

Hinc breuiter diua moris aperta via est.

Creation of the earle of Osserie.

On the two and twentieth of Februarie the king created at Windsor sir Piers Butler of Ireland, erle of Osserie, & also a Dutch craire of Arnew chaled a French craire by the Thames from Hargate to the Tower wharfe, and there as they fought sir Edmund Wallingham lieutenant of the Tower perceluing them, called his men together, and entering the ships took both the captiues. The kings counsell took by the matter betwixt them, for the Fleming chalenged the Frenchman as a lawfull prize. An abstinence of the warre was taken in the beginning of this yeare betwixt Flanders, and the countries of Picardie on this side the river of Some to begin the first of Maie & indure till the last of Februarie. By means of this truce all the Englishmen might lawfullie passe into the low countries, but not into Spaine: which was græued the merchants that haunted those parties. It was further agreed, that if no generall peace could be had, during the time of this truce: then all the merchants should haue respit two moneths after to passe into their owne countries with their wares and merchandises in safetie.

A truce and the benefits insuing from the same.

The sweating sicknesse, whereof died both courtiers and others.

In the end of Maie began in the citie of London the disease called the sweating sicknesse, which afterwards infected all places of the realme, and sue manie within five or six houres after they sickened. This sicknesse, for the manner of the taking of the patients, was an occasion of remembering that great sweat which raged in the reigns of this kings grand-

father; and happilie men caused the same remedie then used to be renewed. By reason of this sicknesse, the tearme was adiourned, and the circuit of the assises also. There died diuerse in the court of this sicknesse, as sir Francis Poins, which had bene ambassadour in Spaine, and diuerse others. The king for a space remoued almost euerie daie till he came to Tintinhagar, a place of the abbott of saint Albons, and there he with the quene, and a small compaignie about them, remained till the sicknesse was past. In this great mortallitie died sir William Compton knight, and William Carew esquier, which were of the kings private chamber.

A prisoner brake from the sessions hall at Newgate when the sessions was done, which prisoner was brought downe out of Newgate in a basket, he seemed so weake: but now in the end of the sessions he brake thorough the people unto the Greie friers church, and there was kept sir or seauen daies per the thiriffes could speake with him, and then because he would not abjure and aske a crowner, with violence they took him thence, and cast him againe in prison, but the law serued not to hang him.

We heare heard how the people talked a little before the cardinals going ouer into France the last yeare, that the king was told by doctor Longland bishop of Lincoln and others, that his marriage with quene Katharine could not be good nor lawfull. The truth is, that whether this doubt was first moved by the cardinall, or by the said Longland, being the kings confessor, the king was not onelie brought in doubt, whether it was a lawfull marriage or no; but also determined to haue the case examined, cleared, and adiudged by learning, law, and sufficient authoritie. The cardinall verelie was put in most blame for this scruple now cast into the kings conscience, for the hate he bare to the emperour, because he would not grant to him the archbishopricke of Toledo, for the which he was a suer. And therefore he did not onlie procure the king of England to loine in friendship with the French king, but also sought a diuise betwixt the king and the quene, that the king might haue had in marriage the duchesse of Alanson, sister unto the French king; and (as some haue thought) he travelled in that matter with the French king at Amiens, but the duchesse would not giue eare thereunto.

But howsoeuer it came about, that the king was thus troubled in conscience concerning his marriage, this followed, that like a wise & sage prince, to haue the doubt cleared, he called together the best learned of the realme, which were of seuerall opinions. Wherefore he thought to know the truth by indifferent iudges, least peradventure the Spaniards, and other also in fauour of the quene would saie, that his owne subjects were not indifferent iudges in this behalfe. And therefore he wrote his cause to Rome, and also sent to all the vniuersities in Italie and France, and to the great clearkes of all christendome, to know their opinions, and desired the court of Rome to send into his realme a legat, which should be indifferent, and of a great and profound iudgement, to heare the cause debated. At whose request the whole consistorie of the college of Rome sent thither Laurence Campeius, a priest cardinall, a man of great wit and experience, which was sent hither before in the tenth yeare of this king, as we haue heard, and with him was ioined in commission the cardinall of Porke and legat of England.

This cardinall came to London in October, and did intimate both to the king & quene the cause of his coming: which being knowne, great talke was had thereof. The archbishop of Cantuarbie sent for the famous doctors of both the vniuersities to Lambeth,

Sir William Compton knight, and William Carew esquier, which were of the kings private chamber.

Abt. H. ex. pag. 99. A prisoner brake from sessions hall at Newgate.

Polydor.

Doctor D. ph. Gard. 152.

Doctor D. ph. Gard. 152.

Doctor D. ph. Gard. 152.

Anno Reg. Edw. Hall.

Abt. H. ex. 152.

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Abt. H. ex. 152.

The quene chafeth in perr for his part.

Polydor.

Doctor D. ph. Gard. 152.

Doctor D. ph. Gard. 152.

Doctor D. ph. Gard. 152.

Anno Reg. Edw. Hall.

Abt. H. ex. 152.

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Abt. H. ex. 152.

both, and there were euerie daie disputations and
 comminings of this matter. And because the king
 meant nothing but vprightlie therein, and knew
 well that the quene was somewhat wedded to hir
 owne opinion, and wished that he should do nothing
 without counsell, he had hir chose the best clearks of
 his realme to be of hir counsell, and licenced them to
 do the best on hir part that they could, according to
 the truth. Then the elected William Warham arch-
 bishop of Canturburie, and Nicholas Westbischop
 of Ebie, doctors of the lawes; and John Fisher bishop
 of Rochester, and Henrie Standish bishop of saint
 Asaph, doctors of diuinitie, and manie other doctors
 and well learned men, which for suertie like men of
 great learning defended hir cause, as farre as lear-
 ning might mainteine and hold it vp.

This yere was sir James Spenser maio: of
 London, in whose time the watch in London on
 whilsummer night was laid downe. About this time
 the king receiued into fauour doctor Stephan Car-
 diner, whose seruice he vsed in matters of great se-
 crecie and weight, admitting him in the roome of
 doctor Pace, the which being continuallie abroad in
 ambassages, and the same oftentimes not much ne-
 cessarie, by the cardinals appointment, at length he
 toke such græfe there with, that he fell out of his right
 wits. The place where the cardinals should sit to
 heare the cause of matrimonie betwixt the king and
 the quene, was ordeined to be at the Blacke friers
 in London, where in the great hall was preparation
 made of seats, tables, and other furniture, accor-
 ding to such a solemne session and roiall apparance.
 The court was platted in tables and benches in
 manner of a confessorie, one seat raised higher for the
 iudges to sit in. When as it were in the midst of the
 said iudges aloft above them thre degræs high, was
 a cloth of estate hanged, with a chaire roiall vnder
 the same, wherein sat the king; and besides him, some
 distance from him sat the quene, and vnder the iud-
 ges feet sat the scribes and other officers: the chiefe
 scribe was doctor Stæuens, and the caller of the
 court was one Cooke of Winchester.

Then before the king and the iudges within the
 court sat the archbishop of Canturburie Warham,
 and all the other bishops. Then stood at both ends
 within the counsellors learned in the spirituall lawes,
 as well the kings as the quenes. The doctors of law
 for the king (whose names yee haue heard before) had
 their conuenient roimes. Thus was the court furni-
 shed. The iudges commanded silence thilke their
 commission was read, both to the court and to the
 people assembled. That done the scribes commanded
 the crier to call the king by the name of king Hen-
 rie of England, come into the court, &c. With that
 the king answered and said, Here. Then called he the
 quene by the name of Katharine quene of England
 come into the court, &c. Who made no answer, but
 rose out of hir chaire.

And because she could not come to the king di-
 rectly, for the distance seuered betwene them, she
 went about by the court, and came to the king, knee-
 ling downe at his feet, to whom she said in effect as
 followeth: Sir (quoth she) I desire you to doe me ius-
 tice and right, and take some pittie vpon me, for I am
 a poore woman, and a stranger, bozne out of your do-
 minion, hauing here no indifferent counsell, & lesse
 assurance of friendship. Alas sir, what haue I offen-
 ded you, or what occasion of displeasure haue I met
 ed you, intending thus to put me from you after this
 sort: I take God to my iudge, I haue bene to you
 a true & humble wife, euer conformable to your will
 and pleasure, that neuer contraried or gaine said any
 thing thereof, and being alwaies contented with all
 things wherein you had any delight, whether little or

much, without grudge or displeasure, I loued for
 your sake all them whom you loued, whether they
 were my friends or enemies.

I haue bene your wife these twentie yeaeres and
 moze, & you haue had by me diuerse children. If there
 be anie iust cause that you can alleage against me, ei-
 ther of dishonestie, or matter lawfull to put me from
 you; I am content to depart to my shame and re-
 buke; and if there be none, then I pæle you to let me
 haue iustice at your hand. The king your father was
 in his time of excellent wit, and the king of Spaine
 my father Ferdinando was reckoned one of the
 wisest princes that reigned in Spaine manie yeaeres
 before. It is not to be doubted, but that they had ga-
 thered as wise counsellors vnto them of euerie
 realme, as to their wisedomes they thought meet, who
 deemed the marriage betwene you and me good and
 lawfull, &c. Therefore, I humbly desire you to spare
 me, vntill I may know what counsell my friends in
 Spaine will aduertise me to take, and if you will
 not, then your pleasure be fulfilled. With that she
 arose vp, making a lowe curtelle to the king, and de-
 parted from thence.

The king being aduertised that she was readie
 to go out of the house, commanded the crier to call
 hir againe, who called hir by these wordes: Katharine
 quene of England, come into the court. With that
 (quoth maister Griffith) Madame, you be called a-
 gaine. On (quoth she) it maketh no matter, I will
 not tarrie, go on your waies. And thus she departed,
 without anie further answer at that time, or anie o-
 ther, and neuer would appeare after in anie court.
 The king perceiuing she was departed, said these
 wordes in effect: For as much (quoth he) as the quene
 is gone, I will in hir absence declare to you all, that
 she hath bene to me as true, as obedient, and as
 conformable a wife, as I would wish or desire. She
 hath all the vertuous qualities that ought to be in a
 woman of hir dignitie, or in anie other of a baser e-
 state, she is also surelie a noble woman bozne, hir
 conditions will well declare the same.

With that quoth Wolseye the cardmall: Sir, I
 most humbly require your highnesse, to declare be-
 fore all this audience, whether I haue bene the chiefe
 and first mouer of this matter vnto your maiestie
 or no, for I am greatlie suspected herein. My lord
 cardmall (quoth the king) I can well excuse you in
 this matter, marrie (quoth he) you haue bene rather
 against me in the tempting hereof, than a setter for-
 ward or mouer of the same. The speciall cause that
 moued me vnto this matter, was a certeine scrupu-
 lositie that picked my conscience, vpon certeine
 wordes spoken at a time when it was, by the bishop of
 Baion the French ambassado: who had bene hither
 sent, vpon the debating of a marriage to be conclu-
 ded betwene our daughter the ladie Marie, and the
 duke of Orleans, second son to the king of France.

Vpon the resolution and determination whereof,
 he desired respite to aduertise the king his maister
 thereof, whether our daughter Marie should be legi-
 timate in respect of this my marriage with this wo-
 man, being sometimes my brothers wife. Which
 wordes once concluded within the secret bottom of
 my conscience, ingendered such a scrupulous doubt,
 that my conscience was incontinentlie accombed,
 vexed, and disquieted; whereby I thought my selfe to
 be greatlie in danger of Gods indignation. Which
 appeared to be (as me seemed) the rather, for that he
 sent vs no (true male; and all such (false male as my
 said wife had by me, died incontinent after they
 came into the world, so that I doubted the great dis-
 pleasure of God in that behalfe.

Thus my conscience being tossed in the waues of a
 scrupulous mind, and partlie in despair to haue
 any

The quene
 iustifieth the
 marriage.

The quene
 departing out
 of the court is
 called againe.

The cardmall
 requirith to
 haue that de-
 clared which
 was well en-
 ough known.

The king
 confesseth that
 the king of
 conscience
 made him
 mislike this
 marriage.

Sir William
 Compton.

Abr. Fl. ex 15
 pag 919.
 A prisoner
 brake fro the
 sessions house
 Register of
 Grece friers.

Doctor of
 lawe
 land bishop
 Lincoln.

Why the com-
 onall was
 suspected to be
 against the
 marriage.

Polydor.

Idw. Hall.

The king is
 eftrous to be
 solved by
 he opinions
 the learned
 touching his
 marriage.

cardmall
 amperous
 at into
 ngland.

he matter
 aching the
 ngs mar-
 ge debate.

The quene
 iustifieth her
 part.

Polydor.

Doctor of
 lawe
 land bishop
 Lincoln.

Anno Reg. 21.
 Idw. Hall.

Abr. Fl. ex
 15 pag 919.
 The manner of
 the session, &
 the period
 of ac-
 count in his
 place.

The king and
 quene called
 into the court.

Quene Ka-
 tharine la-
 mable and
 pitie spech
 to the king.

m. 1529.

An. Reg. 21.

Queene Katharine and the cardinall haue communication in the priuie chamber.

The secret keeping and communication of cardinall priuie.

The king's council and the cardinall.

The Hall.

The queene refuseth to make sudden answer to so weightie a matter as the diuorſe.

Articles exhibited against the cardinall.

The cardinall in a premonition.

His. H. ex. 1.5. pag. 968. 969.

The cardinall which to part from the great scale.

The king's queene's matter cometh to iudgement.

Cardinall Campeius refuseth to giue iudgement.

The cardinall discharged of the great scale.

The cardinall with all his officers to the king.

The king's affection and goodwill to the lady Anne Bullen.

great griefe vnto the cardinall, as he that perceiued aforehand, that the king would marie the said gentlewoman, if the diuorſe took place. Therefore he began with all diligence to disappoint that match, which by reason of the misliking that he had to the woman, he iudged ought to be auoided more than present death. While the matter stood in this state, and that the cause of the queene was to be heard and iudged at Rome, by reason of the appeale which by him was put in: the cardinall required the pope by letters and secret messengers, that in anie wise he should defer the iudgement of the diuorſe, till he might frame the kings mind to his purpose.

Howbeit he went about nothing so secretlie, but that the same came to the kings knowledge, who took so high displeasure with such his cloaked dissimulation, that he determined to abase his degree, sith as an unthankfull person he forgot himselfe and his dutie towards him that had so highlie advanced him to all honor and dignitie. When the nobles of the realme perceiued the cardinall to be in displeasure, they began to accuse him of such offenses as they knew might be poued against him, and thereof they made a booke containing certeine articles, to which diuerſe of the kings counsell set their hands. The king vnderstanding more plainlie by those articles, the great pride, presumption, and conuolousness of the cardinall, was soe moued against him; but yet kept his purpose secret for a while. Shortlie after, a parlement was called to begin at Westminster the third of Nouember next ensuing.

In the meane time the king, being informed that all those things that the cardinall had done by his power legantine within this realme, were in the case of the premonition and prouision, caused his attorney Christopher Hales to sue out a writ of premonition against him, in the which he licenced him to make his attorney. And further, the fourteenth of Nouember the king sent the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolke to the cardinals place at Westminster, who (went as they were commanded) and finding the cardinall there, they declared that the kings pleasure was that he should surrender by the great seale into their hands, and to depart simple vnto Ather, which was an house situate nigh vnto Hampton court, belonging to the bishopricke of Winchester. The cardinall demanded of them their commission that gaue them such authoritie, who answered againe, that they were sufficient commissioners, and had authoritie to doe no lesse by the kings mouth. Notwithstanding, he would in no wise agree in that behalfe, without further knowledge of their authoritie, saying; that the great seale was deliuered him by the kings person, to introy the ministrati- on thereof, with the roome of the chancelor for the terme of his life. Whereof for his fault he had the kings letters patents.

This matter was greatlie debated betwene them with manie great words, in so much that the dukes were faine to depart againe without their purpose, and rode to Windsor to the king, and made report accordingly; but the next daie they returned againe, bringing with them the kings letters. When the cardinall deliuered vnto them the great seale, and was content to depart simple, taking with him nothing but onelie certeine prouision for his house: and after long talke betwene him and the dukes, they departed with the great seale of England, and brought the same to the king. When the cardinall called all his officers before him, and took account of them for all such stuffe, whereof they had charge. And in his gallerie were set diuerſe tables, whereupon lay a great number of goodlie rich stuffe, as whole peeces of silke of all colours, velvet, sattin, damaske, taffata, gro-

graine, and other things. Also, there lay a thousand peeces of fine Holland cloth.

There was laid on euerie table, bookes reporting the contents of the same, and so was there inventories of all things in order against the kings coming. He caused to be hanged the walles of the gallerie on the one side with cloth of gold, cloth of tiffine, cloth of siluer, and rich cloth of bodken of diuerſe colours. On the other side were hanged the richest suite of coapes of his owne prouision made for his colleges of Oxford and Ipswich, that euer were seene in England. Then had he two chambers adjoining to the gallerie, the one most commonlie called the gilt chamber, and the other the counsell chamber, wherein were set by two broad and long tables vpon trestles, whereupon was set such a number of plate of all sorts, as was almost incredible.

In the gilt chamber were set out vpon the table nothing but gilt plate, and vpon a cupbord and in a window was set no plate but gold, verie rich: and in the counsell chamber was all white and parcell gilt plate, and vnder the table in baskets was all old broken siluer plate, and bookes set by them purporting euerie kind of plate, and euerie parcell, with the contents of the ounces thereof. Thus were all things prepared, giuing charge of all the said stuffe, with all other remaining in euerie office, to be deliuered to the king, to make answer to their charge: for the order was such, that euerie officer was charged with the receipt of the stuffe belonging to his office by indenture. So Sir William Calcoigne, being his treasurer, he gaue the charge of the deliuerie of the said goods, and therewithall, with his traine of gentlemen and yeomen, he took his barge at the priuie staires, and so went by water vnto Putnicie, where when he was arrived, he took his mule, and euerie man took their horses, and rode straight to Ather, where he and his familie continued the space of three or foure weekes, without either beds, sheets, table cloths, or dishes to eat their meat in, or therewith to buie any: the cardinall was forced to borrow of the bishop of Carleill, plate and dishes, &c.]

After this, in the kings bench his matter for the premonition, being called vpon, two attorneys, which he had authorized by his warrant signed with his owne hand, confessed the action, and so had iudgement to forfeit all his lands, tenements, goods, and cattels, and to be out of the kings protection: but the king of his clemencie sent to him a sufficient protection, and left to him the bishopricks of Poike and Winchester, with plate and stuffe conuenient for his degree. The bishopricke of Duresme was giuen to doctor Tunstall bishop of London, and the abbacie of saint Albons to the prior of Poike. Also the bishopricke of London being now void, was bestowed on doctor Stokesleie, then ambassadour to the universities beyond the sea for the kings marriage.

The ladie Margaret duchesse of Saroy aunt to the emperor, and the ladie Lois dutchesse of Angolesme mother to the French king, met at Cambzeie in the beginning of the moneth of June, to treat of a peace, where were present doctor Tunstall bishop of London, and sir Thomas More then chancelor of the duchie of Lancaster, commissioners for the king of England. At length through diligence of the said ladies a peace was concluded betwixt the emperor, the pope, and the kings of England and France. All these met there in the beginning of Iulie, accompanied with diuerſe great princes and counsellors, on euerie part. And after long debating on both sides, there was a good conclusion taken the fift daie of August. In the which was concluded, that the treatie of Madrid should stand in his full strength and vertue, saving the third and fourth, and the eleuenth and fourteenth.

The cardinall of York goeth to Ather, and hath his plentie turned into penurie.

John Scote, and Edmund Jennie.

The cardinall condemned in a premonition.

The bishopricke of Duresme giuen to doctor Tunstall.

The duchesse of Saucy, and the duchesse of Angolesme meet about a treatie of peace.

Edw. Hall. in H. 8. fo. cxxxvi.

R r r. ij. tenth

Read more
hereof in
Quic. pag. 1145.
& deinceps.

french articles, which touch the duchie of Burgognie, and other lordships.

1 Item, it was agreed, that the French king should haue his children againe, paing to the emperor two millions of crownes of gold, whereof he should paie at the deliuering of the children, twelue hundred thousand crownes.

2 Item, that the French king should acquit the emperor against the king of England, of fourescore and ten thousand crowns, which the emperor owght to the king of England, and the king of England to deliuer all such bonds and gages as he had of the emperours.

3 Item, as touching the remnant, which was five hundred and ten thousand crownes, the emperor should haue five and twentie thousand crownes rent yearelie, for which he should haue the lands of the duchesse of Wandosme, lieng in Flanders and Brabant bound.

4 Item, that Flanders and diuerse other countries, should not behold in chiefe, nor haue resort to the crowne of France.

5 Item, that the realme of Naples, the duchie of Millan, and the countie of Ast, should for euer remaine to the emperor.

6 Item, that the French king should withdraue all such soldiors as he had, out of Italie.

7 Item, that the ladie Cleane should be brought into France, with the French kings children, and in time conuenient should be married to the French king.

8 Item, that the French king should aid the emperor with twelue gallies to go into Italie.

9 Item, that all prisoners on both parties should be acquitted.

10 Item, that the French king should not aid Robert de la March, against the bishop of Luke.

11 Item, that all the goods mouable and vnmouable, of Charles duke of Burbon, should be restored to his heires, they paing to lord Henrie, marquisse of Napreute, and earle of Passaw, lord chamberleine to the emperor, ten thousand ducats, which he lent to the said duke of Burbon.

12 Item, that John earle of Panshieu, should be remitted to all such goods, as were earle Kene his fathers.

13 Item, the lord Laurence de Gozowood, great master to the emperor, should be restored to the lordships of Chalmont, & Monteuille, which he bought of the duke of Burbon, or to haue his monie againe.

14 Item, Philip de Chalon prince of Orange and viceroy of Naples, to be restored to all his lands in Burgognie.

15 Item, that the duchesse of Wandosme, and Lois earle of Hauers, should haue all such right and actions, as they should haue had before the warre began.

In the emperours countries, when all things were writtten, sealed, and finished, there was a solemne masse song in the cathedrall church of Cambzeie, the two ladies ambassadors of the king of England, sitting in great estate: and after masse the peace was proclaimed betwene the three princes, and *Te Deum* song, and monie cast to the people, and great fires made through the citie. The same night the French king came into Cambzeie, well and noble accompanied, and saluted the ladies, and to them made diuerse bankets: and then all persons departed into their countrie, glad of this concord. This peace was called the womens peace, for because that notwithstanding this conclusion, yet neither the emperor trusted the French king, nor he neither trusted nor loued him, and their subjects were in the same case. This proclamation was proclaimed solemnelie by heralds with trumpets in the citie of London, which

The womens
peace.

proclamation much reioiced the English merchants, repairing into Flanders, Brabant, Zealand, and other the emperours dominions. For during the wars, merchants were euill handled on both parties, which caused them to be desirous of peace. On the foure & twentieth of Nouember, was sir Thomas More made lord chancelor, & the next day led to the Chancery by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolke, and there swoorne.

At the daie appointed the parlement began, on which daie the king came by water to his place of Whitehall, and there he and his nobles put on their robes of parlement, and so came to the Blache friers church, where a masse of the Holie-ghost was solemnelie song by the kings chappell: and after the masse, the king with all the lords of parlement and commons, which were summoned to appeare at that daie, came into the parlement chamber, where the king sate in his throne or seat of roiall: and sir Thomas More his chancelor, standing on the right hand of the king behind the barre, made an eloquent oration.

In this oration he declared, that like as a god shepheard, which not alonelic keepeth and attendeth well his shepe, but also foreseth and prouideth for all things which either may be hurtfull or noisome to his flocke, or maie preserue and defend the same against all perils that may chance to come: so the king which was the shepheard, ruler and gouernour of his realme, bigilantlie foresaw things to come, considered how diuers lawes before this time were made, not by long continuance of time and mutation of things, verie insufficient and vnperfect: and also by the fraile condition of man, diuerse new enenities were sprong amongst the people, for the which no law was yet made to reforme the same. Which was the verie cause whie at that time the king had summoned his high court of parlement. And he resembled the king to a shepheard or hearde man for this cause: for if a prince be compared to his riches, he is but a rich man; if a prince be compared to his honour, he is but an honourable man: but compare him to the multitude of his people, and the number of his flocke, then he is a ruler, a gouernour of might & puissance, so that his people maketh him a prince, as of the multitude of shepe cometh the name of a shepheard. And as you see that amongst a great sort of shepe some be rotten & faultie, which the god shepheard sendeth from the god shepe: so the great wonder which is of late fallen (as you all know) so craftie lie, so scabbedlie, yea and so vntrulie sugled with the king, that all men must needes ghesse and thinke, that he thought in himselfe that he had no wit to perceiue his craftie doing; or else that he presumed that the king would not see nor know his fraudulent sugling and attempts. But he was deceived: for his graces sight was so quicke and penetrable, that he saw him, yea and saw through him, both within and without, so that all things to him was open, and according to his desert he hath had a gentle correction. Which small punishment the king will not to be an example to other offenders, but clearelie declareth, that whosoever hereafter shall make like attempt, or commit like offense, shall not escape with like punishment. And because you of the common house be a grosse multitude, and can not speake all at one time: therefore the kings pleasure is, that you shall resort to the nether house, & there amongst your selues, according to the old and ancient custome, to chouse an able person to be your common mouth and speaker: and after your election so made, to aduertise his grace thereof, which will declare to you his pleasure, what day he will haue him present in this place. After this done, the commons resorted to the nether house.

Edw. Hall
His brother
In oration
made in the
audience of
the parlement
by sir Thomas
More

In oration
made by the
speaker of the
parliament.

The commd
of the tower
house com-
plaine againt
the clergie.

wherein the
person of the
king is por-
trayed repa-
ring a ruler.

1529.

Reg. 21.

tr Thomas
more lord
archb.

W. Hall
shockes
oration
in the
duene of
parlement
for Tho.
as before.

Exposition
made by the
house of the
parlement.

The commons
there were
half com-
plained against
the king.

herein the
son of the
king is pro-
the request
ruler.

house, and they chose for their speaker Thomas Aud-
leic esquier, and attourneie of the duchie of Lanca-
ster: and the same daie was the parlement adioyned
to Westminster.

On the first daie of the same moneth, the king
came to the parlement chamber, and all the lords in
their robes. And there the commons of the nether
house presented their speaker, which there made an e-
loquent oration, which consisted in two points. The
first point was, that he much praised the king for his
equitie and iustice, mixed with mercie and pitie, so
that none offense was forgotten and left unpunish-
ed, nor in the punishment the extremitie no; the ri-
gor of the law cruellie extended: which should be
a cause to bryde all men from doing like offenses,
and also a comfort to offenders to confesse their crime
and offense, and an occasion of amendment and re-
conciliation. The second point was, that he disabled
himselfe both for lacke of wit, learning, and discreti-
on to so high an office, beseeching the king to cause
his commons to resort eiesones to their common
house, and there to chose an other speaker for that
parlement.

To this the king (by the mouth of the lord chancel-
lor) answered, that where he disabled himselfe in wit
and learning, his owne orate oration there made
testified the contrarie. And as touching his discreti-
on and other qualities, the king himselfe had well
knowen him and his doings since he was in his ser-
vice, to be both wise and discret: and so for an able
man he accepted him, and for the speaker he him ad-
mitted. When the commons were assembled in the
nether house, they began to commune of their
griefes, wherewith the spiritualtie had before time
greivously oppressed them, both contrarie to the law
of the realme, and contrarie to all right: and in spe-
ciallie they were moued with six great causes.

The first for the excessive fines, which the ordinaries
toke for probats of testaments, in somuch that sir
Henrie Guilford knight of the garter, and control-
lor of the kings house, declared in the open parle-
ment on his fidelitie, that he and others being execu-
tors to sir William Compton knight, paid for the
probat of his will to the cardinall and the archbishop
of Canturburie a thousand markes sterling. After
this declaration were shewed to manie extortions
done by ordinaries for probats of willes, that it
were too much to rehearse.

The second was the great polling and extream
eration, which the spirituall men used in taking of
corps, presents, or mortuaries. For the children of
the defunct should all die for hunger, and go a beg-
ging, rather than they would of charitie giue to them
the litle coin which the dead man owght, if he had
but onlie one; such was the charitie then.

The third cause was, that priests being suruisors,
Stewards and officers to bishops, abbats, and other
spirituall heads, had and occupied farmes, gran-
ges, and grasing in euerie countrie, so that the poore
husbandmen could haue nothing but of them; and
yet for that they should paie deerie.

The fourth cause was, that abbats, priors, and spi-
rituall men kept tan-houses, and bought and sold
wall, cloth, and all maner of merchandize, as other
temporall merchants did.

The fifth cause was, because that spirituall persons
promoted to great benefices, and hauing their li-
uings of their flocke, were lieng in the court in lords
houses, and toke all of the parishioners, and no-
thing spent on them at all: so that for lacke of res-
idence both the poore of the parish lacked refreshing,
and vniuersallie all the parishioners lacked preach-
ing and true instruction of Gods word, to the great
perill of their soules.

The first cause was, to see one priest little learned,
to haue ten or twelue benefices, & to be resident vpon
none; and to know manie well learned scholars
in the vniuersities, which were able to preach & teach,
to haue neither benefice nor exhibition.

These things before this time might in no wise be
touched, nor yet talked of by anie man, except he
would be made an heretike, or lese all that he had.
For the bishops were chancellors, and had all the rule
about the king, so that no man durst once presume to
attempt anie thing contrarie to their profit or com-
moditie. But now, when God had illuminated the
eyes of the king, and that their subtilie doings were
once espied; then men began charitably to desire a
reformation: and so at this parlement men began
to shew their grudges. Whereupon the burgeses of
the parlement appointed such as were learned in the
law, being of the common house, to draw one bill of
the probats of testaments, another for mortuaries,
and the third for non residence, pluralities, and ta-
king of farmes by spirituall men. The learned men
toke much paines, and first set forth the bill of mor-
tuaries; which passed the common house, and was
sent vp to the lords. To this bill the spirituall lords
made a faire face, saing: that suerlie priests and cu-
rats toke more than they should, and therefore it
were well done to take some reasonable order: thus
they spake, because it touched them little.

But within two daies after was sent vp the bill
concerning probats of testaments; at the which the
archbishop of Canturburie in especiall, and all other
bishops in generall both frowned and grunted, for
that touched their profit. In somuch as doctor John
Fisher bishop of Rochester said openlie in the parle-
ment chamber these words: My lords, you see daily
what billes come hither from the common house,
and all is to the destruction of the church. For Gods
sake see what a realme the kingdome of Boheme
was; and when the church went downe, then fell the
glorie of the kingdome: now with the commons is
nothing but downe with the church; and all this me-
semeth is for lacke of faith onlie. When these words
were reported to the commons of the nether house,
that the bishop should saie, that all their doings were
for lacke of faith, they toke the matter greivouslie,
for they imagined that the bishop esteemed them as
heretikes, and so by his slanderous words would
haue perswaded the temporall lords, to haue restrai-
ned their consent from the said two billes, which they
before had passed, as you haue heard before.

Wherefore the commons, after long debate, deter-
mined to send the speaker of the parlement to the
kings highnesse, with a greivous complaint against
the bishop of Rochester. And so on a daie, when the
king was at leasure, Thomas Audleic speaker for
the commons, and thirtie of the chiefe of the common
house, came to the kings presence in his palace at
Westminster, which before was called Porce place;
and there verie eloquentlie declared what a dishonor
to the king and the realme it was, to saie, that they
which were elected for the wisest men of all the shires,
cities, and boroughs, within the realme of England,
should be declared, in so noble and open presence, to
lacke faith: which was equiualent to saie, that they
were infidels, and no christians, as ill as Turkes,
or Saracens, so that what paine or studie neuer they
toke for the common wealth, or what acts or lawes
fouer they made or stablished, should be taken as
lawes made by Painims and heathen people, and
not worthe to be kept by christian men. Wherefore
he most humbly besought the kings highnesse to call
the said bishop before him, and to cause him to speake
more discretlie of such a number as was in the com-
mon house.

The bishops
riche hard a-
gainst these
billes.

The saying
of John Fi-
sher bishop of
Rochester.

A complaint
made to the
king against
the bishop of
Rochester.

The

The bishops
excuse to the
kings ma-
iestie.

Hard hold be-
tweene the
lords spiritu-
all and tem-
porall about
the probats of
willies and
mortuaries.

The loane of
monie releas-
ed to the king,
whiche he
borrowed in
anno reg. 15.

The matter
of testaments
and mortua-
ries moderat-
ed by the
king.

The king was not well contented with the say-
ing of the bishop, yet he gentlie answered the spea-
ker, that he would send for the bishop, and send them
word what answer he made, and so they departed a-
gaine. After this the king sent for the archbishop of
Canturburie and six other bishops, and for the bishop
of Rochester also, and there declared to him the
grudge of the commons; to the which the bishop an-
swered, that he meant the doings of the Bohemians
was for lacke of faith, and not the doings of them
that were in the common house. Which saying was
confirmed by the bishops being present, who had
him in great reputation: and so by that onelie say-
ing the king accepted his excuse, and thereof sent
word to the commons by sir William Fitz Will-
iams knight, treasurer of his household; which blind
excuse pleased the commons nothing at all. After
diuerse assemblies were kept betwene certeine of
the lords, and certeine of the commons, for the billes
of probats of testaments, and the mortuaries; the
temporallie laid to the spiritualtie their owne lawes
and constitutions; and the spiritualtie soze defend-
ed them by prescription & vsage, to whom this answer
was made by a gentleman of Greies inne: The vs-
age hath euer bene of theues to rob on Shroeters
hill, ergo is it lawfull?

With this answer the spiritual men were soze of-
fended, because their doings were called robberies.
But the temporall men stood still by their sayings,
inasmuch that the said gentleman said to the archbi-
shop of Canturburie, that both the exaction of pro-
bats of testaments, and the taking of mortuaries,
as they were used, were open robberie and theft. Af-
ter long disputation, the temporall lords began to
leane to the commons: but for all that the billes re-
mained unconcluded for a while. In the meane sea-
son, there was a bill assented to by the lords, and sent
downe to the commons: the effect whereof was,
that the whole realme by the said act did release to the
king, all such summes of monie as he had borrowed
of them at the loane, in the fiftenth yeare of his
reigne (as you haue heard before.) This bill was soze
argued in the common house, but the most part of
the commons were the kings seruants, and the other
were so laboured to by other, that the bill was assen-
ted unto.

When this release of the loane was knowen to
the commons of the realme, Lord so they grudged &
spake ill of the whole parliament. For almost euerie
man counted it his debt, and reckoned suerlie of the
payment of the same. And therefore some made their
willes of the same, and some other did set it ouer to
other for debt, and so manie men had losse by it, which
caused them soze to murmur, but there was no reme-
die. The king like a good and discret prince, seeing
that his commons in the parlement house had relea-
sed the loane, intending somewhat to requite the
same, granted to them a generall pardon of all of-
fences; certeine great offenses and debts onelie ex-
cepted: also he aided them for the redresse of their
grievances against the spiritualtie, and caused two new
billes to be made indifferentlie, both for the probats
of testaments and mortuaries; which billes were so
reasonable, that the spiritual lords assented to them
all, though they were soze against there mindes, & in
especiall the probats of testaments soze displeased the
bishops, and the mortuaries soze displeased the par-
sons and vicars.

After these acts thus agreed, the commons made
another act for pluralities of benefices, non resi-
dence, being selling and taking of farmes by spiri-
tuall persons. Which act so displeased the spiritualtie,
that the priests railed on the commons of the com-
mon house, and called them heretikes and schisma-

tikes, for the which diuerse priests were punished.
This act was soze debated about in the parlement
chamber, and the lords spirituall would in no wise
consent. Wherefore the king perceiuing the grudge
of his commons, caused eight lords and eight of his
commons to meet in the Star chamber at an after
none, and there was soze debating of the cause, in
somuch that the temporall lords of the upper house,
which were there, took part with the commons, a-
gainst the spiritual lords; and by force of reason cau-
sed them to assent to the bill with a little qualific-
ing. Which bill the next daie was wholie agreed to in the
lords house, to the great reioicing of the laie people,
and to the great displeasure of the spiritual persons.
During this parlement was brought downe to the
commons the booke of articles, which the lords had
put to the king against the cardinal, the chiefe wher-
of were these.

1 First, that he without the kings assent had pro-
cured to be a legat, by reason whereof he took awaie
the right of all bishops and spiritual persons.

2 Item, in all writings which he wrote to Rome,
or anie other forren prince, he wrote *Ego Rex meus*,
I and my king: as who would saie, that the king
were his seruant.

3 Item, that he hath slandered the church of Eng-
land in the court of Rome. For his suggestion to be
legat was to reforme the church of England, which
(as he wrote) was *Facta in reprobam sensum*.

4 Item, he without the kings assent carried the
kings great seale with him into Flanders, when he
was sent ambassado; to the emperor.

5 Item, he without the kings assent, sent a com-
mission to sir Gregorie de Cassado, knight, to con-
clude a league betwene the king & the duke of Fer-
rar, without the kings knowlege.

6 Item, that he hauing the French pockes pre-
sented to come and breath on the king.

7 Item, that he caused the cardinals hat to be put
on the kings coine.

8 Item, that he would not suffer the kings clerke
of the market to sit at saint Albons.

9 Item, that he had sent innumerable substance
to Rome, for the obtaining of his dignities, to the
great impouerishment of the realme.

These articles, with manie more, read in the com-
mon house, and signed with the cardinals hand, was
confessed by him. And also there was shewed a writ-
ting sealed with his seale, by the which he gaue to the
king all his moueables and immoueables. On the
date of the Conception of our ladie, the king at
Porke place at Westminster, in the parlement
time, created the vicount Rochford erle of Wilshire,
and the vicount Fitz Water was created earle of
Suffex, and the lord Hastings was created earle of
Huntington. When, all things were concluded in
the parlement house, the king came to the parlement
chamber the 17 daie of December, and there put his
roiall assent to all things done by the lords and com-
mons, and so proroged his court of parlement till the
next yeare. After the parlement was thus ended, the
king removed to Greenwich, and there kept his
Christmasse with the queene in great triumph: with
great plentie of viands, and diuerse disguisings and
enterludes, to the great reioicing of his people.

The king, which all this while, since the doubt was
moued touching his marriage, abstained from the
queenes bed, was now aduertised by his ambassa-
dors, whom he had sent to diuerse vniuersities for the
aboluing of his doubt, that the said vniuersities
were agreed, and clereslie concluded, that the one
brother might not by Gods law marrie the other bro-
thers wife, carnallie knowen by the first marriage,
& that neither the pope nor the court of Rome could
in

Special
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whom the
king
marriage

Againe
the change
both head
and tail.

Articles
which
were
brought
against
the cardinal
of York.

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Dom. 1529.

Reg. 22.

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for Articles whic he biter against the cardinal of York.

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Speciall argument in support of the marriage.

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in anie wise dispense with the same. For ye must understand, that amongst other things alleged for dispense of the marriage to be lawfull, euendence was giuen of certeine words, which prince Arthur spake the morrow after he was first married to the quene, whereby it was gathered, that he knew his carnallie the night then passed. The words were these, as we find them in the chronicle of master Edward Hall.

In the morning after he was risen from the bed, in which he had laine with hir all night, he called for drinke, which he before time was not accustomed to do. At which thing, one of his chamberleines maruellling, required the cause of his drought. To whom he answered merilie, sateng; I haue this night bene in the midst of Spaine, which is a hot region, and that iourne maketh me so drie: and if thou haddest bene vnder that hot climat, thou wouldest haue bene drier than I. Again, it was alleged, that after the death of prince Arthur, the king was deferred from the title and creation of prince of Wales almost halfe a yeare, which thing could not haue bene doubted, if he had not bene carnallie known. Also the king caused a bull to be purchased, in the which were these words *resforan cogniam*, that is, and peraduenture carnallie known: which words were not in the first bull granted by pope Iulie at his second marriage to the king, which second bull with that clause was onelic purchased to dispense with the second matrimonie, although there were carnall copulation before, which bull needed not to haue bene purchased, if there had bene no carnall copulation, for then the first bull had bene sufficient. To conclude, when these & other matters were laid forth to proue that which she denied, the carnall copulation betwixt hir and prince Arthur, his counsellors left that matter, and fell to persuasions of naturall reason. And lastlie, when nothing else would serue, they stood stille in the appeale to the pope, and in the dispensation purchased from the court of Rome, so that the matter was thus shifted off, and no end likelie to be had therein.

The king therefore understanding now that the emperor and the pope were appointed to meet at the citie of Bononie *alias* Bologna, where the emperor should be crowned, sent thither in ambassage from him the earle of Wilshire, doctor Stokessleie, elected bishop of London, and his almoner doctor Edward Lee, to declare both vnto the pope and emperor, the law of God, the determinations of vniuersities in the case of his marriage, and to require the pope to do iustice according to truth, and also to shew to the emperor, that the king did moue this matter onelic for discharge of his conscience, and not for anie other respect of pleasure or displeasure earthlie. These ambassadours comming to Bononie were honorablie receiued, and first doing their message to the pope, had answer of him, that he would heare the matter disputed when he came to Rome, and according to right he would do iustice.

The emperor answered, that he in no wise would be against the lawes of God, & if the court of Rome woulde iudge that the matrimonie was not good, he could be content: but he solicited both the pope and cardinals, to stand by the dispensation, which he thought to be of force enough to proue the marriage lawfull. With these answers the ambassadours departed and returned homeward, till they came on this side the mounteins, and then receiued letters from the king, which appointed the earle of Wilshire to go in ambassage to the French king which then laie at Bourdeaux, making gift for monie for redeming of his children: and the bishop of London, was appointed to go to Padua, and other vniuersities in Italie, to know their full resolutions and determinate

opinions in the kings case of matrimonie: and the kings almoner was commanded to returne home into England, and so he did.

¶ You haue heard before how the cardinal was attainted in the premonstratens, and how he was put out of the office of the chancelor, & laie at Ather. In this Lent season the king by the aduise of his counsell licensed him to go into his diocesse of Yorke, & gaue him commandement to keepe him in his diocesse, and not to returne southward without the kings speciall licence in writting. So he made great provision to go northward, and a parcelled his seruants newlie, and bought manie costlie things for his household: and so he might well enough, for he had of the kings gentleness the bishopricks of Yorke and Winchester, which were no small things. But at this time diuerse of his seruants departed from him to the kings seruice, and in especial Thomas Crumwell one of his chiefe counsell, and chiefe doer for him in the suppression of abbeies. After that all things necessarie for his iourne were prepared, he took his waie northward till he came to Southwell, which is in his diocesse, and there he continued this yeare, euer grudging at his fall, as you shall heare hereafter. But the lands which he had giuen to his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, were now come to the kings hands, by his atteindor in the premonstratens: and yet the king of his gentleness and for fauour that he bare to good learning, erected againe the college in Oxford, and where it was named the cardinals college, he called it the kings college, & indowd it with faire possessions, and put in new statutes and ordinances. And for bicause the college of Ipswich was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he left that dissolved.

In this yeare the emperor gaue to the lord master of saint Iohnes of Ierusalem, and his brethren the Island of Malta lieng betwene Sicill and Barbary, there to imploye themselves vpon Chyfts enemies, which lord master had no place sure to inhabit there, since he was put fro the Rhodes by the Turke that besieged Vienna, but missed of his expectation. For the chyftians defended the same so valiantlie against the said Turke and his power, that he lost manie of his men by slaughter; manie also miscaried by sicknesse and cold: so that there perished in all to the number of fourescore thousand men, as one of his bassats did afterwarde confesse, which was to him a great displeasure; and in especiallie bicause he neuer besieged citie before, but either it was yielded or taken. In the time of this siege a metrichian did make these two verses in memorie of the same:

*Cesar in Italiam quo venit Carolus anno,
Cincha est ripheis nostra Vienna Getis.*

In the beginning of this yeare was the hauing and reading of the new testament in English translated by Tindall, Joye, and others, forbidden by the king with the aduise of his counsell, and nameilie the bishops, which affirmed that the same was not trulie translated; and that therein were prologs and prefaces sounding to heresie, with vncharitable railing against bishops and the cleargie. The king therefore commanded the bishops, that they calling to them the best learned men of the vniuersities, should cause a new translation to be made, that the people without danger might read the same for their better instruction in the lawes of God, and his holie word. Diuerse persons that were detected to vse reading of the new testament, and other booke in English set forth by Tindall, and such other as were tied the realme, were punished by order taken against them by sir Thomas More then lord chancelor, who held greatlie against such booke, but still the number daile increased.

¶ In this yeare in Spaine, the bishop of London

Abr. Flem. ex Edw. Hall. in H. 8. fol. cxcj. cxcij.

1530
The cardinal licensed to repaire into Yorkeshire.

Thomas Crumwell advanced to the kings seruice.

The kings college in Oxford, and other which called Chyftians church.

The number of the Turkes that died at the siege of Vienna.

Anno. Reg. 22.

The new testament translated into English.

Edw. Hall in H. 8. fol. Cxcij.

Unballadous sent to Fraunce out of England about this intricate matter of the marriage.

The emperor answer to the ambassadours.

The earle of Wilshire ambassadour to the French king, & others sent to other places.

The cardinals
flamens
burned.

The wild
with spoile the
earle of
dare coun-
trie, &c.

The executi-
on of the trea-
tie accorded
vpon at Cam-
brige.

The deliue-
rance of the
French kings
children.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 968, 969.

Cardinal
Wolsey re-
moueth to
Richmond.

caused all his new testaments which he had bought with manie other bookes, to be brought into Pauls churchyard in London, and there were openlie burned. In the end of this yeare, the wild Irishmen, knowing the earle of Kildare to be in England, entered his land, and spoiled and burnt his countrie, with diuerse other countries. And the erle of Osserie being the kings deputie made little resistance, for lacke of power. Wherefore the king sent the earle of Kildare into Ireland, & with him sir William Skevington knight, master of the kings ordinance, and diuerse gunners with him, which so politikelie ordered themselves, that their enemies were glad to offer amends, and to treat for truce: & so sir William Skevington the next yeare returned into England, leaving there the earle of Kildare for the kings deputie.

Now I will returne to the execution of the treatie of Cambrige, in the which it was agreed, that the ladie Cleane, and the French kings children should be deliuered when the ransom appointed was paid as you haue heard in the last yeare. Wherefore the French king gathered monie of his subjects with all speed, and when the monie was readie, he sent the great master of France called Annas de Permonancie and diuerse other nobles to Balon with the monie, and to receive the ladie and the children. And thither came to them the great constable of Castile and monsieur Prat for the emperor, & there the crowns were weied and touched: and that fault sooner the Spaniards found in them they would not receiue a great number of them, and so they carried the children backe from Fontarbie into Spaine. Thus the great master of France and his companie late still at Balon, without hauing his purpose performed, from March till the end of June, and longer had lien if the king of England had not sent sir Francis Bryan to Balon to warrant the paiement: wherevpon the date of deliuerance was appointed to be on saint Peters date in June.

At which date the great master, with one and thirtie mulets laden with the crownes came to the one side of the riuer of Audate, which riuer departeth Spaine and France, and there taried till the first date of Iulie: on which date the ladie Cleane, and the children were put in two great boates, hauing onelie twelue gentlemen of Spaine with them: and in like maner the great master with two great boats, in the which the monie was, and twelue gentlemen with him. All these boats met at a bridge made in the middell of the riuer. The constable of Spaine and his twelue gentlemen met with the great master of France and his twelue gentlemen on the bridge: and after a little salutation, the Frenchmen entered into the two boats where the ladie and the two children were; and the Spaniards into the two boats where the monie was, and then ech part passed to land. Thus were the French kings wife and children deliuered into his hands, for which deliuerance was great ioy and triumph made in France: and also in Iulie were fiers made in London and diuerse other places for the same consideration and cause.]

Now will we leaue France, and returne to England, renewing the remembrance of cardinal Wolsey, who after great sute made to the king, was licenced to remoue from Ather to Richmond, which place he had a little before repaired with great costs, for the king made an exchange thereof with him for Hampton court. The cardinall hauing licence of the king to repaire to Richmond, made hast thither, and lodged there in the lodge of the great parke, which was a verie pretie house, there he laie untill the beginning of Lent. Then he remoued into the charterhouse of Richmond, where he laie in a lodging which

doctor Collet made for himselfe, untill he remoued northward, which was in the passion weeke after, and euerie daie he resorted to the charterhouse there, and would sit with one of the most ancient fathers, who perswaded him to despise the vaine glorie of the world.

Then prepared the cardinall for his tourne into the north, and sent to London for liuerie clothes for his seruants, and so rode from Richmond to Hendon, from thence to a place called the Kie, the next daie to Kallstone, where he lodged in the priorie; the next daie to Huntingdon, and there lodged in the abbey; the next daie to Peterborough, and there lodged in the abbey, where he abode all the next weeke, & there he kept his Easter, his traine was in number an hundred and threescore persons. Vpon Maundie thursdaie he made his maundie, there hauing nine and fiftie poore men, whose feet he washed, and gaue euerie one twelue pence in monie, thre els of god canuas, a paire of shoes, a cast of red herrings, and thre white herrings, and one of them had two shillings.

On thursdaie next after Easter, he remoued to master Fitz Williams, sometime a merchant-tailor of London, and then of the kings counsell; the next weeke he remoued to Stamford, the next daie to Grantham, the next daie to Belwarke, and lodged in the castell that night and the next daie also: from thence he rode to Southwell, where he continued most part of all that summer, untill the latter end of graue time, and then he rode to Scrobie, where he continued untill Michaelmasse, and then to Catwode castell within seven miles of York, whereof we will speake moze hereafter. On the sixteenth of Maie, a man was hanged in chaires in Finsburie field, for murdering doctor Miles vicar of saint Edmes. The fourth and fift of Nouember was a great wind, that blew downe manie houses and trees, after which wind followed so high a tide, that it drowned the marshes on Ester side and Kent, with the yle of Thanet, and other places, destroying much cattell. The nineteenth of September, in the cite of London, a proclamation was made for the restraining of the popes authoritie in England, as followeth.

A proclamation published in England in the behalfe of the kings prerogatiue roiall against the pope.

The kings highnes streitlie chargeth and commandeth, that no maner of person, of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer he or they be of, doe purchase or attempt to purchase from the court of Rome or elsewhere, nor vse & put in execution, diuulge, or publish any thing hertofore within this yeare passed purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing mater preiudiciall to the high authoritie, iurisdiction, and prerogatiue roiall of this his said realme, or to the let, hinderance, or impeachment of his graces noble & vertuous intended purposes in the premises, vpon paine of incurring his highnesse indignation, and imprisonment, and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing at his graces pleasure, to the dreadfull example of all other.

Some iudged, that this proclamation was made, because the queene (as was said) had purchased a new bull for ratification of hir marriage. Others thought that it was made, because the cardinall had purchased

The cardinall
prepareth
his iourne
into the north

Abr. Fl. ex
I. S. pag. 970.
The cardinall
at his manor
of Catwode
keepeth a
dreadfull
house.

The cardinall
knoweth not
that he was
to be arrested
of treason.

Vicar of St
Edmes

A great
wind

Prognostic-
tions of the
cardinals ru-
ine of fall.

Doctor Wo-
lsey head
bore in

what was
said in the
cardinal
this proclamation

m. 1530

The cardinall
repareth
his counte
into the hall

Ab. Fl. ex
12. pag. 970.
The cardinall
at this maner
of Cardow
happeth a
dramaticall
lude.

Officer of Sh.
Gardens stand

I great
wile,

Diagonall
lines of the
cardinals robe
are fall.

Doctor Bonars
head
had
been.

that was
caused to be
cause of
his procla-
mation.

purchased a bull to curle the king, if he would not
restore him to his old dignities, and suffer him to
correct the spiritualtie, the king not to meddle with
the same. In deed manie conjectured, that the cardi-
nall grudging at his fall from so high dignities, stie-
ked not to write things sounding to the kings re-
proch, both to the pope, and other princes; for that ma-
nie opprobrious words were spoken to doctor Bonars
the kings orator at Rome, and that it
was said to him, that for the cardinals sake the king
should have the worse speed in the sute of his matrimo-
nie.

Cardinall Wolseie living at Calwood, held there
an honourable and plentiful house for all commers,
and also built & repaired the castell, which was great-
lie in decay, having artificers and labourers about
thre hundred persons baillie in wages. At length
being thereunto perswaded by the doctors of the
church of Woke, he determined to be installed there
at Woke minster, the next monday after Alhal-
lowes daie, against which time due preparation was
made for the same, but not in such sumptuous wise,
as his predecessors before him had used. For whereas
the cardinall was not abashed to send to the king, re-
quiring him to lend him the mitre and pall which he
was wont to weare when he sang masse in ante so-
lemne assemblee: the king upon sight of his letters,
could not but marvell at the proud presumptionnes
of the man, saying: What a thing is this, that prides
should thus reigne in a person that is quite under foot.

The daie being once knowne unto the worship-
full gentlemen of the countrie, and other, as abbatts,
and priors, and notice of his installation, they sent
in such provision of vittells, that it is almost incredi-
ble, all which was unknowne to the cardinall, for as
much as he was presented and disappointed of his
purpose, by the reason that he was arrested of high
treason, as ye shall hereafter heare. So that most
part of this former provision that I speake of, was
sent unto Woke the same daie of his arrest, and
the next daie following: for his arrest was kept as
close as could be. The order of his arrest was thus. It
was appointed by the king & counsell, that sir Walter
Walsh knight, one of the kings privie chamber,
should be sent downe with a commission into the
north unto the earle of Northumberland (who was
sometime brought up in house with the cardinall) and
they twaine being joinctlie in commission to arrest
the cardinall of high treason, maister Walsh toke
his horse at the court gate, about none, upon Alhal-
lowes daie, toward the earle of Northumberland.

And now have I occasion to declare what hap-
pened about the same time, which peradventure sig-
nified the troubles following to the cardinall. The
cardinall sitting at dinner upon Alhalowes daie,
having at his bozds end diverse chaplains sitting at
dinner, ye shall understand that the cardinals great
crosse stood in a corner at the tables end, leaning a-
gainst the hanging, and when the bozds end was ta-
ken up, and a convenient time for the chaplains to
arise, one doctor Augustine a Venecian, and physici-
an to the cardinall, rising from the table with the o-
ther, having upon him a great gowne of boisterous
velvet, overthrew the crosse, which trailing downe a-
long the tappet, with the point of one of the crosses,
brake doctor Bonars head that the blood ran downe,
the companie there standing greatlie astonied with
the chance.

The cardinall perceiving the same, demanded
what the matter meant of their sudden amaze. And
they shewed him of the fall of his crosse upon doctor
Bonars head. Wherby it (quoth he) dratone anie blood:
Pea forsooth my lord (quoth they.) With that he cast
his eyes aside, & shaking his head, said *Da alium omen,* &

therewith saying grace, rose from the table, & went
to his chamber. Now marke the signification how
the cardinall expounded this matter at Wommet af-
ter his fall. First, ye shall understand, that the crosse
which he bare as archbishop of Woke, signified him-
selfe; and Augustine the physician who overthrowe the
crosse, was onelie he that accused the cardinall,
whereby his enemies caught an occasion to over-
throw him: it fell upon doctor Bonars head, who was
maister of the cardinals faculties and spirituall ju-
risdictions, and was then dammed by the overthrow
of the crosse: yea, and more over, drawing blood of
him, betokened death, which shortly after did insue.

About the time of this mischance, the same verie
daie and season, maister Walsh toke his horse at the
court as nigh as could be judged. Now the appoin-
ted time drew nere of his installation, and sitting at
dinner upon the fridaye next before the monday on
the which daie he intended to be installed at Woke,
the earle of Northumberland and maister Walsh,
with a great companie of gentlemen of the earles
house, & of the countrie, whome he had gathered to-
gether in the kings name, came to the hall at Calwood,
the officers being at dinner, and the cardinall not
sullie dined, being then in his fruits. The first thing
that the earle did after he had set order in the hall, he
commanded the porter at the gates to deliver him
the keyes thereof. Who would in no wise obeie his
commandement, though he were roughlie threate-
ned, and shrewdly commanded in the kings name to
make delivrie of them to one of the earles ser-
vants.

Sir (quoth he) seeing that ye do but intend to set
one of your servants in my place to keepe the gates,
I know no servant that ye have but I am as able
as he to do it, and keepe the gates to your purpose
(whatsoever it be) also the keyes were delivered me
by my lord and maister, wherefore I praye you to par-
don me, for whatsoever ye shall command me to do
in the ministracion of mine office, I shall do it with
a good will. With that (quoth the earle) hold him a
booke (& commanding him to laie his hand thereon:)
Thou shalt sweare (quoth he) that thou shalt well and
trulie keepe the gates to the kings use, and to do all
such things as we shall command: and that ye shall
let passe neither in nor out at these gates, but such as
ye be commanded by us. And with this oth he recei-
ved the keyes at the earles hands.

All these doings knew the cardinall nothing, for
they stopped the staires, so that none went up to the
cardinals chamber, and they that came downe could
no more go up againe. At the last one escaped, who
shewed the cardinall that the earle was in the hall.
Whereat the cardinall marvelled, and would not be-
lieve him, but commanded a gentleman to bring
him the truth, who going downe the staires, saw the
earle of Northumberland, and returned, and said it
was verie he. Then (quoth the cardinall) I am sorie
that we have dined, for I feare our officers be not
provided of anie store of good fish, to make him some
honorable chere, let the table stand (quoth he.) With
that he rose up, and going downe the staires, he en-
countered the earle coming up with all his suite.
And as soone as the cardinall espied the earle, he put
off his cap, and said, My lord ye be most hartlie wel-
come, and so embraced each other.

Then the cardinall toke the earle by the hand, and
had him up into the chamber, whome followed all the
number of the earles servants. From thence he led
him into his bed-chamber, and they being there all a-
lone, the earle said unto the cardinall with a soft
voice, laing his hand upon his arme: My lord I ar-
rest you of high treason. With which words the car-
dinall being marvellouslie astonied, standing both
still

How the car-
dinall expoun-
ded the fall of
his crosse.

The earle of
Northumber-
land arresteth
the cardinall.

The porter
words to the
earle.

The cardinall
marvelleth at
the earles sub-
den coming.

The action of
arrest which
the cardinall
taketh in ill
part.

Will a good space. At last (quoth the cardinal) What authoritie haue you to arrest me? Forsooth my lord (quoth the erle) I haue a commission so to do. Where is your commission (quoth he) that I may see it? Praise sir that you may not (saide the erle). Well then (quoth the cardinal) I will not obeye your rest. But as they were debating this matter betwene them in the chamber, as busie was maister Walsh in arresting doctor Augustine at the doore of the palace, saieing vnto him, Go in traitor or I shall make thee.

The cardinal
desireth to see
the commissi-
on of the arch.

At the last maister Walsh being entred the cardinals chamber, began to plucke off his hood, and after knelled downe to the cardinal. Vnto whom the cardinal said, Come hither gentleman & let me speake with you: Sir, here my lord of Powherberland hath arrested me, but by whose authoritie he sheweth not, if ye be ioined with him I praise you shew me. Indeed my lord (quoth maister Walsh) he sheweth you the truth. Well then (quoth the cardinal) I praise you let me see it. Sir I beseech you (quoth maister Walsh) hold vs excused: there is annexed to our commission certeine instructions, which you may not see. Well (quoth the cardinal) I trow ye are one of the kings priuie chamber, your name is Walsh, I am content to yeld to you, but not to my lord of Powherberland without I see his commission: the worst in the kings priuie chamber is sufficient to arrest the greatest piers of the realme by the kings commandement, without anye commission, therefore put your commission and authoritie in execution, spare not, I will obeye the kings will; I take God to iudge, I neuer offended the king in word nor deed.

The cardinal
committed to
the custodie of
the earls gen-
tlemen.

Then the earle called into the chamber diuerse gentlemen of his owne seruants, and after they had taken the cardinals keyes from him, they put him in custodie of the earles gentlemen, and then they went about the house to set all things in an order. Then sent they doctor Augustine awaie to London with as much speed as they could, who was bound vnto the howse like a traitor. But it was sundae toward night per the cardinal was conueied from Calwood, who lodged that night in the abbeye of Domeset. The next daie he remoued toward Doncaster, and was there lodged at the Blacke friers. The next daie he was remoued to Sheffield parke, where the earle of Shrewsburie with his ladie, and a traine of gentlemen and gentlewomen receiued him with much honour. Then departed all the great number of gentlemen that conducted him thither.

The cardinal
honourable
receiued and
serued at the
earle of
Shrewsbu-
ries house.

The cardinal being thus with the earle of Shrewsburie, continued there eightene daies after, vpon whome the earle appointed diuerse gentlemen to attend continuallie, to see that he should lacke nothing, being serued in his owne chamber as honorable as he had bene in his owne house, and once euerie daie the earle would repaire to him and commune with him. After the cardinal had thus remained with the earle of Shrewsburie about a fortnight, it came to passe at a certeine time as he sat at dinner in his owne chamber, hauing at his boyds end a messe of gentlemen and chapleins to keepe him companie, toward the end of his dinner, when he was come to eating his fruits, his colour was perceined often to change, whereby he was iudged not to be in good health.

The cardinal
sickneth sit-
ting at the
table.

Where vpon one of his gentlemen said, Sir, me seemes you are not well at ease. To whom he answered with loud voice, Forsooth no moze I am, for I am (quoth he) taken suddenlie with a thing about my stomack, that lieth there along as cold as a whetstone, which is no moze but wind, I praise you go to the apothecarie, & inquire of him if he haue anye thing that will breake wind vpwart. Then went he to the earle

and shewed him what estate the cardinal was in, and what he desired. With that, the earle caused the apothecarie to be called before him, & demanded of him if he had anye thing that would breake wind vpwart in a mans bodie. And he answered he had such geger. Then (quoth the earle) fetch me some. When the apothecarie fetched a white confession in a faire paper, & shewed it to the earle; who commanded one to giue the assaie thereof before him, and then the same to be brought to the cardinal, who receiued it: vp all at once into his mouth.

But immediatlie after suerlie, he auoided much wind vpwart: So (quoth he) ye may see that it was but wind, and now I am well eased, I thanke God, and so rose from the table, and went to his prayers. And that done, there came on him such a losenesse, that it caused him to go to the steele. And not long after the earle of Shrewsburie came into the gallerie to him; with whome the cardinal met: and then sitting downe vpon a bench, the earle asked him how he did, and he most lamentable answered him, and thanked him for his good intertainment. Sir (quoth the earle) if ye remember, ye haue often wished to come before the king, to make your answer; and I haue written to the king in that behalfe, making him priuie of your lamentation that ye inwardlie haue receiued for his displeasure, who accepteth all your doings therein, as friends be accustomed to do in such cases: therefore I would aduise you to plucke vp your hart, and be not agast of your enities, I doubt not but this your iournie to his highnesse shall be much to your aduancement.

The king hath sent for you that worthy knight maister Kingston, and with him foure and twentie of your old seruants, now of the gard, to the intent ye may safely come to his maiestie. Sir (quoth the cardinal) I trow maister Kingston is consistable of the Tower. Yea, what of that (quoth the erle) I assure you he is elected by the king for one of your friends. Well (quoth the cardinal, as God will, so be it, I am subiect to fortune, being a true man, ready to accept such chances as shall follow, and there an end; I praise you where is maister Kingston. Quoth the earle, I will send for him. I praise you so do (quoth the cardinal) at whose message he came. And as soone as the cardinal espied him, he made hast to encounter him, and at his comming he knelled to him, and saluted him in the kings behalfe, whome the cardinal bare-headed offered to take vp, and said: I praise you stand by, knelle not to me, I am but a wretched replet with miserie, not esteeming my selfe but as a vile affect, bitterlie cast awaie, without desert, as God knoweth.

Then said maister Kingston with humble reuerence: Sir, the king hath him commended vnto you. I thanke his highnesse quoth the cardinal, I trust he be in health. Yea (quoth maister Kingston) and he commanded me to saie to you, that you should assure your selfe that he beareth you as much good will as euer he did, and willet you to be of good chere. And where report hath bene made, that ye should commit against him certeine heinous crimes, which he thinks to be vnture, yet he can do no lesse than send for you to your triall, & to take your iournie to him at your owne pleasure, commanding me to be attendant vpon you. Therefore sir I praise you, when it shall be your owne pleasure to take your iournie, I shall be ready to giue attendance. Maister Kingston (quoth he) I thanke you for your newes, and sir, if I were as lustie as I haue bene but of late, I would ride with you in post, but I am diseased with a flur that maketh me verie weake, but I shall with all speed make me ready to ride with you to meere. When night came, the cardinal layed verie sick with

The cardinal
fallerth into a
flur that cut
him his life.

Sir William
Kingston is
sent to fetch
by the card-
nall before the
king.

The car-
dinal
his own
experience
sheweth
he can
live.

The car-
dinal
will to the
indogen
God.

When
vicari
death
card

Can
ride
to

The card-
nall
extremity

The cardinal
fallth into a
flux that cost
him his life.

Sir William
Kingston is
sent to fetch
up the card-
inal before the
king.

Sir William
Kingston is
sent to fetch
up the card-
inal before the
king.

Walke bes
twixt the said
Sir William &
the cardinal.

The cardinal
extremely
sith

with the laske, the which caused him continuallie to go to the skole all that night, in so much that he had that night fittie strokes: therefore in consideration of his infirmite, they caused him to tarrie all that day: and the next daie he took his iournie with master Kingston, and them of the gard, till he came to an house of the earle of Shrewsburies called Hardwike hall, where he late all night verie euill at ease. The next daie he rode to Spotingham, and there lodged that night moze sicke: and the next daie he rode to Leicester abbey, and by the waie warded so sicke that he was almost fallen from his mule; so that it was night before he came to the abbey of Leicester, where at his comming in at the gates, the abbat with all his convent met him with diuers torches light, whom they honozable receiued and welcomed.

To whom the cardinal said: Father abbat, I am come hither to lay my bones among you, riding so still untill he came to the staires of the chamber, where he alighted from his mule, and master Kingston led him vp the staires, and as soone as he was in his chamber he went to bed. This was on the saturday at night, and then increased he sicker and sicker, untill mondaie, that all men thought he would haue died: so on tuesdaye saint Andzwees euen, master Kingston came to him and bad him god morrow, for it was about six of the clocke, and asked him how he did: Sir (quoth he) I tarrie but the pleasure of God, to render vp my poore soule into his hands. Not so Sir (quoth master Kingston) with the grace of God, yee shall liue and doe verie well, if yee will be of good cheere. Nay in god sooth master Kingston, my disease is such, that I can not liue: for I haue had some experience in physicke.

Thus it is, I haue a flux with a continuall feuer, the nature whereof is, that if there be no alteration of the same within eight daies, either must insue excoiation of the intrailles, or transie, or else present death, and the best of them is death, and (as I suppose) this is the eight daie, & if yee see no alteration in me, there is no remedie, saue (though I may liue a daie or twaine after) but death must insue. Sir (quoth master Kingston) you be in much penituenes, doubting that thing, that in god faith yee need not. Well, well, master Kingston (quoth the cardinal) I see the matter how it is framed: but if I had serued God as diligentlie as I haue done the king, he would not haue giuen me ouer in my greie haire: but it is the lust reward that I must receiue for the diligent paines and studie that I haue had to doe him seruite, not regarding my seruite to God, but onelie to satisfie his pleasure.

I praise you haue me most humble commended unto his roiall maiestie, & beseech him in my behalfe to call to his princelie remembrance all matters proceeding betwene him & me from the beginning of the world, and the progresse of the same, &c. Master Kingston fare well, I can no moze saie, but I wish all things to haue good successe, my time draweth on fast. And euen with that he began to draw his speech at length, & his tong to faste, his eyes being set, whose sight failed him. When they did put him in remembrance of Christ his passion, & caused the peomen of the gard to stand by to see him die, and to witnesse of his words at his departure: & incontinent the clocke stroke eight, and then he gaue vp the ghost, and departed this present life: which caused some to call to remembrance how he said the daie before, that at eight of the clocke they should lose their master.

Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogancie of men exalted by fortune to dignitie: for in his time he was the hautiest man in all his proceedings a line, hauing moze respect to the honor of his person, than he had to his spirituall profession, wher in should

be shewed all meekenes, humilitie, and charitie. [An example (saith Guicciardin, who handleth this storie effectually, and sheweth the cause of this cardinals ruine) in our daies worthie of memorie, touching the power which fortune and ennie hath in the courts of princes.] He died in Leicester abbey, & in the church of the same abbey was buried. Such is the suertie of mans brittle state, doubtfull in birth, & no lesse feeble in life, which is as vncertaine, as death most certaine, and the meanes thereof manifold, which as in number they exceed; so in spangeness they passe: all degrees of ages & diuersities of seres being subiect to the same. In consideration whereof, it was notable said by one that wrote a whole volume of infirmities, diseases, and passions incident to children:

*A primis vita diuersos flamine morbos
Perpetimur, diuis afflictiisque malis:
Donec in usum redeat qui vixit ab ortu,
Antea quam discat vivere, vita cadit.*

Sebast. Anstet-
mus.

This cardinal (as Edmund Campian in his historie of Ireland describeth him) was a man undoubtedly borne to honor: I thinke (saith he) some princes bastard, no butchers sonne, exceeding wise, faire spoken, high minded, full of reuenge, bitious of his bodie, loffie to his enemies, were they neuer so big, to those that accepted and sought his friendship wonderfull courteous, a ripe scholeman, thall to affections, brought a bed with flatterie, insatiable to get, and moze princelie in bestowing, as appeareth by his two colleges at Ipswich and Drenford, the one ouerthrowne with his fall, the other unfinished, and yet as it lieth for an house of students, considering all the appurtenances incomparable thorough Christendome, whereof Henrie the eight is now called founder, because he let it stand. He held and intioed at once the bishopricks of Dorke, Duresme, & Winchester, the dignities of lord cardinal, legat, & chancellor, the abbey of saint Albons, diuerse priories, sundrie fat benefices in commendam, a great preferer of his seruants, an aduancer of learning, stout in euerie quarell, neuer happie till this his overthrow. Wherein he shewed such moderation, and ended so perfectlie, that the houre of his death did him moze honor, than all the pompe of his life passed. Thus far Campian. Here it is necessarie to adde that notable discourse, which I find in Iohn Stow, concerning the state of the cardinal, both in the yeares of his youth, and in his settled age: with his sudden comming vp from preferment to preferment; till he was aduanced to that step of honor, which making him insolent, brought him to confusion.

This Thomas Wolsey was a poore mans sonne of Ipswich, in the countie of Suffolke, & there borne, and being but a child, verie apt to be learned, by the meanes of his parents he was conueied to the vniuersitie of Drenford, where he shortly prospered so in learning, as he was made bachellor of art, when he passed not fittene yeares of age, and was called most commonlie thorough the vniuersitie the boie bachellor. Thus prospering in learning, he was made fellow of Pawdeline college, and afterward appointed to be scholemaster of Pawdelin schole, at which time the lord marquesse Dorset had three of his sonnes there at schole, committing vnto him as well their education as their instruction. It pleased the said lord marquesse against a Christmas season to send as well for the scholemaster, as for his children home to his house for their recreation, in that pleasant and honorable feast.

Then being there, the lord their father, perceiving them to be right well imployed in learning for their time, he hauing a benefice in his gift, being at that time void, gaue the same to the scholemaster in reward of his diligence at his departure after Christmas.

The descrip-
tion of card-
inal wolseye:
set downe by
Edmund
Campian.

Abr. Fl. ex l. 3.
pag. 904. 905,
&c. The ascen-
ding of Thoma
mas wolseye,
Bachelior of
art at fifteene
yeares old.

Scholemas-
ter to the
marquesse
Dorsets
children.

Thomas
in office at
a benefice.

Thomas
wolfe set in
the stocks by
sir James
Daullet.
Wolfe's im-
prisonment
ruenged.

Cathouse of
the middle
Temple new
builded.

Sir John
Raphant
treasurer of
Calis, Tho-
mas wolfe
his chapleine.

Thomas
wolfe was
chapleine to
Henrie the
eighth.

Thomas
wolfe sent
ambassador to
the emperor.

mas to the vniuersitie, and hauing the presentation thereof, repaired to the ordinarie for his induction, and being furnished of his instruments, made speed to the benefice to take possession, and being there for that intent, one sir James Daullet knight dwelling thereabouts, took occasion against him, and set the scholemaster by the heeles during his pleasure, which after was neither forgotten nor forgiven.

For when the scholemaster mounted to the dignitie to be chancellor of England, he sent for master Daullet, & after manie sharpe words, intained him to attend untill he were dismissed, and not to depart out of London without licence obtained; so that he continued there within the middle Temple the space of five or six yeares, and late then in the Gatehouse next the street, which he reedified verie sumptuously, garnishing the same all ouer the outsid with the cardinals armes, with his hat, cognisances, and other deuises in so glorious a sort, that he thought thereby to haue appeased his old displeasure.

Now after the decesse of the lord marquisse, this same scholemaster considering himselfe to be but a simple beneficed man, and to haue lost his fellowship in the college, which was much to his releefe, thought not long to be unprouided of some other helpe, and in his trauell thereabouts, he fell in acquaintance with one sir John Raphant, a verie graue & ancient knight, who had a great come in Calis vnder king Henrie the seventh: this knight he serued, and behaued himselfe so discretly, that he obtained the especial fauor of his master, insomuch that he committed all the charge of his office vnto his chapleine, and (as I vnderstand) the office was the treasurership of Calis, who was in consideration of his great age discharged of his come, and returned againe into England, and thorough his instant labor, his chapleine was promoted to be the kings chapleine, and when he had once cast anchor in the port of promotion, how he wrought, I shall sometime declare.

He hauing there a iust occasion to be in the sight of the king daile, by reason he said masse before him in his closet, and that being done, he spent not the daie in idleness, but would attend vpon those whom he thought to beare most rule in the counsell, the which at that time was doctor For, bishop of Winchester, secretaire, and lord of the priue seale: and also sir Thomas Louell knight, a sage counsellor, master of the wards, and constable of the Tower: these graue counsellors in proceesse of time perceiued this chapleine to haue a verie fine wit, and thought him a meet person to be preferred to wittie affaires. It chanced at a certeine season that the king had an vrgent occasion to send an ambassadoz vnto the emperor Maximilian, who laie at that present in the low countrie of Flanders, not farre from Calis.

The bishop of Winchester, and sir Thomas Louell, whome the king counselled and debated with vpon this ambassage, saw they had a conuenient occasion to prefer the kings chapleine, whose wit, eloquence, and learning, they highly commended to the king. The king commanded them to bring his chapleine before his presence, with whome he fell in communication of great matters, and perceiuing his wit to be verie fine, thought him sufficient, commanding him therevpon to prepare himselfe to his iourney, and hauing his depeach, he took his leaue of the king at Richmond about none; & so comming to London about foure of the clocke, where the barge of Graues end was readie to lanch forth, both with a prosperous tide and wind, without anye abode he entered the barge.

Hauing so done, he passed forth with such speed, that he arrived at Graues end within little more than three houres, where he tarried no longer than

his post horses were a prouiding, and then travelled so speedily that he came to Dover the next morning, whereas the passengers were readie under saile to Calis, into the which passenger, without tarrying, he entered, and sailed forth with them, that long before none he arrived at Calis, and hauing post horses, departed from thence with such speed, that he was that night with the emperor, and disclosed the whole summe of his ambassage to the emperor, of whome he required speedie expedition, the which was granted him by the emperor; so that the next daie he was clerlie dispatched with all the kings requests fullie accomplished.

At which time he made no longer delate, but took post horses that night, and rode toward Calis, conducted thither with such persons as the emperor had appointed; and at the opening of the gates of Calis, he came thither, where the passengers were as readie to returne into England, as they were before at his iourney forward, insomuch that he arrived at Dover by ten of the clocke before none, and hauing post horses, came to the court at Richmond the same night, where he taking some rest untill the morning, repaired to the king at his first comming from his bedchamber to his closet, whom when the king saw, he checked him, for that he was not on his iourney: Sir (quoth he) if it may please your highnesse, I haue already bene with the emperor, and dispatched your affaires (I trust to your graces contentation) and with that presented vnto the king his letters of credence from the emperor.

The king being in a great maze and wonder of his speedie returne and proceedings, dissembled all his wonder, and demanded of him whether he encountered not his pursuivant the which he sent vnto him, supposing him not to be out of London, with letters concerning a verie necessarie matter, neglected in their consultation; Pea forsooth (quoth the chapleine) I met with him yesterday by the waie, and hauing no vnderstanding by your graces letters of your pleasure, haue notwithstanding bene so bold vpon mine owne discretion (perceiuing that matter to be verie necessarie in that behalfe) to dispatch the same. And forsomuch as I haue excused your graces commission, I most humble requite your graces pardon. The king reioysing not a little, said; We do not onelie pardon you thereof, but also give you our princelie thanks, both for the proceeding therein, and also for your good and speedie exploit, commanding him for that time to take his rest, and repaire againe after dinner for the further relation of his ambassage.

The ambassadoz, when he saw time, repaired before the king and counsell, where he declared the effect of all his affaires so exactly, with such grauitie and eloquence, that all the counsell that heard him, commended him, esteeming his expedition to be almost beyond the capacite of man. The king gaue him at that time the beaurie of Lincoln. From thence forward he grew more and more into estimation and authoritie, and after was promoted by the king to be his almoner. After the death of king Henrie the seventh, and in the flourishing youth of king Henrie the eight, this almoner handled himselfe so politickly, that he soon found the means to be made one of the kings counsell, and to grow in fauor with the king, to whome the king gaue an house at Whitehall in Fleetstreet, sometime sir Richard Empsons, where he kept house for his familie; and so daile attended vpon the king, and in his especial fauor, who had great sute made vnto him.

His sentences & wittie persuasions in the court chamber were alwaies so pitthe, that the counsell (as occasion moued them) continually assigned him to

The cardinal
was upon a
concrete and
interrogation
of his
qualifications
and the
king's favor.

His returne
into England
after his
ambassage
was
charged.

The king
marvelled
at the
cardinal's
speedie re-
turne.

The cardinal
was upon
him the ma-
naging of all
the kings af-
aires.

He before
page 822.

Thomas
wolfe's bi-
shop of Ebor-
ac in France.

Thomas
wolfe's returne
of Lincoln.
Thomas
wolfe's
king's almoner.

Thomas
wolfe's of the
prime coun-
sell vnto
the king.

m.1530

An. Reg. 22.

Henrie the eight.

919

The certifi-
berie expre-
and ready in
his ambal-
sage.

The cardinal
custometh to
have upon a
crosse and
bearing ope-
nion of his
ecclesiastice
and the
king's favor.

His returne
into England
after his amb-
bassage dis-
charged.

The king
marvelleth at
the cardinals
spedie re-
turne.

The cardinal
reth upon
the mea-
sures of all
things as
fancie.

He before
pag. 822.

Thomas
wolfeie deane
of Lincolne.
Thomas
wolfeie the
kings almon-
ner.

Thomas
wolfeie bi-
shop of Wor-
cestre.

Thomas
wolfeie of the
priatic coun-
cell unto
Henrie the
eight.

to be the oppositor to the king in all their proce-
dings, in whome the king receiued such a leaning
fantasie, for that he was most earnest and readiest of
all the counsell to aduance the kings will and plea-
sure: the king therefore esteemed him so highly, that
all the other counsellors were put from the great fa-
vor that they before were in, insomuch that the king
committed all his will vnto his disposition, which the
almoner perceiuing, tooke vpon him therefore to dis-
charge the king of the weightie and trouble some bu-
sinesse, persuading the king that he should not need
to spare any time of his pleasure for any businesse
that should happen in the counsell.

And whereas the other counsellors would diuerse
times perswade the king to haue sometime recourse
into the counsell chamber, there to heare what was
done; the almoner would perswade him to the con-
trarie, which delighted him much: and thus the al-
moner ruled all them that were before him, such did his
politic and wit bring to passe. Who was now in high
favor but master almoner? And who ruled all vnder
the king, but master almoner? Thus he persecuted in
favor, untill at last in came presents, gifts, and re-
wards so plentifulle, that he lacked nothing that
might either please his fantasie, or enrich his coffers.

And thus proceeding in fortunes blisfulnesse, it
thanced the warres betwene the realmes of Eng-
land and France to be open, insomuch as the king
was fullie perswaded in his most roiall person to
trauaise his forren enemies with a puissant armie;
wherefore it was necessarie that this roiall enter-
prize should be speedilie provided and furnished, in e-
uerie degree of things apt & conuenient for the same,
for the expedition wherof the king thought no mans
wit to meet for policie and painefull trauell, as was
his almoner, to whome therefore he committed his
whole trust therein, and he tooke vpon him the whole
charge of all the businesse, and brought all things to
god passe in a decent order, as all manner of vittells,
provisions, and other necessities conuenient for so
noble a voiage and armie.

All things being by him perfected, the king ad-
uanced to his roiall enterprize, passed the seas, and
marched forward in god order of battell, untill he
came to the strong towne of Teruine, to the which
he laid his siege, and assailed it verie stronglie conti-
nualle with such vehement assaults, that within
short space it was yielded vnto his maiestie, vnto the
which place the emperor Maximilian repaired vnto
the king with a great armie like a mightie prince, ta-
king of the king his graces wages: which is a rare
thing, and but seldom seene, an emperor to fight
vnder a kings banner.

Thus after the king had obtained this puissant fort
and taken the possession thereof, and set all things
there in due order, for the defense and preservation
thereof to his vse, he departed thence, and marched
toward the cite of Torneie, and there laid his siege
in like manner, to the which he gaue so fierce & sharpe
assault, that they were constrained of fine force to
render the towne vnto his victorious maiestie: at
which time the king gaue the almoner the bishopricke
of the same see, towards his paines and diligence su-
stained in that iournie. Now when the king had esta-
blished all things agreeable to his will and pleasure,
and furnished the same with noble capteines & men
of warre for the safeguard of the towne, he returned
againe into England, taking with him diuerse no-
ble personages of France being prisoners, as the
duke of Longue, and vicount Clarimont, with o-
ther which were taken there in a skirmish.

After whose returne, immediatlie the see of Lin-
colne fell void, by the death of doctor Smith late bi-
shop there, the which benefice his grace gaue to his

almoner, late bishop of Torneie elect, who was not
negligent to take possession thereof, and made all the
sped he could for his consecration: the solemnization
whereof ended, he found meanes that he gat the pos-
session of all his predecessors goods into his hands.
It was not long after that doctor Wenzlyke archbi-
shop of Poike died at Rome, being there the kings
ambassador, vnto the which see the king immediatlie
presented his late and new bishop of Lincolne; so
that he had thre bishopricks in his hands in one yere
giuen him.

Then prepared he for his translation from the see
of Lincolne, vnto the see of Poike, after which sole-
mnization done, he being then an archbishop *Primas
Anglia*, thought himselfe sufficient to compare with
Canturburie, and thereupon erected his crosse in the
court, and euerie other place, as well within the pre-
dict and iurisdiction of Canturburie, as in any o-
ther place. And forsomuch as Canturburie claimeth
a superiortie ouer Poike, as ouer all other bishop-
ricks within England, and for that cause claimeth as
a knowlege of an ancient obedience of Poike, to
abate the aduancing of his crosse, in presence of
the crosse of Canturburie; notwithstanding, the
archbishop of Poike nothing minding to desist from
bearing thereof, in manner as I said before, cau-
sed his crosse to be aduanced, as well in the pre-
sence of Canturburie as elsewhere. Wherefore Can-
turburie being moued therewith, gaue vnto Poike
a certeine cheque for his presumption, by reason
whereof, there ingendered some grudge betwene
Poike and Canturburie; Poike intending to pro-
uide some such meanes, that he would be rather su-
perior in dignitie to Canturburie, than to be either
obedient or equall to him. Wherefore he obtained to
be made priest cardinal, and *Legatus de latere*: vnto
whome the pope sent a cardinals hat with certeine
bulbs for his authoritie in that behalfe. Yet you shall
vnderstand, that the pope sent him this worthie hat
of dignitie, as a iewel of his honor and authoritie,
the which was conueied in a barlets budget, who se-
med to all men to be but a person of small estima-
tion.

Wherefore Poike being aduertised of the basenes
of this messenger, & of the peoples opinion, thought
it meete for his honor, that this iewel should not be
conueied by so simple a person, and therefore caused
him to be stopped by the wate immediatlie after his
arrivall in England, where he was newlie furnished
in all manner of apparell, with all kind of costlie silks,
which seemed decent for such an high ambassador, and
that done, he was incountered vpon Blackheath,
and there receiued with a great assemble of prelates,
and lustie gallant gentlemen, and from thence con-
ducted thorough London with great triumph. Then
was great and speedie preparation made in West-
minster abbey, for the confirmation and acceptance
of this high order and dignitie, the which was execu-
ted by all the bishops and abbats about or nigh Lon-
don, with their rich miters and copes, and other orna-
ments, which was done in so soleinne wise, as had
not bene seene the like, vnlesse it had bene at the co-
ronation of a mightie prince or king. Obtaining this
dignitie, he thought himselfe meet to beare rule a-
mong the temporall power, & among the spiritual
iurisdiction: wherefore, remembryng as well the taunts
sustained of Canturburie, as hauing respect to the ad-
uancement of his owne honor & promotion, he found
the meanes with the king, that he was made lord
chancellor of England, and Canturburie which was
chancellor dismissed, who had continued in that come-
long since before the decesse of Henrie the seventh.
Now being in possession of the chancellorship, & car-
indued with the promotions of the archbishop, & car-
dinal.

Thomas
wolfeie bi-
shop of Lin-
colne.

See pag. 835.

Thomas
wolfeie arch-
bishop of
Poike.

Note the
pride of wol-
feie and his
ambition.

The two
archbishops
at strife for
the preroga-
tive.

Thomas
wolfeie car-
dinal, see
pag. 837.

The cardinal
in all his ac-
tions sheweth
vpon his re-
putation.

Thomas
wolfeie lord
chancellor or
rogateth all
that he may
to himselfe by
virtue of his
promotions.

dinall *De Latere*, hauing power to correct Canturburric, and all other bishops and spiritual persons, to assemble his conuocation when he would assigne, he took vpon him the correction of matters in all their iurisdiccions, and visited all the spirituall houses, hauing in euerie diocesse all maner of spirituall ministers, as commissaries, scribes, apparitors, and all other officers to furnish his courts, and presented by pccentation whome he pleased into all benefices throughout all this realme.

And to the aduancing further of his legantine iurisdiction and honoz, he had masters of his faculties, masters *Ceremoniarum*, and such other, to the glorifying of his dignitie. Then had he his two great crosses of silver, the one of his archbishopricke, the other of his legacie, borne before him whither soeuer he went or rode, by two of the tallest priests that he could get within the realme. And to increase his gaines, he had also the bishopricke of Durham, and the abbey of saint Albons in commendation. And after, when doctor Forbischep of Winchester died, he surrendered Durham into the kings hands, and took to him Winchester. Then had he in his hand (as it were in farme) the bishopricks of Bath, Worcester, & Hereford, for so much as the incumbents of them were strangers, and made their abode continually beyond the seas in their owne countries, or else at Rome, from whence they were sent in legation to this realme vnto the king, and for their reward at their departure, king Henrie the seventh gaue them those bishopricks.

But they being strangers, thought it more meet for the assurance to suffer the cardinall to haue their benefices for a conuenient sum of monie paid them yearelie, where they remained, than either to be troubled with the charges of the same, or to be yearelie burthened with the conueiance of their revenues vnto them: so that all the spirituall livings and presentations of these bishopricks were sulkie in his disposition, to prefer whome he liked. He had also a great number daillie attending vpon him, both of noblemen & worthie gentlemen, with no small number of the tallest yeomen that he could get in all the realme, in so much that well was that nobleman and gentleman, that could preferre a tall yeoman to his seruice.

He shall vnderstand, that he had in his hall continually three bozds kept with three severall principall officers, that is to saie, a steward which was alwaies a priest; a treasurer a knight; and a comptroller an esquier; also a cofferer being a doctor; three marshals; three yeomen vishers in the hall, besides two groomes, and almoners. Then in the hall kitchin, two clerks of the kitchin; a clarke comptroller; a surueior of the dressto; a clarke of the spicerie, the which together kept also a continuall messe in the hall. Also in his hall kitchin he had of master cooks two, and of other cooks, labozers and children of the kitchin, twelue persons; foure yeomen of the scullerie, and foure yeomen of the silver scullerie; two yeomen of the pastrie, with two other pastlers vnder the yeomen.

Then in his priuie kitchin a master coke, who went daillie in velvet or in sattin, with a chaine of gold, with two other yeomen and a groom: in the scalding house, a yeoman and two groomes; in the pantrie two persons; in the butterie two yeomen, two groomes, and two pages; and in the pextrie likewise in the cellar three yeomen, and three pages; in his chandrie two; in the wasarie two; in the wardrobe of beds, the master of the wardrobe, and ten other persons; in the landrie, a yeoman, a groom, thirtie pages, two yeomen purueiois, & one groom: in the bake-house, a yeoman and two groomes; in

the wood-yard a yeoman, and a groom: in the barne one; in the garden a yeoman and two groomes; porters at the gate, two yeomen, and two groomes; a yeoman of his barge; and a maister of his horse; a clarke of the stable, a yeoman of the same; the sadler; the ferrier; a yeoman of his chariot; a sumpter man; a yeoman of his stirrop; a muleter; thirtene groomes of his stable, euerie of them kept foure geldings.

In the almozie a yeoman and a groom: in his chappell he had a deane, a great divine, and a man of excellent learning; a subdeane; a repeater of the quire; a gospeller; a piffler; of singing priests ten; a maister of the children; seculars of the chappell, singing men twelue; singing children ten, with one servant to await vpon the children; in the reuererie a yeoman, and two groomes, ouer and besides diuerse retainers that came thither at principall feasts, for the furniture of his chappell, it passeth my capacitie to declare the number of costlie ornaments and rich feluels that were to be occupied in the same continually: there hath bene scene in procession, about the hall, foure and fortie verie rich coapes of one sute twelue, besides the rich crosses and candlesticks, and other ornaments to the furniture of the same.

He had two crossebearers, and two pillerbearers in his great chamber; and in his priuie chamber these persons: first the chiefe chamberleine, and vicechamberleine; of gentlemen vishers, besides one in his priuie chamber, he had twelue daillie waiters; and of gentlemen waiters in his priuie chamber he had six, and of lordes nine or ten, who had each of them two men allowed them to attend vpon them, except the earle of Darbie, who had allowed five men: then had he of gentlemen, of cupbearers, caruers, and sewers, both of the priuie chamber, and of the great chamber, with gentlemen daillie waiters there, fortie persons; of yeomen vishers six; of groomes in his chamber eight; of yeomen in his chamber five and fortie daillie: he had also almes men sometime more in number than other sometime.

There was attending on his bozrd of doctors and chapleins, besides them of his chappell, thirtene daillie: a clarke of his closet; secretaries two; and two clerks of his signet; and foure counsellors learned in the law. And for so much as it was necessarie to haue diuerse officers of the Chancerie to attend vpon him, that is to saie, the clerke of the crowne; a riding clarke; a clarke of the hamper; and a chafer of the war; then a clarke of the checke, aswell vpon the chapleins, as of the yeoman of his chamber: he had also foure footmen which were garnished in rich running coats, whensoever he rode in anie tournee: then had he an herald of armes; and a sergeant of armes; a physician; an apothecarie; foure misters; a keeper of his tents; an armorer; an instructo of his wards; two yeomen of the wardrobe of his robes; and a keeper of his chamber continually in the court: he had also in his house the surueior of Porke, and a clarke of the greene cloth.

All these were daillie attending, doome lieng and byrissing, and at meales: he kept in his great chamber a continuall bozrd for the chamberers and gentlemen officers, hauing with them a messe of the yong lordes, and another of gentlemen. Besides all these, there was neuer an officer, gentleman, or worthie person, but he was allowed in the house, some three, some two, and all other one at the least, which grew to a great number of persons. Thus farre out of the checker roll, besides other officers, seruants, retainers, and suters, that most commonlie dined in the hall. After that he was thus furnished, he was sent thence in ambassage to the emperour Charles the first, for diuerse urgent causes touching the kings maiestie,

Thomas wolseye bishop of Winchester, he had also three other bishopricks in his hands as it were in farme.

What kind of persons he retained in his seruice.

The order of the cardinals house, and first of his hall.

The hall kitchin.

The priuie kitchin.
The scalding house.
The pantrie.
The butterie.
The pextrie.
The cellar.
The chandrie.
Wasarie, &c.

Thomas wolseye bishop of Winchester, he had also three other bishopricks in his hands as it were in farme.

The furniture of his chappell.

Officers of the great chamber.
Thomas wolseye in his priuie chamber.

Attendants on his bozrd.

Officers of the Chancerie.

His footmen.

His herald of armes.
His sergeant of armes.
His misters.

The two and ma his big boyme him.

Thomas wolseye in his ambassage to the emperour Charles the first.

The emperour Charles the first.

The manner of his gown, which he wore daily the tenn time.

His own parlour of his and his sumptuous stude.

The two and ma his big boyme him.

An. Reg. 23.

mateſtie, it was thought, that ſo noble a prince (the cardinal) was moſt meet to be ſent : wherefore being ready to take upon him the charge thereof, he was furniſhed in all degrees and purpoſes, moſt like a great prince.

For firſt he proceeded forth furniſhed like a cardinal : his gentlemen being verie mante in number, were clothed in luerie coats of crimſin veluet of the beſt, with chaines of gold about their necks, and his yeomen and meane officers in coats of fine ſcarlet, garded with blacke veluet an hand broad. Thus furniſhed, he was wiſe ſent into Flanders to the emperor then lieng in Bruges, whome he did moſt highlie intertaine, diſcharging all his charges and his mens. There was no houſe within the towne of Bruges, wherein anie gentleman of the cardinals was lodged, or had recourſe, but that the owners were commanded by the emperours officers, that they, upon paine of their liues, ſhould take no monie for anie thing that the cardinals ſeruants did take of anie kind of vittels, no although they were diſpoſed to make anie coſtly bankets.

Commanding furthermore their ſaid hoſtes, to ſee that they lacked no ſuch things as they honeſtly required for their honeſtie and pleaſure. Alſo the emperours officers euerie night went through the towne from houſe to houſe, whereas anie Engliſh gentlemen did reſaſt or lodge, and ſerued their liueries for all night, which was done in this maner. Firſt, the officers brought into the houſe a caſt of fine manchete, and of ſiluer two great pots with white wine, and ſugar to the weight of a pound : white lights and yelloſe lights of waxe : a boll of ſiluer with a goblet to drinke in, and euerie night a ſtaffetorch : this was the order of the liueries euerie night. And in the morning, when the ſame officers came to ſetch aſwaie their ſtaffe, then would they account with the hoſtes for the gentlemenſ coſts ſpent in the daie before. Thus the emperor intertaine the cardinal and all his traine for the time of his ambalaſſage there. And that done, he returned into England with great triumph.

Now of his order in going to Weſtmiſter hall daillie in the tearme. Firſt per he came out of his priuie chamber, he heard ſeruice in his cloſet, and there ſaid his ſeruice with his chapleine; then going againe to his priuie chamber, he would demand if his ſeruants were in a readineſſe, and furniſhed his chamber of preſence, and waiting chamber. Being thereof then aduertised, he came out of his priuie chamber about eight of the clocke, appareled all in red, that is to ſay, his upper garment either of fine ſcarlet, or elſe fine crimſin taſſata, but moſt comonlie of fine crimſin ſattin ingrained, his pillion of fine ſcarlet, with a necke ſet in the inner ſide with blacke veluet, and a tippet of ſables about his necke, holding in his hand an orange, whereof the ſubſtance within was taken out, and filled up againe with the part of a ſponge, wherein was vineger and other conſecrations againſt the peſtilent aires, the which he moſt comonlie held to his noſe when he came among anie preaſe, or elſe that he was peſtered with manie ſuters.

Before him was borne firſt the broad ſcale of England, and his cardinals hat, by a lord, or ſome gentleman of worſhip, right ſolemnlie : & as ſone as he was once entered into his chamber of preſence, his two great croſſes were there attending to be borne before him : then cried the gentlemen viſſers, going before him bare headed, and ſaid : On before my lords and maiſters, or before, make waie for my lords grace. Thus went he downe through the hall with a ſergeant of armes before him, bearing a great mace of ſiluer, and two gentlemen carleing two great pillars of ſiluer. And when he came at the

hall doze, there was his mule, being trapped all in crimſin veluet, with a ſaddle of the ſame ſtaffe, & gilt ſtirrups. When was there attending upon him when he was mounted, his two croſſe-bearers : & his pillar-bearers in like caſe upon great horſes, trapped all in fine ſcarlet. Then marched he forward with a traine of noble men and gentlemen, hauing his ſotmen ſoure in number about him, bearing ech of them a gilt pollax in their hands.

Thus paſſed he forth untill he came to Weſtmiſter hall doze, and there lighted, and went by after this maner into the Chancerie, or into the Starre-chamber : howbeit, moſt comonlie he would go into the Chancerie, and ſaie a while at a barre made for him beneath the Chancerie on the right hand, and there commune ſometime with the iudges, and ſome time with other perſons : and that done, he would repaire into the Chancerie, and ſitting there untill eleuen of the clocke, hearing of ſutes, and determining of other matters, from thence he would diuers times go into the Starre-chamber, as occaſion ſerued. There he neither ſpared high nor low, but iudged euerie ſate according to his merits and deſerts.

He vied alſo euerie ſundaie to reſort to the court, then being for the moſt part of all the yeare at Grænewich, with his former triumphs, taking his barge at his obone ſtaffes, furniſhed with yeomen ſtanding upon the bails, and his gentlemen being within about him, and landed againe at the three cranes in the Wintrie : and from thence he rode upon his mule with his croſſe, his pillars, his hat and broad ſcale carried afore him on horſebacke through Thames ſtreet, untill he came to Willingſgate, and there toke his barge againe, and ſo was rowed to Grænewich, where he was receiued of the lords and chiefe officers of the kings houſe, as the treaſurer, comptroller and others, and ſo conueied into the kings chamber. When the court was wonderfullie furniſhed with noblemen and gentlemen : and after dinner among the lords, hauing ſome conſultation with the king or with the counſell, he would depart homeward with the like triumph.

Thus in great honour, triumph, and glorie, he reigned a long ſeaſon, ruling all things within the realme appertaining unto the king. His houſe was reſorted to with noblemen and gentlemen, feaſting and banquetting ambalaſſadors diuerſe times, and all other right noble. And when it pleaſed the king for his recreation to repaire to the cardinals houſe (as he did diuerſe times in the yeare) there wanted no preparations or furniture : bankets were ſet forth with maſkes and innumeries, in ſo gorgeous a ſort and coſtly maner, that it was an heauen to behold. There wanted no dames or damoſels meet or apt to danſe with the maſkers, or to garniſh the place for the time : then was there all kind of muſike and harmony, with fine voices both of men and children.

On a time the king came ſuddenlie thither in a maſke with a dozen maſkers all in garments like theſhepheards, made of fine cloth of gold, and crimſin ſattin pained, & caps of the ſame, with viſards of good hyſnomie, their haire & beards either of fine gold-wire ſilke, or blacke ſilke, hauing ſixtene torch-bearers, beſides their drums and other perſons with viſards, all clothed in ſattin of the ſame color. And before his entring into the hall, he came by water to the water gate without anie noiſe, where were laid diuerſe chambers and guns charged with ſhot, and at his landing they were ſhot off, which made ſuch a rumble in the aire, that it was like thunder : it made all the noblemen, gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen, to muſe what it ſhould meane, comming ſo ſuddenlie, they ſitting quiet at a ſolemn banquet, after this ſort.

His behauior in the court of Chancerie & Starre-chamber

His order of going to and coming from the court.

The cardinals houſe like a princes court for all kind of banqueting & ſump-tuouſneſſe.

A maſke and banquet, the king in perſon preſent at the cardinals houſe.

Dom. 1530.

Thomas Wolſeis chapell and ſuch as bare office there.

The furniture of his chappell.

Officers of credit about Thomas Wolſeis in his priuie ſix chamber.

Attendants on his barge.

Officers of the Chancerie

His ſotmen.

His herald at armes & other officers.

Thomas Wolſeis with ambalaſſadors to the emperor Charles.

Thomas Wolſeis with ambalaſſadors to the emperor Charles.

The emperours ſeruants : ſome notable and ſome the leſſe imperiall priuie.

The manner of his going to Weſtmiſter hall daillie in the tearme time.

His owne apparel of crimſin and other ſumptuous ſuſſe.

The tokens and marks of the dignities borne before him.

The cardinals stately sitting at table like a prince.

Henrie the eight.

An. Dom. 1530.

An. Re.

First þe shall vnderstand, that the tables were set in the chamber of presence lust covered, & the lord cardinall sitting vnder the cloth of estate, there hauing all his seruice alone: and then was there set a laide with a noble man, or a gentleman and a gentlewoman throughout all the tables in the chamber on the one side, which were made and ioined as it were but one table, all with order and deuise was done by the lord Sandes then lord chamberleine to the king and by sir Henrie Gilford comptrolloz of the kings maiesties house. Then immediatlie after the great chamberleine, and the said comptrolloz, sent to loke what it should meane (as though they knew nothing of the matter) who looking out of the windowes into the Thames, returned againe and shewed him, that it seemed they were noblemen and strangers that arrived at his bridge, comming as ambassadours from some forren prince.

The cardinall knew not that the king was in the number.

With that (quothe the cardinall) I desire you, because you can speake French, to take the paines to go into the hall, there to receiue them according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they shall see vs, and all these noble personages being met at our banquet, desiring them to sit downe with vs, and to take part of our fare. Then went he incontinent downe into the hall, whereas they receiued them with twentie new torches, and conueied them vp into the chamber, with such a noise of drums and flutes, as seldome had bene heard the like. At their entring into the chamber two and two together, they went directlie before the cardinall, where he sat and saluted him reuerentlie.

The cardinall reuerentlie saluted of the maskers.

To whom the lord chamberleine for them said: Sir, for as much as they be strangers, and can not speake English, they haue desired me to declare vnto you, that they haue vnderstanding of this your triumphant banquet, where was assembled such a number of excellent dames, they could do no lesse vnder support of your grace, but to repaire hither, to view as well their incomparable beautie, as for to accompanie them at mum-chance, and then to danse with them: and sir, they require of your grace licence to accomplish the said cause of their coming. To whom the cardinall said he was verie well content they should so do. Then went the maskers, and first saluted all the dames, and returned to the most worshipful, and there opened their great cup of gold filled with crownes and other peeces of gold, to whome they set certeine peeces of gold to cast at.

The cardinall plaiceth at dice.

Thus perusing all the ladies and gentlewomen, to some they lost, and of some they wone: and marking after this manner all the ladies, they returned to the cardinall with great reuerence, potoyzing downe all their gold so left in their cup, which was about two hundred crownes: At all (quothe the cardinall) and so cast the dice and wan them, whereat was made a great noise and ioy. Then quothe the cardinall to the lord chamberleine, I praye you (quothe he) that you would shew them, that me seemeth there should be a nobleman amongst them, who is more meet to occupie this seat and place than I am, to whome I would most gladlie surrender the same according to my dutie, if I knew him.

He suspecteth that the king is present and abareth his estate.

Then spake the lord chamberleine to them in French, and they rounding him in the eare, the lord chamberleine said to my lord cardinall: Sir (quothe he) they confesse, that among them there is such a noble personage, whome, if your grace can appoint him out from the rest, he is content to disclose himselfe, and to accept your place. With that the cardinall taking good aduicement among them, at the last (quothe he) me seemeth the gentleman with the blacke beard, should be euen he: and with that he arose out of his chaire, and offered the same to the gentleman in the

blacke beard with his cap in his hand. The person to whom he offered the chaire was sir Edward Penell a comelle knight, that much more resembled the kings person in that make than any other.

The king perceiuing the cardinall so deuiled, could not so beare laughing, but pulled downe his visar and masker Penell saw, and dashed out such a pleasant countenance and there, that all the noble estates there assembled, perceiving the king to be there among them, reioiced verie much. The cardinall estons desired his highnesse to take the place of estate. To whom the king answered, that he would go first and shift his apparell, and so departed into my lord cardinals chamber, mid there new appareled him: in which time the dishes of the banquet were cleane taken vp, and the tables spred againe with new cleane perfumcd cloths, euerie man and woman sitting still, untill the king with all his maskers came aming them againe all new appareled.

Then the king took his seat vnder the cloth of estate, commanding euerie person to sit still as they did before: in came a new banquet before the king, and to all the rest throughout all the tables, wherein were serued two hundred diuerse dishes, of costlie deuises and subtilties. Thus passed they forth the night with banquetting, danling, and other triumphs, to the great comfort of the king, and pleasant regard of the nobilitie there assembled. And thus spent this cardinall his time from date to daie, and yere to yere, in such wealth, ioy, triumph, and glorie, hauing alwaies on his side the kings especiall fauour, untill fortune enuied his prosperitie, and ouerthrew all the foundations of his glorie: which as they were laid vpon sand, so they shooke and slipt awaie, whereby ensued the ruine of his estate, euen to the verie losse of his life, which (as a man of a guiltie conscience, and fearing capitall punishment due by law for his vndutifull demeanour against his soueraigne) Edward Hall saith (vpon report) he partly procured, willingly taking so great a quantitie of a strong purgation, as nature was therewith oppressed, and vnable to digest the same: so that in fine he gaue vp the ghost, and was buried in Leicester abbete: of whome to saie more I will surceasse, concluding onelie with a description which I find of him not impertinent for this place, sith wholie concerning his person.

This cardinall (as you may perceiue in this storie) was of a great stomach, for he compted himselfe so quall with princes, & by craftie suggestion gat into his hands innumerable treasure: he forced little on simonie, and was not pittifull, and stood affectionate in his owne opinion: in open presence he would lie and saie vntruth, and was double both in speech and meaning: he would promise much & performe little: he was vicious of his bodie, & gaue the clergie euill example: he hated soze the citie of London & feared it: it was told him that he should die in the waie toward London, wherefore he feared least the commons of the citie would arise in riotous maner and so slay him, yet for all that he died in the waie toward London, carlieng more with him out of the world than he brought into it; namelie a winding sheete, besides other necessities thought meet for a dead man, as christian comelinesse required. This ruine of the cardinall was not so much as once dreampd vpon, when I. Leland the famous antiquarie wrote this welwithing occasion vnto the said Wolseie (being then in the flower of his glorie, and the pearle of his pride) as hereafter followeth.

*Sic tuus Henricus, regum qui gloriā florens,
Perpetuo studio te colat, ornet, amet:
Sic pia coniungat proceres concordia magnos,
Et iusto belli fulmine Turcas trahat:*

Ad Tho. W. uellegat. p. 100. Hurocanus.

St.

The king was in the number.

The king was in the number.

The king was in the number.

The king was in the number.

The king was in the number.

The king was in the number.

The king was in the number.

The king was in the number.

m. 1530.

He taketh his
arbitrarily
and is de-
ced.

The king dis-
arbitrary
and is de-
ced.

A new banket
upon the sub-
stence of 200
shes.

b. Fl. ex
dw. Hal.
Lxxxiii.
The descrip-
tion of the
ordnall.

d Tho. Wol-
seley archie-
scopus
arcanus.

Reg. 23.

The king and
came kept a
Christmas
at Greenwich

The cleargie
in danger of a
premunire.

The offer of
the cleargie
to the king.

The king
did named
supreme head.

Thom. Aud-
ley speaker for
the commons.

The sentence
of the king
was answer.

*Sic vastus operum tantorum denig. miles
Absolutus summo templo dicata Deo
Sis bonus (ofelia) miles! entia Camilla
Dicere merito p. fulgum. mea.*

After the cardinall was dead, the king remained
from Hampton court to Greenwich, where he with
quene Katharine kept a solemne Christmas, and
on the Twelfth night he sat in the hall at his estate,
whereas were diuerse interludes, rich masks and
disports, and after that a great banquet. Now after
Christmas he came to his manour of Westminster,
which before was called Poike place: so after that
the cardinall was atainted in the premunire, was
gone northward, he made a feoffment of the same
place to the king, and the chapter of the cathedrall
church of Poike by their writing confirmed the
same feoffment, where the king changed the name
and called it the hospitall of Westminster, and
no more Poike place.

The whole cleargie of England was supposed
and maintained the power legatime of the cardin-
nall, therefore the kings learned counsaill said plaine-
ly that they were all in the premunire: the spirituall
lords were called by p. c. into the kings Bench
to answer, but before their date of appearance they
in their conuocation concluded an humble submissi-
on in writing, and offered the king a hundred thou-
sand pounds to be their good lord, & also to give them
a pardon of all offences touching the premunire by
act of parlement, the which offer with much labour
was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this
submission the cleargie called the king supreme
head of the church of England, which thing they ne-
uer confessed before, whereupon manie things fol-
lowed after, as you shall heare.

When the parlement was begun the first date of
January, the pardon of the spirituall persons was
signed with the kings hand, and sent to the lords,
which in time convenient assented to the bill, and sent
it to the commons in the lower house. Now when it
was read, diuers froward persons would in no wise
assent to it except all men were pardoned, saying
that all men which had any thing to do with the car-
dinall were in the same case. The wisser sort answer-
ed, that they would not compell the king to give
them his pardon, & beside that it was uncharitable
done of them to hurt the cleargie, and do themselves
no good: therefore they aduised them to consent to
the bill, and after to sue to the king for their pardon,
which counsell was not followed, but they determi-
ned first to send the speaker to the king: yet they
would assent to the bill.

Whereupon Thomas Audley speaker for the
commons, with a convenient number of the com-
mon house, came to the kings presence, and there elo-
quently declared to the king, how the commons
fore lamented and bewailed their chance, to thinke or
imagine themselves to be out of his gracious fauor,
because that he had gracionlie given his pardon of
the premunire to his spirituall subjects and not to
them: therefore they most humbly besought his
grace of his accustomed goodnesse and clemencie to
include them in the same pardon. The king wiselie
answered that he was their prince and souereigne
lord, and that they ought not to restraine him of his
libertie, nor to compell him to shew his mercie; for it
was at his pleasure to vse the extremitie of his lawes
or mitigate and pardon the same: therefore sith they
denied to assent to the pardon of the spirituall per-
sons, which pardon (he said) he might give without
their assent by his great seale, he would be well adui-
sed per he pardoned them, because he would not be
noted to be compelled to it.

With this answer the speaker and the commons

departed verie sorrowfull and pensive, and some light
persons said that Thomas Cramwell, which was
newlie come to the fauour of the king, had disclosed
the secrets of the commons, which thing caused the
king to be so pensive. The king like a good prince
considered how sorrowfull his commons were of the
answer that he made them, and thought that they
were not quiet: wherefore of his owne motion he
caused a pardon of the premunire to be drawne, and

signed it with his hand, and sent it to the common
house by Chastellier his attorneie, which bill
was soon assented to. Then the commons lovinglie
thanked the king, and much praised his wit, that he
had denied it to them when they unthoughtlie deman-
ded it, and had bountifullie granted it when he per-
ceiued that they sorrowed and lamented.

While the parlement sat, on the thirtieth date of
March at Westminster, there came into the common
house the lord chancelor, and diuerse lords of the spi-
rituallie and temporallie, to the number of twelue,
and there the lord chancelor said: You of this two-
shipfull house (I am sure) be not so ignorant, but you
know well, that the king our souereigne lord hath
married his brothers wife, for he was both weped
and bedded with his brother prince Arthur, and there-
fore you may well see that he hath married his
brothers wife, & this marriage be good or no manie
clerkes do doubt. Wherefore the king like a ver-
tuous prince willing to be satisfied in his conscience,
& also for the better of his realme, hath with great
deliberation consulted with profound clerkes, & hath
sent my lord of London here present, to the chiefe v-
niuersities of all christendome, to know their opini-
on and iudgement in that behalfe. And although
that the vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford had
bene sufficient to discuss the cause, yet because they
be in his realme, and to avoid all suspicion of parcial-
tie he hath sent into the realme of France, Italie,
the popes dominions and Venecians, to know their
iudgement in that behalfe, which haue concluded,
written, and sealed their determinations according
as you shall heare read: When Sir Brian Luke took
out of a booke certeine writings sealed, and read them
word by word as after in such translated out of La-
tine into the English tongue.

**Determinations of diuerse vniuer-
sities touching the unlawfulnessse of the
kings marriage, and first the deter-
mination of the vniuersite of
Orleance.**

¶ It long since there were put forth to vs
the college of doctors, regents of the vni-
uersitie of Orleance, these two questions
that folloio. The first, whether it be lawfull
by the law of God for the brother to take to wife
that woman whom his brother hath left: The second,
if this be forbidden by the law of God, whether this
prohibition of the law of God may be remitted by
the pope his dispensation: The foresaid college
of doctors regents, according to our custome and v-
sage came manie times together, and did sit diuerse
times upon the discussing of these foresaid doubts
and questions, and did examine and weigh as much
as we might diuerse and manie places, both of the
old testament and the new, and also the interpreters
and declarers both of the law of God and the canon
law.

After we had weighed & considered all things er-
ratie, with good leisure and deliberation we haue all
determined and concluded, that these foresaid mar-
riages cannot be attempted, nor enterprised, except a
man do wrong, and plaine contrarie to the law of
God;

The kings
voluntarie
inclination to
pardon the
premunire.

Touching the
kings mari-
age.

Samuel Co-
mund Bon-
ner.

God: yea and that although it be done by pardon and sufferance of the pope. And in witness of this conclusion and determination, we have caused this present publike writing to be signed by the scribe of our said vniuersitie, and to be strengthened & fortified with the seale of the same. Enacted in the chappell of our ladie, the annuntiation, or the good tidings that the had of Christes comming in Orleans, the yeare of our Lord 1529, the 5. date of Aprill.

The determination of the facultie of decrees of the vniuersitie of Paris.

Lawiers of
Paris.

In the name of the Lord so be it. There was put forth before vs the deane and college of the right counsellfull facultie of decrees of the vniuersitie of Paris, this question: Whether that the pope might dispense, that the brother might marrie the wife that his brother hath left, if marriage betwene his brother now dead and his wife were once consummate: We the deane and college of the said facultie after manie disputations and reasons made of both sides vpon this matter, and after great and long turning and searching of booke, both of the law of God, and the popes law, and of the law ciuill, we counsell and saie that the pope hath no power to dispense in this foresaid case. In witness whereof we haue caused this present writing to be strengthened with the seale of our facultie and with the signe of our scribe or chiefe bedle. Deuen in the congregation or assemble at saint John Laterenense in Paris the second daie of Maie 1530.

The determination of ciuilians and canonists of the vniuersitie of Aniou.

Aniou.

Not long time since there were proposed vnto vs the rector and doctours regents in law canon and ciuill of the vniuersitie of Aniou, these two questions here following, that is to wit: Whether it is lawfull by the law of God & the law of nature for a man to marrie the wife of his brother, that is departed without children, so that the marriage was consummate: And againe, whether it is lawfull for the pope to dispense with such marriage: We the aforesaid rector and doctours haue according to our custome and vsage manie times communed together, and sitten to dispute these questions, and to find out the certaintie of them. And after that we had discussed and examined manie and diuerse places, as well of the law of God as of the law of man, which seemed to pertain to the same purpose, and after we had brought reasons for both parties, and examined them: all things faithfullie and after good conscience considered, and vpon sufficient deliberation and aduise-ment taken, we define and determine that neither by the law of God nor of nature, it is permitted for any christian man, no not euen with the authoritie of the se apostolike, or with anie dispensation granted by the pope, to marrie the wife that his brother hath left, although his brother be departed without children, after that the marriage is once finished and consummate. And for witness of the aforesaid things, we haue commanded the scribe of our said vniuersitie to signe this present publike instrument, and it to be fortified with the great seale of our vniuersitie. Enacted in the church of saint Peter in Aniou, the yeare of our Lord 1530, the 7 date of Maie.

The determination of the facultie of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris.

Paris.

The deane and the facultie of the holie diuinitie of the vniuersitie of Paris, to all them to whom

this present writing shall come, wisheth safetie in our sauour Iesu Christ, which is the verie true salfetie. Where of late there is risen a great controuersie of great difficultie, vpon the marriage betwene the most noble Henric the eight king of England, defender of the faith, and lord of Ireland, &c. and the noble ladie Katharine queene of England, daughter to the catholike king Ferdinand, which marriage was not onelie contract betwene him and his former husband, but also consummate and finished by carnall intermedling.

This question also was proposed to vs to discusse and examine according to iustice and truth, that is to saie: Whether to marrie him that one brother dead without children hath left, being so prohibited by the law of God and nature, that it can not be lawfull by the popes dispensation, that any christian man should marrie the wife that his brother hath left: We the foresaid deane and facultie calling to our remembrance, how vertuous, and how holie a thing, and how agreeable to our profession, vnto our dutie of loue and charitie. It is for vs to shew the waie of iustice and right, of vertue and honestie, to them which desire to lead and passe ouer their life in the law of our Lord with pure and quiet conscience; could not but be readie to satisfie so honest and iust requests: wherevpon after our old wont, we came together vpon our oth in the church of S. Spaturine, and there for the same cause had a solemne masse with deuout praier to the Holie-ghost.

And also we toke an oth, euery man to deliuer and to studie vpon the foresaid question, as should be to the pleasure of God & according to conscience. And after diuerse & manie sessions or sittings, which were had and continued in the church of saint Spaturine, and also in the college called Sorbon, from the eight daie of June to the second daie of Iulie; when we had searched and examined thorough and thorough, with as much diligence as we could, and with such reuerence and religion or conscience as becommeth in such a matter, both the booke of holie scripture, and also the most approued interpreters of the same: finally the generall and synodall councils, decrees and constitutions of the sacre and holie church, which by long custome hath bene received and approbate.

We the foresaid deane and facultie, disputing vpon the foresaid question, and making answer to the same, and that after the iudgement and full consent of the most part of the said facultie, haue concluded and determined, that the foresaid marriage with the brothers wife, departing without children, be so forbidden both by the law of God & of nature, that the pope hath no power to dispense with such marriages, whether they be contract or to be contract. And for credence, belcefe, and witness of this our assertion and determination, we haue caused the seale of our facultie, with our notaries signe, to be put vnto this present writing. Dated in our generall congregation that we keepe by an oth at saint Spaturines, the yeare of our Lord 1530, the second daie of Iulie.

The determination of the vniuersitie of Burges in Berrie or Biturs.

We the deane and facultie of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Burges (because we will do according to the example of S. Paule doctour of the gentiles, which doth likewise) will begin our writing with praier for all the beloued of God, among whom you most deare readers, vnto whom we write, be called: grace, peace, and quietnesse of conscience come to you from God the father, and from our Lord Iesu Christ. While we were gathered together

Donon

together all into one place (in the octaves of Whit-
suntide) both in bodie and mind, and were sitting in
the house of the said deane, there was a question put
to us againe, which had bene proposed to us often-
times before, being no small question, which was
this: Whether the brother taking the wife of his bro-
ther now dead, and the marriage once consummate
and perfect, both a thing unlawfull or no?

At the last when we had sought for the truth of the
thing, and had perceiued and found it out by much la-
bour and studie of euerie one of vs by himselfe, and
by much and often turning of holie booke, euerie
one of vs not corrupt, whereby we might the lesse o-
beie the truth, began as the holie ghost did put in his
mind, to giue euerie man one arbitrement and sen-
tence, which was this. I haue well perceiued in ve-
rie truth, without regard or respect of anie person,
that those persons which be rehearsed in the 18 chap-
ter of the Leuiticall law, be forbidden by the verie
law of nature to contract matrimonte together, and
that this law can in no wise be released by anie au-
thoritie of anie man, by the which there is made an
abominable discouering of his brothers foulnessse.
And this is the signe of our common bedell or nota-
rie, and the seals of our foresaid facultie put vnto
this present writing the 10 daie of June, in the yeare
of our Lord 1530. And because the foot of our wri-
ting shall be of one forme and fashion with the head,
as we began with prayer, so let vs end after the ex-
ample of S. Paule that we spake of before, and saie,
the grace and fauour of our Lord Iesu Christ, the cha-
ritie and loue of God and the communication of the
holie ghost be with you all, Amen.

The determination of the diuines in the popes vniuersitie of Bononie.

Semin.

GOD best and mightiest taught first the old law
and testament with his owne mouth, to forme
and fashion according to loue and charitie the ma-
ners and life of men. And secondarily the same God
did take after wards manhood vpon him for to be the
redemer of man, and so made the new law or new
testament, not onlie to forme and fashion accord-
ing to loue and charitie the life and maners of men, but
also to take awaie and to declare doubts, the which
did arise in manie cases, which when they be once
clerelie determined, shall helpe greatly to perfect
vertue and godnesse, that is to saie, to perfect loue
and charitie.

Wherefore we thought it euermore, that it should
be our part to follow these most holie doctrines and
lawes of our father of heauen, and that we lightned
by the light of God aboue & of the holie ghost, should
giue our sentence and iudgement in high and doubt-
full matters, after that we haue once leifurelie and
sufficientlie taken aduifement vpon the cause, and
haue clerelie searched out and opened the thing by
many reasons and writings of holie fathers, as well
for the one part as for the other, doing nothing (as
here as we can) rashlie or without deliberation.
Wherefore where certeine great and noble men did
instantlie desire vs, that we would with all dili-
gence possible looke for this case that after insuech, &
afterwards to giue our iudgement vpon the same,
according to most equitie, right, and conscience, sic-
king onlie to the truth.

All the doctozs of diuinitie of this vniuersitie,
when we had euerie one by himselfe examined the
matter at home in our houses, came all together in-
to one place, and there treated vpon it manie daies
with as much cunying and learning as we could, we
anon looked on the case together, we examined it to-
gether, we compared all things together, we handling

euerie thing by it selfe, did trie them euen as you
would saie by line and rule, we brought forth all ma-
ner of reasons which we thought could be brought
for the contrarie part, and afterward solved them,
yea euen the reasons of the most reuerend father car-
dinal Caietane, yea and moreover the Deuterono-
mic dispensation of stirring vp the brothers sed, and
tho:tie all other manner of reasons and opinions of
the contrarie part, as manie as seemed to belong to
this purpose.

And this question that was asked of vs, was
this: Whether it was forbidden onlie by the ordi-
nance of the church, or else by the law of God, that a
man might not marrie the wife left of his brother de-
parted without children? And if it were comman-
ded by both the lawes not to be done, whether the
pope may dispense with anie man to make such ma-
riage? The which question now that we haue exami-
ned both by our selfe secretlie, and also openlie as
diligentlie and exactlie as we could possible, and dis-
cussed it after the best manner that our wits would
serue: we determine, giue iudgement, and saie, and
as trillie as we can we witnesse, and without anie
doubt doo steadfastlie hold, that this marriage should
be horrible, accursed, and to be cried out vpon, and
utterlie abhominable not onlie for a christian man,
but for an infidell, vnfaithfull or heathen.

And that it is prohibited vnder grieuous paines
and punishments by the law of God, of nature, and
of man, and that the pope, though that he almost may
doe all things, vnto whome Christ did giue the keyes
of the kingdome of heauen, hath no power to giue a
dispensation to anie man for to contract such mar-
riage for anie manner of cause, consideration or sugge-
stion: and all we be readie at all times & in all pla-
ces to defend & mainteine the truth of this our con-
clusion, In witnesse whereof we haue made this pre-
sent writing, and haue fortified the same both with
the seal of our vniuersitie, and also with the seal
of our college of doctozs of diuinitie, and haue sub-
scribed & signed it with our generall and accustomed
subscription in the cathedrall church of Bononie, the
tenth daie of June, the yeare of our Lord 1530.

The determination of the facultie of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Padua in Italie.

They that haue written for the maintenance of
the catholike faith, affirme that God (best and
mightiest) did giue the precepts & commandements
of the old law with his owne mouth, to be an exam-
ple for vs, wherein we might see how we should or-
der our life and maners, and this God had done be-
fore he became man: and after that he had put vpon
him our manhood, & was become redemer or buier
of mankind, he made the new law or testament,
and of his mere liberalitie did giue it vs, not onlie
for the cause aforesaid; but also to take awaie and de-
clare all manner of doubts and questions that might
arise, the which once opened and declared, that their
verie true meaning is, to the intent that thereby we
might be made perfectlie god, which be greatlie
fruitfull vnto vs and wholesome.

And seeing that this was the mind of God in ma-
king these lawes, it hath bene our intent, and euermore
shall be, as it becometh christian men, to fol-
low these most solemnne ordinances of the most high
workemaster God, & the helpe of his light, that is
aboue the capacitie of nature, to offer our iudgement
in all manner of doubts and hard questions. After we
had once considered the thing after the best manner,
and had by sufficient leifure made it clere by manie
evident reasons of both parties, and by manie au-
thorities

theologies of the fathers of the church, determining nothing (as nere as we can) rashly or without convenient deliberation. Seeing therefore that certeine great orators or ambassadoys did humbly require and praye vs, that we would vouchsafe to search out with all the diligence we could this case following, and afterwards to giue our sentence upon the same, plainlie and simplie looking onelie on the truth.

After the doctors of diuinitie of this vniuersitie came together, and after that we had euerie man examined the thing particularlie in our owne houses, and had beaten it with all learning and cunning that we were able: anon when we were together, we considered, examined, and weighed all things by themselves, and brought in all manner of reasons, which we thought might by anie meanes be made to the contrarie, and without all colour or cloke did wholie and clerie dissolue them and take them awate. And amongst all, the dispensation by the law of Deuteronomie, of stirring by the brothers seed, and all manner other reasons and determinations to the contrarie, that seemed to vs to pertaine anie thing to that purpose, we utterly confuted and dispatched them.

The question that is put vnto vs is this: Whether to marrie the wife of our brother departed without children, is forbidden onelie by the law of the church, or by the law of God also? And if it be forbidden by both these laws, whether the pope maye dispense with anie man for such matrimonie or no? Which question now that we haue discussed it, and as farre as we could, haue made it clere, both by natlie euerie man by himselfe, and after all together openlie, we saie, iudge, decree, witnesse, and for a truth affirme, that such marriage is no marriage; yea and that it is abhorred and cursed of euerie christian man, and to be abhominable as a grieuous sinne; and that it is as clere as can be forbidden vnder most cruell penalties by the lawes of nature, of God, and of man; and that the pope, vnto whome the keyes of the kingdome of heauen be committed by Christ the sonne of God, hath no power to dispense by the right of law for anie cause, suggestion, or excuse, that anie such matrimonie should be contracted.

For these things which be forbidden by the law of God, be not vnderneath his power, but aboue it; nor he is not the becar of God as concerning those things, but onelie in such things as God hath not determined himselfe in his law; but hath left them to the determination and ordinance of man. And to mainteine the truth of this our sentence and conclusion, and for the most certeine and vndoubted defense of the same, we all of one mind and accord shall at all times and in euerie place be readie. In witnesse whereof we haue made this writing, and haue authorized it with the accustomed seale of our vniuersitie and also of our college of diuines. Dated at Padua in the church of the heremites of saint Augustine the first daie of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1530.

The determination of the vniuersitie of Tholose.

Tholose.

There was treated in our vniuersitie of Tholose a verie hard question: Whether it be lawfull for the brother to marrie his which had bene wife to his brother now departed, & that without children: There was besides this an other thing that troubled vs verie sore; Whether, if the pope which hath the cure of Christs flocke, would by his dispensation (as men call it) suffer this, that then at the least wile it might be lawfull? The rector of the vniuersitie called to counsell all the doctors regents, that were at that time at Tholose for to shew thei minds on this que-

stion, and that not once, but twise: for he iudged that counsell giuing ought not to be hastied nor done by on head, and that we had need of time and space to do anie thing convenientlie and as it ought to be.

At the last there came together into one place all the best learned and cunningest doctors, both of holie diuinitie, and also doctors that were best learned in both lawes; yea, and finalie as manie as had anie experience in anie matter, and were able to do anie thing either by iudgement and discretion, or by eloquence or their excellent wits; and there did sweare that they would obeie the sacred and holie counsels, and would follo to the decrees of the fathers, which no man that hath anie god conscience will violat or breake. And so euerie man said his mind, & the matter was debated and reasoned diffuselie and at large for both parts.

In conclusion, we fell so fast to this point, that this was the sentence and determination that our vniuersitie, with one voice of all, did determine and conclude with most pure and clere conscience, and defiled with no manner of lenen of corruption: That it is lawfull for no man, neither by the law of God, nor by the law of nature, to take his wife that his brother hath left: and seeing that it maie not be done by the law of God nor of nature, we answered all, that the pope can lose no man from that law, nor dispense with him. And as for that thing can not be contrarie to our sentence and verid, that the brother in old time was compelled by the law of Deuteronomie to marrie the brothers wife departed without issue. For this law was but a shadow and a figure of things to come, which vanished awate as soon as euer the light and truth of the gospell appeared. And because these things be thus, we haue giuen our sentence after this forme aboue, and haue commanded the same to be signed by our notarie which is our secretarie, and to be fortified and authorized by the putting to of our authentical seale of our vniuersitie as foresaid, at Tholose the calends of first daie of October, the yeare of our Lord 1530.

After these determinations were read, there were shewed aboue an hundred books bydon by doctors of strange regions, which all agreed the kings marriage to be vnlawfull, which were not read, for the daie was spent. Then the chancelor said: Now you of this common house maie report in your countries what you haue seene and heard, & then all men shall openlie perceiue, that the king hath not attempted this matter of will and pleasure, as some strangers report, but onlie for the discharge of his conscience and suertie of the succession of his realme: this is the cause of our repaire hither to you, and now will we depart.

When these determinations were published, all wise men in the realme much abhorred that marriage: but women, and such as were more willfull than wise or learned, spake against the determination, and said that the vniuersities were corrupt and infected so to do, which is not to be thought. The king himselfe sore lamented his chance, and made no manner of mirth nor pastime as he was wont to do. He dined and resorted to the quene as he was accustomed, and diminished nothing of his estate, and much loued and cherished their daughter the lady Marie: but in no wise he would not come to his bed. When Easter began to draw nere, the parlement for that time ended, and was proroged till the last daie of March, in the next yere. In the parlement afore said was an act made, that whosoever did poison any person, should be boiled in hot water to the death: which act was made, because one Richard Rouse, in the parlement time had poisoned diuerse persons at the bishop

Ano Reg. 23.

by the king.

proclamation for merchants.

An act of parliament.

Mr. Fic. ex lib. manuscripto. Take to D. M. M. M. M.

shop of Rochester's place, which Richard, according to the same act, was boyled in Smithfield the teneber wednesdaie following, to the terrible example of all other.

1531 Reg. 23.

1531 Reg. 23.

When the vniuersitie aforesaid, and a great number of clearks and well learned men had determined the kings marriage to be vnlawfull, detestable, and against Gods law (as you haue heard) the king willing the quene to haue knowledge of the same, sent to his diuerse lords of the counsell, the last daie of Maie, being the wednesdaie in Whitsun weeke: the which Lords, in his chamber at Greenwich, declared to him all the determinations (as you haue heard) and asked him whether he would (for the quietnesse of the kings conscience) put the matter to foure prelates, and foure temporall lords of this realme, or abide by his appeal: The quene answered: The king my father which concluded my marriage, I am sure, was not so ignorant but he asked counsell of clearks and well learned men before he married me the second time: for if he had had any doubt in my marriage, he would not haue disturbed so great a treasure as he did, & then all the doctors in a manner agreed my marriage to be good, inasmuch that the pope himselfe, which knew best what was to be done, did both dispense and ratifie the second marriage, against whose doings I maruell that any person will speake or write.

And as to the determination of the vniuersitie, I am a woman, and lacke wit and learning to answer to them, but to God I commit the iudgement of that, whether they haue done iustlie or partiallie: for this I am sure, that neither the kings father, nor my father would haue condescended to our marriage, if it had bene declared to be vnlawfull. And where you saie that I should put the cause to eight persons of this realme for quietnesse of the kings conscience, I pray God send his grace a quiet conscience. And this shall be your answer: that I saie I am his lawfull wife, and to him lawfullie married, and by the order of holie church I was to him espoused as his true wife (although I was not so worthy) and in that point I will abide till the court of Rome, which was puaie to the beginning, haue made thereof a determination and final ending. With this answer the lords departed to the king, which was sozie to heare of his wilfull opinion, and in especiall that the more trusted in the popes law, than in keeping the precepts of God.]

1531 Reg. 23.

Forasmuch as merchant strangers, bringing their wares into the realme, did receiue readie monie for them, and euer deliuered the same monie to other merchants by exchange, not employing it vpon the commodities of the realme, a proclamation was set forth and made, that no person should make any exchange, contrarie to the meaning of a statute ordeined in the time of king Richard the second: by reason whereof, clothes and other commodities of this realme shortly after were well sold, till they fell to exchange againe, and that this proclamation was forgotten. After Whitsuntide, the king & the quene removed to Windsor, and there continued till the fourteenth of Iulie, on the which daie the king removed to Woodstocke, and left the quene at Windsor, where she remained a while, & after removed to the Pope, and from thence to Stamford, whither the king sent to his diuerse lords, to aduise him to be conformable to the law of God, shewing sundrie reasons to persuaide him to their purpose, and one among the rest used for that present this communication, as I find it left in writing, in the behaue of the king.

Madam, the kings highnesse hath commanded vs repairing vnto you, on his highnesse behalfe to

shew vnto you thus much, that his maiestie hauing heretofore sent vnto you a great number of his counsellors and learned men, to declare what great iniuries and wrongs by your procurement and solicitation were and yet be done vnto his maiestie and this his realme, in citing his highnesse in his owne person, or by his proxy to appeare at Rome, to make answer to your sute, contrarie to the determination of all lawes, as not onelie the famous vniuersities of oxenford, as Paris and Pleance, but also as the most part of the learned men here or elsewhere in that facultie affirme, and as maister deane learned in that facultie can and will testifie vnto you, on his conscience, if it shall please you to heare him, and contrarie also to his estate roiall, and to the priuileges and prerogatiues of this his graces realme.

His highnesse perceiuing your grace not to regard their aduertisements in right and iustice, but still to perseuere and continue, and rather increase your iniurious procurements and solicitations in that behalfe, is not a little græued & displeased with your continuance and prosecution of this iniurie and manifest wrong towards his maiestie, and this his graces realme. The continuance of which your vnkind dealing hath compelled his highnesse not onelie to absteine from the sight of you, but also to forbear to receiue any of your tokens, which doe nothing else but renew and refresh his displeasure, inforcing him also to an indignation, to see tokens offered and sent by him, who continueth in prosecuting of so notable an iniurie and manifest wrong towards his maiestie, & this his realme, perceiuing also what boldnesse other outward princes might take to mistreat his highnesse, when they should vnderstand how his maiestie suffereth himselfe to be wronged by his pretended subject, and so notable wrong to be done to this his realme.

And vpon this cause and ground, like as the kings highnesse these certeine moneths past, hath disceuered your grace from his presence, so he intendeth yet to continue, and hath commanded vs to shew you, that his pleasure is ye shall be at your libertie, & (as ye shall thinke most commodious) repaire to either of these three places, his manour of Woking, his manour of Stamford, or the monastrie of Wilham, and there to continue without further molesting of his highnesse with your sutes or requests to the contrary, as wherewith ye shall not preuaile; but more and more molesting and troubling his highnesse, procure his further displeasure towards you.

And though percase the pope shall desire, as perceiuing now the matter of right he will, yet the kings highnesse cannot digest in his stomach this iniurie done, not to be amended or reformed at your graces procurement, but your grace rather suing and instanting the contrarie. And this is the charge, madam, which the kings highnesse hath committed vnto vs, to be spoken vnto you on his highnesse behalfe. And to saie to you as of my selfe, concerning the iustnesse of the kings cause, as I haue heretofore said, I shall now repeat and rehearse againe vnto your grace; which is, that your grace being knowne by prince Arthur, ye be not lawfull wife to the kings highnesse our soveraigne lord in my conscience. This speech ended, others of the companie used their persuasorie talke to the quene: whose words notwithstanding did so little moue her, that the good stiffele in her first opinion, that she was his true and lawfull wife, and from the same would not by any meanes be removed.]

The priests of London being called afore the bishop that would haue had them contributaries to the payment of the hundred thousand pounds, granted to the king for his pardon of the premunice, kept such a stir

The quene standeth stille in her opinion concerning the contrarie of his marriage.

in breaking into the chapter house (where the bishop sat) all at once, and striking and buffeting the bishops servants which gave them evil language, that the bishop was faine to give them his blessing, and suffer them to depart in quiet for that time. But after, upon complaint made to the lord chancellor, divers of them and of their partakers were arrested, and committed to prison, to the number of sixtene priests, and five laie men, some to the Tower, and some to the Fleet, and to other places, where they remained long after. ¶ Thomas Bilneie, bachelloe of law, was burnt at Dorwich the nineteenth of August, and the fourth of December sir Rics Griffin was beheaded at the Tower hill, and his man named John Hetwos was drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered.

The five and twentieth of Maie, betwene London and Crauesend, were taken two great fishes called whorlepoles, male and female. ¶ In this season, there was in the realme much preaching, one learned man holding against another, namelie in the matter of the kings marriage. After Christmas, the parlement began to sit againe, in the which the commons found themselves soe greued with the crueltie of ordinaries, that called inche before them *ex officio*. At length, a booke was drawne of all the grieues of the commons, for the cruell denieance of the cleargie, and the same deliuered to the king by the speaker, humble beseeching him in the name of all the commons, to take such dition therein, as to his high wisdom might seeme most expedient. The king answered, that he would take advise, and heare the partie accused speake. He was not so reddie to gratifie the commons in their requests, as some thought that he would have bene, if they had not tricked and refused to passe a statute, which he had sent to them touching wards and primer feasons.

After this, was the parlement proroged till the tenth of Aprill. In this parlement was an act made, that bishops should paie no more annates or monies for their bulles to the pope: for it was proued that there had bene paid for bulles of bishops, since the fourth yeare of Henrie the seventh an hundred threescore thousand pounds sterling, beside other dispensations & pardons. When the parlement was begun againe after Easter, there was a motion made to helpe the king with monie toward his charges about the building of houses, piles, and other fortifications, upon the borders fore against Scotland, both for better habitation to be had there, & also for the restraint of the Scots that used to make inuasions. There was therefore a fifteenth granted, but not enacted at this session, because that the king began a pestilence in Westminster, whereof the parlement was proroged, as ye shall heare in the next yeare.

In this yeare was an old toll demanded in Flanders of Englishmen called the toll of the hound, which is a river and a passage. The toll is twelve pence of a fardell. It had bene often demanded, but neuer paid, insomuch that king Henrie the seventh for the demand of that toll, prohibited all his subjects to keepe any mart at Antwerpe or Barrow, till it was promised that upon their returne the said toll should neuer be demanded. The king sent doctor Knight, and others to Calis, whither came the emperours commissioners, and there (upon talks) the matter was put in suspension for a time. The king having purchased of the cardinall after his attendure in the premonstratour his house at Westminster, called Bozke place, and got a confirmation of the cardinals feoffment thereof, made of the chapter of the cathedrall church of Bozke, purchased this yeare also all the medows about saint James, and there made a faire mansion and a parke for his greater commoditie & pleasure.

And because he had a great affection to the said house at Westminster, he bestowed great cost in going forward with the building thereof, and changed the name, so that it was after called the kings palace of Westminster.

The fourteenth daie of Maie, the parlement was proroged till the fourth of february next coming. After which prorogation, sir Thomas Poore, chancellor of England, after long lutes made to the king to be discharged of his office, the sixteenth of Maie he deliuered to the king at Westminster the great seale of England, and was with the kings favour discharged, which seale the king kept till monday in Whit-sunweeke, on which daie he dubbed Thomas Audleie speaker of the parlement, knight, and made him lord keeper of the great seale, and so he was called. ¶ The king being informed, that the pope and the french king should meet in the beginning of the next spring at Sparteles, he thought good for diuerse considerations, to speake with the french king in his owne person; before the pope and he should come together: whereupon it was concluded, that in October following, both the princes should meet betwene Calis and Bullongne. Wherefore the king of England sent out his letters to his nobles, prelates, and servants, commanding them to be reddie at Canturburie the first and twentieth of September, to passe the seas with him, for the accomplishment of the interuiew betwixt him and the french king.

On the first of September being sundae, the king being come to Windsor, created the lady Anne Bullongne marchionesse of Denbroke, and gave to her one thousand pounds land by the yeare; and that solemnitie finished, he rode to the college, where after that seruice was ended, a new league was concluded and sworn betwene the king, and the french king, Messire Pomorais the french ambassador being present. On the tenth of October, the king came to Douer, and on the eleuenth daie in the morning at thre of the clocke hee took shipping at Douer rode, and before ten of the same daie, he with the lady marchionesse of Denbroke landed at Calis, where he was receiued with all honour, and lodged at the Eschequer. There came to him whilst he laie in Calis, diuerse lords from the french court, and amongst other the lord great maister of France, and the archbishop of Roane, which were honorable of him receiued, and with them he took a daie and place of meeting with the king their maister.

Whereupon the one and twentieth of October, he marched out of Calis, accompanied with the dukes of Suffolke and Suffolke, the marquesses of Dorset and Cresser, the earles of Arundell, Arford, Surrey, Essex, Darbie, Rutland, Huntington, and Suffolk, with diuerse viscounts, barons, knights of the garter, and other of the nobilitie and gentlemen freshlie appareled, and richlie trimmed; and coming to the place appointed, he there met with the french king, who was come to receue him with all honoz that might be: and after salutations and embracings used in most louing maner, the king of England went with the french king to Bullongne; and by the waie was encountered by the french kings three sons, and other great lords that attended them, with welcomming the king of England; he them gentlie receiued, and so all this noble companie came to Bullongne, where the king of England and his nobles were so noble intertained, feasted, banketed, and cheared, that wonder it was to consider the great plentie of viands, spices, wines, and all other prouision necessarie for man and horse, so that there was no more but aske and haue; and no man durst take any monie, for the french king paid for all.

Anno reg. 1532.

The king being informed, that the pope and the french king should meet in the beginning of the next spring at Sparteles, he thought good for diuerse considerations, to speake with the french king in his owne person; before the pope and he should come together: whereupon it was concluded, that in October following, both the princes should meet betwene Calis and Bullongne.

The table Anne Bullongne created marchionesse of Denbroke.

The king passed out to Calis.

The great maister and counsellor of France made knyghts of the garter.

The interuiew betwixt the kings of England and France.

The king returned into England. He married the lady Anne Bullongne.

John Sow.

1532

Crueltie of ordinaries.

The parlement proroged. Annates for-bidden to be paid.

A fifteenth granted.

A toll demanded in the low countries.

Bozke place of White Hall now the palace of Westminster. St. James.

An. Reg. 24.

The five and twentieth of October, whilst the king laie thus in Bullongne, the French king called a chapter of the companions of his order named St. Michael, of whom the king of England was one, and to there elected the dukes of Borsfolke and Suffolke to be companions of the same order: and being brought to the chapter, they had their collars delivered to them, and were sworn to the statutes of the order, their obedience to their sovereign lord allwaie reserved. Thus the two kings laie in Bullongne, Mondaye, Tuesdaye, and Thursdaye: and on Fridaye the five and twentieth of October, they departed out of Bullongne to Calis. Without the towne of Calis about the distance of two miles, the duke of Richmond the kings bafe son, with a great companie of noble men, which had not bene at Bullongne, met them, and saluting the French king, embraced him in most honorable and courteous manner.

Thus they passed forward, and came to Fletwigham bridge, and so to Calis, where was such provision made for the receiving of them, as well for lodgings, plate, and all such other furniture of household, as also of all sorts of viands, wines, and other necessities, that it seemed wonderfull: in so much as the proportion assigned to the French lords oftentimes was so abundant, that they refused a great part thereof. The French kings traine was twelve hundred horses, or rather above. But there was lodging enough in Calis, not onlie for them, but also for manie other, so that there were above eight thousand persons lodged within the towne in that season. The French king coming thither on the Fridaye, arrived there till Tuesdaye the thirtieth of October, and then departed; the king of England accompanieng him out of the towne, till he came to enter into the French ground, and there either took leave of other with right princelie countenance, loving behaviour, and so hartie words, that all men rejoiced that saw them.

Whilst the two kings laie in Calis, the lord Anas de Pontmoyancie earle of Beaumont, great master of the French kings house, & Philip de Chabot erle of Petoblance, great admirall of France, were admitted into the order of the garter, the king calling a chapter for that purpose, of the knights of that order, at the which the French king was present, and wore a blew mantell, because he was one of the same order. Whilst the king was in the French kings dominion, he had the upper hand, and likewise had the French king in his dominion. And as the French king paid all the Englishmens charges at Bullongne: so did the king of England at Calis. There rose about the same season such fow weather, storms and rigorous winds, continuing for the more part at north and northwester, that the king staid at Calis for a convenient wind till Tuesdaye the thirtieth of November at midnight, and then taking his ship, landed at Dover the next daie about five of the clocke in the morning. And herewith upon his returne, he married princelie the ladie Anne Bullongne the same daie, being the fourteenth daie of November, and the feast daie of saint Erkenwald; which marriage was kept so secret, that verie few knew it till Easter next ensuing, when it was perceived that she was with child.

When the king should passe over the sea, he considered that the Scots would haplie attempt somewhat to the prejudice of his subjects in his absence, which liked not (he being within the realme) to rob both by sea and land. Wherefore to resist their malice, he appointed sir Arthur Warchie with three hundred men to go unto Berwicke, to defend the borders from invasions of the Scots, who shortly after by

the middle marches entered the realme, and came to a place called Fowberie, and firing certeine villages in their waie, returned. The erle of Angus as then was at Berwicke as a banished man; and the said sir Arthur determined to revenge this displeasure: and thereupon with foure hundred men made a rode into Scotland, and set a village on fire. Then immediatlie assembled together eight hundred Scots, and began to approach nere to the English men, who perceiving them, caused their trumpet to blow the retreat; and the erle and twentie with him showed himselfe on an hill, even in the face of the Scots, and the trumpet blew at their backs, so that the Scots thought that there had bene two companies, which caused the Scots to flee, and the English men followed and slew a great number of them, and took manie of them prisoners.

After Christmasse sir Thomas Audleie lord keeper of the great seale was made high chancelor of England. And when the parlement began, because the office of the speaker was void, Humfreie Wiling, field of Greis inne was chosen speaker. In this parlement was an act made, that no person should appeale for any cause out of this realme to the court of Rome, but from the commissarie to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop, and from the archbishop to the king; and all causes of the king to be tried in the upper house of the convocation. It was also enacted the same time, that quene Katharine should no more be called quene, but princeesse Dowager, as the widow of prince Arthur. In the season of the last summer died William Warham archbishop of Canturburie, and then was named to that sea Thomas Cranmer the kings chapleine, a man of good learning, and of a vertuous life, which latelie before had bene ambassadoe from the king to the pope.

After that the king persecuted his new wife to be with child, he caused all officers necessarie to be appointed to hir, and so on Easter even she went to hir closet openlie as quene; and then the king appointed the daie of hir coronation to be kept on Whitundaye next following: and writings were sent to all shiriffs, to certifie the names of men of fortie pounds to receive the order of knighthood, or else to make fine. The assentment of the fine was appointed to Thomas Cromwell, master of the kings new house, & counsellor to the king, a man noble received into high favour. He so used the matter, that a great summe of monie was raised to the kings use by those fines. The matter of the quenes appeale whereunto she still stucked, and by no means could be removed from it, was communed of, both in the parlement house, and also in the convocation house, where it was so handled, that manie were of opinion, that not onlie hir appeale, but also all other appeales made to Rome were void and of none effect: for that in ancient councels it had bene determined, that a cause rising in one province should be determined in the same.

This matter was opened with all the circumstances to the ladie Katharine Dowager (for so was she then called) the which persisted still in hir former opinion, and would revoke by no meanes hir appeale to the court of Rome. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturburie accompanied with the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Exeter, and divers other learned men in great number, rode to Dunstable, which is six miles from Amptill, where the princeesse Dowager laie, and there by one doctor Lee she was cited to appeare before the said archbishop in cause of matrimonie in the said towne of Dunstable, and at the daie of appeareance she appeared not, but made default, and so she was called peremptorie.

Scots discontented by the English men.

1533
Sir Thomas Audleie lord chancelor.

Quene Katharine to be named princeesse Dowager.

Quene Anne.

Anno reg. 25.

Dom. 1533.

the king

Anno reg. 24.
The parliament of 1533.

Sir Thomas Audleie lord keeper of the great seale.

Sir Thomas Audleie lord keeper of the great seale.

The ladie Anne Bullongne created to marchioness of Penbrooke.

The king passed on to Calis.

The king passed on to Calis.

The great master and admirall of France made knights of the garter.

The king returned into England, accompanied by the ladie Anne Bullongne.

The inter-views between the kings of England and France.

The

The ladie
Catharine
Dowager
called per-
emptrorie.

forie currie date fiftene daies together, and at the
last, for lacke of appearance, by the assent of all the
learned men there present, she was divorced from
the king, and the marriage declared to be void and of
none effect. Of this divorce and of the kings marriage
with the ladie Anne Bullongne men spake diuerse-
lie; some said the king had done wisely, and so as
became him to do in discharge of his conscience. O-
ther offer wise iudged, and spake their fancies as they
thought good: but when euerie man had talked
enough, then were they quiet, and all rested in good
peace.

In Aprile pope Clement sent an orator to the king,
requiring him to appeare personallie at the generall
councell which he had appointed to be kept the yere
following. But when his commission was shewed,
at the earnest request of the king, there was neither
place nor time specified for the keeping of that coun-
cell; and so with an uncerteine answer to an uncer-
teine demand he departed, but not bareloaded. The
king understanding that the pope, the emperor, & the
French king shuld meet at Spise in Iulie following,
appointed the duke of Norfolk, the lord Rochford
brother to queene Anne, sir William Paulet con-
trollor of his house, sir Anthoine Browne, and sir
Francis Wyan knights, to go in ambassage to the
French king, and both to accompanie him to Spise,
and also to commune with the pope there concerning
his state in the kings divorce. These worthy per-
sonages made their prouision readie; and so with the
number of eight score horses they went to Douer,
and passing ouer to Calis, toke their waie through
France, to accomplish their ambassage as they had
in commandement.

In the beginning of Aprile, the king caused open
proclamations to be made, that all men that claim-
ed to do anie service, or execute anie office at the so-
lemne feast of the coronation by the waie of tenure,
grant, or prescription, should put their grant thre
weekes after Easter in the Starre chamber before
Charles duke of Suffolke, for that time high steward
of England, and the lord chancellor and other com-
missioners. The duke of Norfolk claimed to be
erle marshall, and to exercise his office at that feast;
the erle of Arundell claimed to be high butler, and to
exercise the same; the erle of Oxford claimed to be
chamberlaine; the vicount Wille claimed to be pan-
tler; the lord Aburgauennie to be chiefe larderer;
and the lord Wate claimed to be almoner, and sir
Henrie What knight claimed to be trower. All these
noble personages desired their offices with their
fees.

Beside these, the maior of London claimed to
serue the queene with a cup of gold; and a cup of as-
saite of the same, and that twelue citizens should at-
tend on the cupbord, and the maior to haue the cup
and cup of assaite for his labor: which petition was al-
lowed. The five ports claimed to beare a canopic o-
uer the queens head the daie of the coronation with
fourte guilt belles, and to haue the same for a reward,
which to them was allowed. Diuerse other put in
petie claimers which were not allowed, because they
seemed onlie to be done at the kings coronation. All
this season great purueance was made of all man-
ner of vittells: & lords, knights & squiers were sent
for out of all countries, which came to London at
their daie with a great number of people.

After that the kings highnesse had addressed his
gratious letters to the maior and communalie of
the citie, significg to them, that his pleasure was
to solemnize and celebrate the coronation of his
most deare and welbeloued wife queene Anne, at
Westminster the Whitsundae next ensuing, wil-
led them to make preparation, as well to fetch hir

grace from Greenwich to the Tower by water, as to
see the citie adorned and garnished with pagants in
places accustomed, for the honoz of hir grace. When
she shuld be carried from the Tower to Westminster,
there was a common counsell called, and com-
mandement was giuen to the haberdashers (of
which craft the maior sir Stephan Boccoke then was)
that they should prepare a barge for the bachelors,
with a waile and a foist, garnished with banners
and streamers likewise, as they use to do. When the
maior is presented at Westminster on the morrow
after Simon and Jude. Also all other crafts were
commanded to prepare barges, and to garnish them,
not alonely with their banners accustomed, but also
to decke them with targets by the sides of the bar-
ges, and so set by all such seemelie banners and ban-
nerets as they had in their halles, or could get met
to furnish their said barges, and euerie barge to
haue minstrellie: according to which commande-
ments great preparation was made for all things
necessarie for such a noble triumph.

The nineteenth daie of Aprile, the maior and his
brethren all in scarlet, and such as were knights had
collars of S S, and the remnant hauing god chains,
and the counsell of the citie with them, assembled at
saint Martine hill, and at one of the clocke descended
to the new staire to their barge, which was garnished
with manie goodlie banners and streamers, and rich-
lie couered. In which barge were shalmes, bagbu-
shes, and diuerse other instruments, which contin-
allie made goodlie harmonie. After that the maior
and his brethren were in their barge, seeing that all
the companies to the number of fiftie barges were
readie to wait upon them, they gaue commande-
ment to the companies, that no barge should rowe
nearer to another than twise the length of the barge
vpon a great paine. And to see the order kept, there
were thre light sheries prepared, and in euerie one
of them two officers to call on them to keepe their or-
der, after which commandement giuen, they set
forth in order as hereafter is described.

First before the maiors barge was a foist or waile
full of ordinance, in which foist was a great ba-
gon continuallie mouing and casting wild fire: and
round about the said foist stood terrible monsters
and wild men casting fire, and making hideous noi-
ses. Next after the foist a good distance came the
maiors barge: on whose right hand was the bachelors
barge, in the which were trumpets and diuerse other
melodious instruments; the decks of the said barge
and the sailyards, with the top castles were hanged
with rich cloth of gold and silke: at the foreship and
the sterne were two great banners rich, beate-
n with the armes of the king and the queene, and on
the top castell also was a long streamer netolie bea-
ten with the said armes. The sides of the barge were
set full of flags and banners of the deuises of the
companie of the haberdashers and merchants ad-
uenturers, and the coards were hanged with innu-
merable pennelles, hauing little belles at the ends,
which made a goodlie noise and a goodlie sight, waue-
ring in the wind. On the outside of the barge were
thre dozen sentillions in mettall of arms of the king
and the queene, which were beate upon square
bucram diuided, so that the right side had the kings
colours, and the left side the queenes, which sentil-
lions were fastened on the clothes of gold and siluer,
hanging on the decks on the left hand.

On the left hand of the maior was another foist,
in the which was a mount, and on the same stood a
white falcon crowned, vpon a roate of gold inuiro-
ned with white roses and red, which was the queens
deuise; about which mount sat virgins singg and
plaieng sweetlie. Next after the maior, follewed his
felie wifship

An. Dom. 1552

An. Re.

Ambassadors
to the French
king.

Proclamati-
on for the co-
ronation of
queene Anne.

The seuerall
claimers of di-
uerse honours
ble and wooz-
shipfull per-
sons.

The recei-
uing, connect-
ing, and cor-
onation of
queene Anne,
wif to the
high & migh-
ty prince king
Henrie the
eight.
Edw. Hall.
CCxij.
The kings
letters to the
maior of Lon-
don, touching
the corona-
tion.

The citie
preparation

Queen Anne
embeth barge
with hir
traue attend-
ing vpon hir.

The maiors
barge with
the coards
and beauls
therof.

Knights of
the bath seru-
ed dinner.

The recei-
uing and co-
roning of the
queen throug
London.

A foist with
mount and
other deuises

fellowship the haberdashers; next after them the mercers, then the grocers, and so euerie companie in his order, and last of all the maior and shiriffes officers, euerie companie hauing melodie in his barge by himselfe, and goodlie garnished with banners, and some garnished with silke, and some with arras and rich carpets, which was a goodlie sight to behold: and in this order they rowed to Greenwich, to the point next beyond Greenwich, and there they turned backward in another order, that is to wit, the maior and shiriffes officers first, and the meanest craft next, and so ascending to the uttermost crafts in order, and the maior last, as they go to Panles at Christmas, and in that order they rowed downe toward to Greenwich towne, and there cast anchor, making great melodie.

At thre of the clocke the quene appeared in rich cloth of gold, entring into hir barge accompanied with diuerse ladies and gentlewomen: and incontinent the citizens set forwarde in their order, their minstrelles continuallie playing, and the bachelors barge going on the quenes right hand, which she toke great pleasure to behold. About the quenes barge were manie noble men, as the duke of Suffolke, the marques Dowlet, the erle of Willshire hir father, the erles of Arundell, Warbie, Rutland, Worcester, Huntingdon, Suffe, Oxford, and manie bishops and noble men, euerie one in his barge, which was a goodlie sight to behold. She thus being accompanied rowed toward the tower: and in the meane wate the ships which were commanded to lie on the shore for letting of the barges, shot diuerse peales of guns, and per the was landed, there was a marvellous shot out of the tower as ever was heard there. And at hir landing there, met with hir the lord chamberlaine with the officers of armes, and brought hir to the king, which received hir with louing countenance, at the paterne by the water side, and then she turned backe againe, and thanked the maior and the citizens with manie goodlie words, and so entred into the tower. After which entrie the citizens all this while howered before the tower, making great melodie, and went not on land, for none were assigned to land but the maior, the recorder, and two aldermen. But for to speake of the people that stood on either shore to behold the sight, he that saith it not would scarce beleue it.

On Fridaye at dinner, serued the king all such as were appointed by his highnesse to be knights of the bath, which after dinner were brought to their chambers, and that night were bathed and shynen, according to the old usage of England; and the next daie in the morning the king dubbed them according to the ceremonies thereto belonging; whose names infue, the marques Dowlet, the erle of Warbie, the lord Cliford, the lord of Water, the lord Hastings, the lord Mounteagle, Sir John Howard, the lord Waur, Sir Henrie Parker, Sir William Willshire, Sir Francis Weston, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir John Hylton, Sir Thomas Dering, Sir Henrie Russell, Sir George Fitzwilliam, Sir John Lamball, Sir Thomas Jermine.

To the intent that the horses should not stide on the pavement, nor that the people should not be hurt by horses, the high streets where the quene should passe were all grauelled from the tower to temple barre, and railed on the one side, with which railed stood the crafts along by their orders from Grace church, where the merchants of the Shildard stood till the little conduit in Cheape, where the aldermen stood: and on the other side of the street stood the constables of the citie, apparelled in velvet and silke, with great flures in their hands, to cause the people to kepe come and good order. And when the streets

were somewhat ordered, the maior clothed in a gowne of crimson veluet, and a rich collar of S S S, with two spemen clad in white and red damaske, rode to the tower to giue his attendance on the quene, on whom the shiriffs with their officers did wait till they came to tower hill, where they taking their leaue, rode downe the high streets, commanding the constables to kepe come and good order kept, and so went and stood by the aldermen in Cheape.

Now before the quene and hir traine should come, Cornhill and Gracious street were hanged with fine scarlet, crimson, and other grained cloths, and in some place with rich arras, tapistrie, and carpets; and the most part of the Cheape was hanged with cloth of tissue, gold, veluet, and manie rich hangings, which made a goodlie shew, and all the windowes were replenished with ladies and gentlewomen, to behold the quene and hir traine as they should passe by. The first of the quenes companie that set forward were twelue Frenchmen, which were belonging to the French ambassado: clothed in coates of blew veluet, with flures of yellow and blew veluet, and their horses trapped with close trappers of blew farfene powdered with white crosses: after them marched gentlemen, esquires and knights two and two: after them the iudges, and after them the knights of the bath in violet gownes, with hoods purpled with miniver like doctors; after them abbats, then barons; after them bishops, then earls and marqueses; then the lord chancellor of England; after him the archbishop of Doke, and the ambassado of Venice, after him the archbishop of Canturburie and the ambassado of France, after rode two esquires of honor with robes of estat rolled and worne bauldrike-wise about their necks, with caps of estat, representing the dukes of Normandie, Aquitaine: after them rode the maior of London with his mace and garter in his cote of armes, which maior bare his mace to Westminister hall.

After all these rode the lord William Howard with the marshalles robe, deputie to his brother the duke of Suffolke marshall of England, which was ambassado then in France: and on his right hand rode Charles duke of Suffolke, for that daie high constable of England, bearing the border of silver appertaining to the office of constableness, and all the lords for the most part were clothed in crimson, blew, and all the quenes servants or officers of armes in scarlet. Next before the quene rode hir chancellor bareheaded, the sargeants and officers of armes rode on both the sides of the lords. When came the quene in a litter of white cloth of gold, not covered, nor habited, which was lead by two palfries clad in white damaske downe to the ground, head and all, led by hir footmen. She had on a circlet of white cloth of tissue, and a mantell of the same furred with ermine; hir haire hanged downe, but on hir head she had a coiffe with a circlet about it full of rich stones. Over hir was borne a canopie of cloth of gold, with foure gault staves and foure silver belles. For the bearing of which canopies were appointed sixtens halghts, foure to beare it one space on foot, and three foure another space, according to their owne appointment.

After the quene rode the lord Borough hir chamberlaine, next after him William Coffin marshall of the horses, leading a spare horse with a side saddle trapped downe with cloth of tissue. After him rode seauen ladies in crimson veluet turned by with cloth of gold and of tissue; and their horses trapped with cloth of gold, after them two chariots couered with red cloth of gold. In the first chariot were two ladies, which were the old dutchesse of Suffolke, and the old marchionesse Dowlet. In the second chariot

The maior in a gowne of crimson veluet.

The attire of certeine Frenchmen belonging to the French ambassado.

The two dukes of Suffolke and Suffolke in their effices.

Quene Annes attire verie sumptuous and royal.

These chariots with goodlie ladies and gentlewomen.

The cities Reparation.

Quene Anne much barge with her traine attending upon her.

Her coming by water from Greenwich on Thursday.

The maior a barge with a concourse of beaues in proof.

Knights of the bath served at dinner.

The receiving and conveying of the quene through London.

Left Southwark and on to London.

were foure ladies all in crimson beluet. Then rode seauen ladies in the same sute, their horses trappers and all. Then came the third chariot all white, with six ladies in crimson beluet; next after them came the fourth chariot all red with eight ladies also in crimson beluet: after whom followed thirtie gentlewomen all in beluet and silke in the liuerie of their ladies, on whom they gaue their attendance. After them followed the gard in cotes of goldsmiths worke.

Summe pageants with the descriptions of their devises.

Thus they rode forth till they came to Fanchurch, where was made a pageant all with children, apparelled like merchants, which welcommed him to the citie, with two proper propositions both in French and English. And from thence he rode to Gratious church corner, where was a cobbie and a marvelous cunning pageant made by the merchants of the Stillard, for there was the mount Parnassus with the founteine of Helicon, which was of white marble, and foure streames without pipe did rise an ell high, and met together in a little cup above the founteine, which founteine ran abundantly racked withenith wine till night. On the mounteine sat Apollo, and at his feet sat Calliope, and on euery side of the mounteine sat foure muses playing on several sweet instruments, and at their feet epigrams and poesies were written in golden letters, in the which euery muse according to his propriety praised the quene.

The quene from thence passed to Leaden hall, where was a goodlie pageant with a type and a heauenlie rose, and under the type was a rose of gold set on a little mounteine intrenched with red roses and white: out of the type came downe a falcon all white & sat upon the rose, and incontinent came downe an angel with great melodie, and set a close crowne of gold on the falcons head. And in the same pageant sat saint Anne with all his kinne beneath him, and under saint Cleop sat his foure children, of the which children one made a goodlie oration to the quene of the fruitfulness of saint Anne and of his generation, trusting that like fruit should come of him. Then they passed to the conduit in Cornhill, where were three graces set in a throne; afore whom was the spring of grace continually running wine. Afores the founteine sat a poet declaring the properties of euery grace: and that done euery lady by his selfe according to his propriety, gaue to the quene a several gift of grace.

An oration made to the quene by one of the children in the pageant.

The conduit in Cheape runneth wine white and claret.

The recorder presenteth a 1000 marks in gold to the quene for a gratuite in cities behalle.

That done, they passed by the great conduit in cheape, which was newlie painted with armes of deuities out of the which conduit by a goodlie founteine set at the one end ran continually wine both white and claret all that afternone, and so he rode to the Standard which was richlie painted with images of kings and quenes, and hanged with banners of armes, and in the top was marvellous sweet harmonie both of song and instrument. Then they went forward to the crosse, which was newlie gild, till they came where the aldermen stood, and their master Walter the recorder came to him with low reuerence, making a proper and briefe proposition, and gaue to him in the name of the citie a thousand marks in a purse of gold, which the thankfullie accepted with manie goodlie words, and so rode to the little conduit, where was a rich pageant full of melodie and song.

In this pageant was Pallas, Juno and Venus, and before them stood Mercurie, which in the name of the three goddesses gaue to him a ball of gold divided in three, signifying three gifts which the three goddesses gaue to him, that is to wit, sage, wisdom, riches, and felicitie. As he entered into Paules gate there was a pretie pageant, in which sat three ladies richlie clothed, and in a circle on their head was written

Regina Anna prosperi prodece regina. Et labe in the middes had a tablet, in the which was written Veni amica coronaberis, and under the tablet sat an angel with a close crosone, and the lady sitting on the right hand had a tablet of silver in which was written, Domine dirige gressus meos, & the third lady had a tablet of gold with letters azure written, Confido in Domino, & under their feet was written in legible letters:

Regina Anna novum regis de sanguine natum

Cum paries populus aurea seclatus.

And these ladies cast downe wafers, on the which the two verses were written. From thence they passed to the east end of Paules churchyard against the schoule, where stood on a scaffold two hundred children well apparelled, which said to him diuerse goodlie verses of poets translated into English, to the honour of the king and him, which he highlie commended. And when they came to Ludgate, the gate was newlie garnished with gold & silke. And on the leads of saint Martin church stood a goodlie quere of singing men and children, which song new balads made in praise of him. After that they were passed Ludgate, they proceeded toward Fleetstreet, where the conduit was newlie painted, and all the armes and angels refreshed, & the chime melodiously sounding. Upon the conduit was made a towre with foure turrets, and in euery turret stood one of the cardinal virtues with their tokens and properties, which had several speeches, promising the quene neuer to leave him, but to be alding and comforting him: and in the middell of the towre closest was such several solemn instruments, that it seemed to be an heauenlie noise, and was much regarded and praised: and beside this the said conduit ran wine claret and red all that afternone.

So they with all his companie and the mayor rode forth to Temple barre, which was newlie painted and repaired, where stood also diuerse singing men and children, till they came to Westminster hall, which was richlie hanged with cloth of arras, and new-glazed. And in the middell of the hall they were taken out of his litter, & so led up to the higher desk under the cloth of estate, on whose left hand was a cupbord of ten stages marvellous rich and beautiful to behold: and within a little season was brought to the quene with a solemn service in great standing spice plates, a boid of spice and subtilties with porras and other wines, which she sent downe to his ladies, and when the ladies had dined, she gaue parties thanks to the lords and ladies, with the mayor and other that had given their attendance on him, and so withdrew he. He with a few ladies to the Whitehall and so to her chamber, and there he dined, and after went into his barge to creek to the king to his manour of Westminster, where he rested that night.

On Sunday the ninth day of october he met him with his chace, and all the aldermen and their wives in scarlet, and the countess of the citie took their barge at the end by seauen of the cloche and came to Westminster, where they were welcomed & brought into the hall by mayor, sheriffs, and others of the kings house, and so gaue their attendances till the quene should come forth. Between eight and nine she came into the hall and stood under the cloth of estate, and merchants in the kings chapel, and the monks of Westminster all in rich copes, and manie bishops and abbots in copes, and nuns in white went into the middell of the hall, and there they stood. Then was there a rare cloth spread from the quenes standing in the hall through the palace and sanduarie, which was called on both sides to the high altar of Westminster. After that the rare cloth was cast, the officers of armes appointed the order accustomed.

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The quene
and the ladies
a quip pome

First went gentlemen, then esquires, then knights, then the aldermen of the citie in their cloaks of scarlet, after them the judges in their mantels of scarlet and coffes. Then followed the knights of the bath being no lords; euerie man hauing a white lace on his left sleeve, then followed barons and vicounts in their payement robes of scarlet. After them came earls, marquesses and dukes in their robes of estate of crimsin veluet furred with ermine powdered according to their degrees. After them came the lord chancellor in a robe of scarlet open before, bordered with lettise; after him came the kings chapel and the monks solemnlie singing with procession, then came abbats and bishops mitred, then sargeants and officers of armes, then after them went the mayor of London with his mace and garter in his cote of armes, then went the marquess Dorset in a robe of estate which bare the scepter of gold, and the earle of Arundell which bare the rod of suozie with the dove both together.

Then went alone the earle of Driford high chamberleine of England which bare the crowne, after him went the duke of Suffolke in his robe of estate also for that daie being high steward of England, hauing a long white rod in his hand, and the lord William Howard with the rod of the marshalship, and euerie knight of the garter had on his collar of the order. Then proceeded forth the quene in a circot and robe of purple veluet furred with ermine in hir bere coiffe and circlet as she had the saturdaye, and ouer hir was borne the canopie by foure of the fine ports, all crimsin with points of blue and red hanging on their sleeves, and the bishops of London and Winchester bare by the laps of the quenes robe. The quenes traine which was verie long was borne by the old dukes of Suffolke; after hir folowed ladies being lords wives, which had circots of scarlet with narrow sleeves, the best all lettise with bars of borders according to their degrees, and ouer that they had mantels of scarlet furred, and euerie mantell had lettise about the necke like a neckercher like wile powdered, so that by the powderings their degree was knowen. Then folowed ladies being knights wives in gownes of scarlet, with narrow sleeves without traines, onlie edged with lettise, and likewise had all the quenes gentlewomen.

When she was thus brought to the high place made in the middell of the church, betwene the quere and the high altar, she was set in a rich chaire. And after that she had rested a while, she descended downe to the high altar and there prostrate hir selfe while the archbishop of Canturburie said certeine collect: then she rose, and the bishop annointed hir on the head and on the breast, and then she was led by againe, where after diuerse orisons said, the archbishop set the crowne of saint Edward on hir head, and then deliuered hir the scepter of gold in hir right hand, and the rod of suozie with the dove in the left hand, and then all the quere song *Te Deum*, &c. Which done, the bishop toke off the crowne of saint Edward being beaute and set on the crowne made for hir. Then went she to saint Edwards thizine and there offered, after which offering done she withdrew to hir into a little place made for the nones on the one side of the quere.

Now in the meane season euerie duchess had put on their bonets a coronall of gold wrought with flowers, and euerie marquess put on a demie coronall of gold, euerie countesse a plaine circlet of gold without flowers, and euerie king of armes put on a crowne of copar and gilt, all which were worne till night. When the quene had a little repored hir, the companie returned in the same order that they set forth, and the quene went crowned and so did the la-

des also: said. His right hand was sustented by the earle of Wiltshire his father, and his left hand by the lord Talbot deputie for the earle of Shrewsburie and lord Forinfall his father. Now when she was out of the sanctuarie and appeared within the palace, the trumpets played marvellous freshtie, then she was brought to Westminster hall, & so to hir withdrawing chamber: during which time the lords, judges, maiors and aldermen put off their robes, mantels and clokes, and toke their hoods from their necks and cast them about their shoulders, and the lords sat onlie in their circots, and the judges and aldermen in their gownes. And all the lords that serued that daie serued in their circots and their hoods about their shoulders: also diuerse officers of the kings house being no lords had circots and hoods of scarlet edged with minener, as the treasurer, controulor, & master of the seiwel house, but their circots were not gilt.

While the quene was in hir chamber, euerie lord and other, that ought to do seruice at coronations, to prepare them according to their dutie, as the duke of Suffolke high steward of England which was rich, lie apparelled, his doublet and iacket set with orient pearle, his gowne of crimsin veluet embroidered, his courser trapped with a cloth trapper head and all to the ground of crimsin veluet, set full of letters of gold of goldsmiths worke, hauing a long white rod in his hand; on his left hand rode the lord William, deputie for his brother as earle marshall with the marshals rod, whose gowne was crimsin veluet, and his horse trapper purple veluet cut on white sattin imbrodered with white lions. The earle of Driford was high chamberleine, the earle of Essex caruer, the earle of Suffolke sewer, the earle of Arundell chafe butler, on whom twelue citizens of London did giue their attendance at the cupbord. The earle of Warbie cupbearer, the vicount Lille pantler, the lord of Aburgatine chafe larder, the lord Haze almoner for him and his coparteners, and the maiors of Driford kept the buttrie bar, and Thomas What was chiefe eurer for sir Henrie What his father.

When all things were redie, the quene vnder hir canopie came to the hall, and washed and sat downe in the middell of the table vnder the cloth of estate. On the right side of the chaire stood the countesse of Driford widow, and on the left side stood the countesse of Worcester all the dinner season, which diuerse times in the dinner time did hold a fine cloth before the quenes face when she list to spee or do otherwise at hir pleasure. At the tables end sat the archbishop of Canturburie on the right hand of the quene, and in the middell betwene the archbishop and the countesse of Driford stood the earle of Driford with a white stasse all dinner time, and at the quenes feet vnder the table sat two gentlewomen all dinner time. When all these things were thus ordered, in came the duke of Suffolke and the lord William Howard on horsebacke, and the sargeants of armes before them, and after them the sewer, and then the knights of the bath bringing in the first course which was eightene dishes, besides subtilties and ships made of wax marvellous gorgeous to behold, all which time of seruice the trumpets standing in the window at the nether end of the hall played melodiously.

When hir grace was serued of two dishes, then the archbishops seruice was set downe, whose sewer came equall with the third dish of the quenes seruice on his left hand. After that the quene and the archbishop was serued, the barons of the ports began the table on the right hand next the wall, next them at the table sat the masters and clerks of the Chancerie, and beneath them at the table other doctors and gentlemen. The table next the wall on the

The attire of
the lords all
the time that
they serued.

The order
and sitting
at dinner.

Twelue citi-
zens of Lon-
don attendant
at the cupbord.

The manner of
sitting at the
table.

The bringing
in of the first
course.

How the serua-
nt tables
were furni-
shed.

the left hand by the cupbord, was begun by the maior and aldermen, the chamberleine and the counsell of the citie of London, and beneath them sat substantiall merchants, and so downeward other worshipfull persons. At the table on the right hand in the middell of the hall sat the lord chancellor, and other tempoall lords on the right side of the table in their circots: and on the left side of the same table sat bishops and abbats in their parlement robes: beneath them sat the iudges, sargeants, & the kings counsell, beneath them the knights of the bath. At the table on the left hand, in the middle part, sat dutchesses, marquesses, countesses, baronesses, in their robes, and other ladies in circots, and gentlewomen in gowones. All which ladies and gentlewomen sat on the left side of the table along, and none on the right side.

The maior of London & service.

When all were thus set, they were incontinent served, and so quickly that it was marvell: for the seruitors gaue such good attendance, that meat or drinke nor any thing else needed not to be called for, which in so great a multitude was maruell. As touching the fare, there could be deuised no more costlier dishes nor subtilties. The maior of London was served with thre and thirtie dishes at two courses, and so were all his brethren, and such as sat at his table. The quene had at hir second course foure and twentie dishes, and thirtie at the thirde course: & betwene the two last courses, the kings of armes cried larges, in thre parts of the hall: and after stood in their place, which was in the bekins at the kings bench. And on the right hand out of the cloister of S. Stephens, was made a little closet, in which the king with diuerse ambassadores stood to behold the seruices. The duke of Suffolke and the lord William rode often times about the hall, chering the lords, ladies, and the maior, and his brethren. After they all had dined, they had wafers and ipocras, and then they washed, and were commanded to rise, and to stand still in their places, before the table or on the formes till the quene had washed.

The duke of Suffolke and Dorset rode about the hall.

When she had taken wafers and ipocras, the table was taken up, and the earle of Kentland brought by the surnap, and laid it at the boys end, which immediately was draine, and cast by master Kede, marshall of the hall: and the quene washed, and after the archbishop, and when the surnap was draine off, she arose and stood in the middell of the palace hall: to whom the earle of Suffolke in a goodlie spice plate brought a viall of spice and comets. After him the maior of London brought a standing cup of gold, set in a cup of assaie of gold, and after that she had dronke, she gaue the maior the cup, with the cup of assaie, because there was no letar, according to the claime of the citie, thanking him and all his brethren, for their paine. When the vnder hir canopy departed to hir chamber, and at the entrie of hir chamber, she gaue the canopy with bells and all, to the barons of the ports, according to their claime, with great thanks. When the maior of London bearing his cup in his hand, with his brethren, went through the hall to their barge, and so did all other noble men and gentlemen, for it was sir of the clocke. On mondaie were the iusts at the tilt, before the kings gate, where the maior and his brethren had a goodlie standing: but there were verie few speares broken, by reason the horses would not cope. On wednesdaie, the king sent for the maior and his brethren to Westminster, and there he himselfe gaue to them hartie thanks, with manie goodlie words.

The claime of the citie of London.

Running at tilt.

On Wednesday daie after, the ladie Marie the French quene died in Suffolke, who was the late wife to Lewis the twelue, & after married to Charles duke of Suffolke, & was buried at S. Edmundsburie. The king kept his progresse about London, because

of the quene. The seuerith of September being Sunday, betwene thre & four of the clocke in the afternone, the quene was deliuered of a faire young ladie, on which daie the duke of Suffolke came home to the christening, which was appointed on the Wednesday next following, and was accordinglie accomplished on the same daie, with all such solempne ceremonies as were thought conuenient. The godfather at the font, was the lord archbishop of Canturburie, the godmothers, the old dutches of Suffolke, & the old marchionesse Dorset widow, and at the confirmation the ladie marchionesse of Excester was godmother: the child was named Elizabeth.

Upon the daie of the christening, the maior sir Stephan Deacocke, in a gowne of crimson velvet, with his collar of S.S. and all the aldermen in scarlet, with collars and chaines, and all the counsell of the citie with them, took their barge after dinner, at one of the clocke, and the citizens had another barge, and so rowed to Greenwich, where were manie lords, knights, and gentlemen assembled. All the walles betwene the kings palace & the friers were hanged with arras, and all the waie drawed with greene rushes: the friers church was also hanged with arras.

The font was of silver, and stood in the middell of the church, thre steps high, which was couered with a fine cloth, and diuerse gentlemen with aprens and towels about their necks gaue attendance about it, that no filth should come in the font, over it being a square canopy of crimson sattin, fringed with gold, about it was a raille couered with red saie: betwene the quier and the bodie of the church was a close place with a pan of fire, to make the child reade in. When all these things were ordered, the child was brought to the hall, and then euery man set forward: first the citizens two and two, then gentlemen, squires and chapeins, next after them the aldermen and the maior alone: next the maior the kings counsell, the kings chappell in copes: then barons, bishops, earles, then came the earle of Essex, bearing the couered bakins gilt, after him the marquesse of Excester with the taper of virgin wax, next him the marquesse Dorset bearing the salt.

Behind him the ladie Marie of Suffolke, bearing the crêsome which was verie rich of pearle and stone, the old dutches of Suffolke bare the child in a mantell of purple velvet, with a long traine furred with ermine. The duke of Suffolke with his marshall rod went on the right hand of the said dutches, and the duke of Suffolke on the left hand, and before them went the officers of armes. The countesse of Kent bare the long traine of the childs mantell, and betwene the countesse of Kent and the child went the earle of Wilshire on the right hand, and the earle of Darbie on the left hand, supporting the said traine: in the middell ouer the said child was borne a canopy, by the lord Rochford, the lord Husie, the lord William Howard, and by the lord Thomas Howard the elder, after the child followed manie ladies and gentlewomen. When the child was come to the church doore, the bishop of London met it with diuerse bishops and abbats mitred.

When the ceremonies and christening were ended, Garter cheefe king of armes cried aloud, God of his infinite goodnesse send prosperous life & long to the high and mightie princeesse of England Elizabeth: & then the trumpets blew. When the archbishop of Canturburie gaue to the princeesse a standing cup of gold: the dutches of Suffolke gaue to hir a standing cup of gold, fretted with pearle: the marchionesse of Dorset gaue thre gilt bolles, pounced with a couer: and the marchionesse of Excester gaue thre standing bolles grauen, all gilt with a couer. Then

Robaret
gilt pre-
sented to the
princeesse.

Edw. Hall
Cxxv.

The christ-
ening of quene
Elizabeth.

Angl. pra

The hono-
rable traine
courtiers in
their robes.

Sepimo S
bra, videt
Dominica
us Elial

The canopy
borne ouer
the young
princeesse.

Edw. I.
Cxxvii
Marie
temper
gilt
thymet

Rich gifts
given to the
princeesse.

to so souerelgne a degre: for that he was both furnished with doctrine and good learning, and furnished plentifully with good apparatils and richnesse. And for the cardinals, they were so much the more forward to passe the election in his person, forasmuch as for the greatnesse of his age, being already upon the threescore and tenth year, and supposed to beare a weake and unquond complexion, which opinion he nourished with art, they hoped he would not sit long in the seat; whereby the dignitie of the place and preeminence might fall to one of them, whose eyes looked for the glorie which their hearts wished, being interdicted from God and godhinesse, as altogether addicted to the wanton desires of temporall delites, that they might passe their daies in delicacies, as one noted trulle of all that bitterous generation, saith thus:

Anjib, Christi
p. 16

*Omnia idem animas, resque vitæ periculis obnoxias
idem apud nos stercus est, idem veritas, idem
De grege quid fiat nobili generis imperatoris: ut dicit
Speliat magis huiusmodi avaritia dicitur
Rhyss horum nullus contendit ad agris, sed ad opem
Nil castelle vult, terrea solaplaunt.*

Elizabeth
Barton.

About this season, the craftie practises of one Elizabeth Barton, named the holie matron of Kent, came to light and were discovered: so that she and her adherents in November following were brought to the Starchamber, where before the kings council confessed their feined hypocritie and dissembled holinesse, traitorous purposes and intents. The names of those her adherents, which were presented with her before the lords in the Starchamber, were as followeth: Richard Waffer priest, parson of Aldington in Kent; Edward Wocking doctor in divinitie, a monke of Canturburie; Richard Dering, monke also of Canturburie; Edward Twaites gentleman; Thomas Laurence, register to the archdeacon of Canturburie; Henrie Gold parson of Aldermarie, bachelor of divinitie; Hugh Rich frier observant; Richard Kibbie; and Thomas Gold gentleman. They were adjudged upon their confession aforesaid, to stand at Pauls crosse in the sermon time, where they with their owne hands should severallie deliver ed of them to the preacher that should be appointed, a bill, declaring their subtil, craftie, and superstitious doings. Which thing they did the Sunday next following, standing upon a stage at the crosse erected for that purpose. But for their treasons committed, the order was repited till the parliament next following, in the which they were attainted, and suffered (as after ye shall heare.)

Penance at
Pauls crosse.

The Scots
move warre.

In this meane time, the Scots were not quiet, but still robbed the kings subiects both by sea and land: whereupon the king caused them to be requited, not onelie by the borderers and other to them associate, which entring by the marches, burnt manie of their strong piles, but also he set forth certeine ships which entered into their streames, and fetched out manie of those prizes, which they had taken out of their hancens and crækes, maner all their heads. Yet was there no warre proclaimed, but still commillions sat and communed of agrement, and amends to be made on either part. Now in the end when the Scots had much demanded, and little or nothing granted, they for that time being wearie of warre, desired peace, which was concluded to indure both the kings lives. And so the twentieth daie of Maie in the yeare following, it was openlie proclaimed, to the comfort of all them that delighted in peace and godlie quietnesse.

A curse procured from
the pope.

At the suit of the ladic Katharine Dowager, a curse was sent from the pope, which cursed both the king and the realme. This curse was set up in the towne of Dunkirke in Flanders (for the bringing thereof durst no nearer approach) where it was taken

down by one William Wake a member of parliament. Whom first the king showed that the ladic Katharine Dowager was a good woman, and the curse of the pope, all the order of the court was by him: for the sake of which he had sent to him the curse, and at Woking he kept it, and according to the curse he had in commandment, which curse was a sort of hereticall sermon, which he preached in a domineat manner, for he was like a goodly man, which he used to come to see him, not as a doctor, but as a man of the world. Such as came to him, he would receive, and would none of the curse, so that the curse was in the little number of servants about him, and in the little number of his household. At that time the parliament began, wherein the forenamed Elizabeth Barton and other her companions were attainted of treason, for sundrie practised devises and tales by them advanced, put in the, and following to the bitter reproach, perill, and destruction of the kings person, his honour, fame, and dignitie: for they had of a devilish intent put in the heads of manie of the kings subiects, that to the said Elizabeth Barton was given knowledge by revelation from God and his saints, that if the king proceeded to the divorce, and married another, he should not be king of this realme one moneth after, and in the reputation of God not one daie nor houre.

1534
Elizabeth
Barton et
alii.

This Elizabeth first through sickness, being sometimes brought as it were into a trance, whereby her visage and countenance became marvellouslie altered at those times when she was so vexed, at length by the insinuating, practisement, and information of the forenamed Richard Waffer parson of Aldington, she learned to counterfeit such manner of trances (after she came to perfect health) as in her sickness by force of the disease she had bene acquainted with: so that she practised, used, and shewed unto the people diverse marvellous and sundrie alterations of the sensible parts of her bodie, craftie uttering in her said feigned and false trances, diverse and manie counterfeit, detestable, and holie words, tending to the rebuke of sin, and reproving of such men in opinion as therein began to rise.

The arc
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curse
by the
Katharine
Dowager
at the
parliament

Elizabeth
Barton
et alii.

And to bring the people the more in believe with her hypocritical doings, she was counselled to saie in those her trances, that she should never be perfectlie whole, till she had visited an image of our ladic, at a place called Court at Street, within the parish of Aldington aforesaid. Whither was she brought, and by the meanes of the said Richard Waffer, and Edward Wocking, that was now made of counsell in the matter, there assembled about two thousand persons at the daie appointed of her thither coming, to see the miracle. At which daie, being brought before all that assemble and multitude of people, she falselie feigned and shewed unto the people in the chappell of our ladic there in Court at Street, manie alterations of her face, and other outward sensible parts of her bodie, and in those trances she uttered wondrous words, as she was before subtille and craftie induced, and taught by the said Edward Wocking and Richard Waffer.

A forged
miracle.

And amongst other things she uttered, that it was the pleasure of God, that the said Wocking should be her ghostlie father, and that she should be a religious woman. And within a while, after such feigned and counterfeit trances, she appeared to the people to be suddenly relieved from her sickness and afflictions, by the intercession and meane of the image of our ladic, being in the same chappell. By reason of which hypocritical dissimulation, the said Elizabeth was brought into a marvellous fame, credit, and good opinion of a great multitude of the people of this realme. And to increase the same, by counsell of the said Edward Wocking, she became a nun.

Elizabeth
Barton et
alii.

The
Katharine
Dowager

Don. 1534.

Reg. 25, 26.

1534
Elizabeth
Barton at
Canterbury.

1534
Elizabeth
Barton at
Canterbury.

The arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
and
the bishop of
Bristol
were credit to
the pope's
supremacy.

Elizabeth
Barton at
Canterbury.

1534
Elizabeth
Barton at
Canterbury.

1534
Elizabeth
Barton at
Canterbury.

in the pyloie of saint Sepulchres at Canturburie, to whome the said Edward Boeking had committie his resort, not without suspition of incontinencie, pretending to be his ghostlie father by Gods appointment. And by conspiracie betwene him and him, the still continued in practising his dissembled traies, alleging that in the same he had revelations from almightie God and his saints, and amongst other, that which (as before we haue mentioned) touched the kings marriage, as ye haue heard.

This matter proceeded so farre, that there was a booke written by his complices, and namelie by Thomas Laurence, register to the archbishop of Canturburie, of his feigned and counterfeited miracles, reuelations, and hypocriticall holinesse. All things were handled so craftilie, that not one lie the simple, but also the wise and learned sort were deceived by the same, insomuch that William Warham the late archbishop of Canturburie, and John Fisher bishop of Rochester, and diuerse others, being informed thereof, gaue credit thereto. All which matters and manie other had bene traitorilie practised and imagined amongst the parties manie yerres, chieflie to interrupt the diuorcie and to destroe the king, and to depriue him from the crowne and dignitie roiall of this realme, as in the act of their attainder made more at large it maie appeare, and likewise in the chronicles of maister Edward Hall. Therefore to conclude with him and his adherents, on the one and twentieth of Aprill next following, the with diuerse of them before condemned, was slawen to Thorne, and there executed, as iustlie they had deserued; where and when she made this confession following, even at the present time that she suffered, in the hearing of the people.

The words of Elizabeth Barton, otherwise called the holie maid of Kent at the houre of hir death in manner of a confession.

After am I come to die, and I haue not bene the onelie cause of mine owne death, which most iustlie I haue deserued, but also I am the cause of the death of all these persons which at this time here suffer: and yet to say the truth, I am not so much to be blamed, considering that it was wel known vnto these learned men, that I was a poore wench, without learning, and therefore they might haue easilie perceiued, that the things that were done by me, could not proceed in any such sort, but their capacities and learning could right well iudge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether feined: but bicause the things which I feined were profitable vnto them, therefore they much praised me, and bare me in hand that it was the holie ghost, and not I that did them, and then I being pufft vp with their praises, fell into a certeine pride and foolish fantasie with my selfe, and thought I might feine what I would, which thing hath brought me to this case, and for the which now I crie God and the kings highnes most hartilie mercie, and desire all you good people to praye to God to haue mercie on me, and on all them that suffer here with me.

In this parlement also was made the act of succession, for the establishing of the crowne, to the which euerie person being of lawfull age should be

sworne. On mondaie the thre and twentieth of March in the parlement time, were solemnlie receiued into London ambassadours from James the first king of Scots, the bishop of Aberdine, the abbat of Lincolns, and Adam Otterborne the kings attourneie, with diuerse gentlemen on them attendant, which were brought to the tailors hall, and there lodged. And on the daie of the Annunciation, they were brought to the kings palace at Westminster, where they shewed their commission and message, for the which the king appointed them dates to counsell. During the parlement time, euerie fundae at Pauls crosse preached a bishop, declaring the pope not to be supreme head of the church.

The thirtieth of March was the parlement prorogued, and there euerie lord, knight, and burges, and all other were sworne to the act of succession, and subscribed their hands to a parchment fixed to the same. The parlement was prorogued till the third of November next. After this were commissioners sent into all parts of the realme, to take the oth of all men and women to the act of succession. Doctor John Fisher, and sir Thomas More knight, and doctor Nicholas Wilson parson of saint Thomas apostles in London, expresse denied at Lambeth before the archbishop of Canturburie, to receiue that oth. The two first stood in their opinion to the verie death (as after ye shall heare) but doctor Wilson was better aduised at length, and so dissembling the matter escaped out of further danger.

In this yere it chanced that two merchant strangers fell in loue with a harlot, which was called Wolfes wife, and this harlot had often hanted the strangers chambers. And so on a time the said harlot appointed these strangers to come to Westminster, and she had prepared for them a bote, in the which bote was but one man to row which was a strong theefe, and in the end of the bote laie Wolfe his husband, couered with a leather that botemen vse to couer their cushions with, and so these strangers sat them down mistrusting nothing. Now when this boteman had brought them as farre as a place called the turning tree, suddenlie stepped by the said Wolfe, and with his dagger thrust the one of them through: the other cried out to save his life, and offered great sums of monie to the boteman and him to saue his life. But no proffers would be heard, nor mercie would they extend, but as cruell murderers without pitie slue the other also, and bound them face to face, and so threw them into the Thames in the foresaid place, where they were long after before they were found. But immediatlie the harlot Wolfes wife went to the strangers chambers, and toke from thence so much as she could come by. And at the last she and her husband (as they deserued) were apprehended, arraigned, and hanged at the aforesaid turning tree.

On the ninth of Julie was the lord Dacres of the north arraigned at Westminster of high treason, where the duke of Norfolk late as iudge, and high steward of England. The said lord Dacres being brought to the barre, with the are of the Solwer before him, after his indictment read, so impudently the same, answering euerie part and matter therein contained, and so plainlie and diuallie confuted his accusers, which were there readie to anouch their accusations, that to their great shames, and his high honor, he was found that day by his peres not guilty, whereof the commons not a little reioised, as by their shout and crie made at those words, not guilty, they shallic testified.

The two and twentieth of Julie was John Frith burned in Smithfield, for the opinion of the sacrament: and with him the same time, and at the same stake, suffered also one Andrew Hewet, a young man,

Embassadours
from
Scotland.

The popes
supremacie
denied in
sermons.

The lords
sworne to the
succession.

Ab. Fl. ex
Edw. Hall 224.
Wolfes wife
a notable
harlot.

The end of
vnto the
and last.

The reward
of murder
committed
through
conscience.

Anno Reg. 26.
The lord Dacres of the north arraigned.

John Frith
burned.

John Stow.
Frieres
suppressed.

The parlement
againe be-
ginneth.

The admerall
of France com-
meth in am-
bassage into
England.

1535

Anno Reg. 27.

John Stow.
Certaine pri-
ors arreigned
and executed
for treason.

John Stow.
pag. 1004.
Hollanders
condemned for
heretikes.

Monks of St
Charterhouse
executed.

The bishop of
Rocheſter
beheaded.

by his occupation a tailor. The eleventh of August were all the places of the obseruant friers suppressed, as Greenwich, Canturburie, Richmond, Newark, and Petworth, and in their places were set Augustine friers, and the obseruant friers were placed in the houses of the grate friers. ¶ The one and twentieth of September, doctor Tailor master of the rolles, was discharged of that office, and Thomas Cromwell swore in his place the nineteenth of October. Whereover the third of November, the parlement began againe, in the which was concluded the act of supremacy, which authorized the kings highnes to be supreme head of the church of England, and the authoritie of the poye abolished out of the realme. ¶ In the same parlement also was given to the king, the first fruits and tenths of all spirituall dignities and promotions. This yeare came the great admerall of France into England, ambassadour from the French king, and was honorablie receiued.

In this time died the earle of Hildare, prisoner in the Tower, and his sonne Thomas Fitzgaret began to rebel, and toke all the kings ordinance, and sent to the emperour, requiring him to take his part: also he chose the bishop of Dublin, and robbed all such as would not obeye him. In the beginning of this yeare, the duke of Suffolke and the bishop of Ely went to Calis, and thither came the admerall of France. On the two & twentieth of Aprill the prior of the Charterhouse at London, the prior of Beual, the prior of Chesham, Reinalds a brother of Slon, & John bicar of Thistleworth, were arreigned and condemned of treason: and thereupon dratone, hanged and quartered at Tyburne the fourth of Maie: their heads and quarters were set ouer the bridge & gates of the citie, one quarter excepted, which was set vp at the Charterhouse at London. ¶ On the eight of Maie, the king commanded that all belonging to the court should poll their heads, & to giue example, caused his owne head to be polled, and his beard from thenceforth was cut round, but not shauen, which fashion the courtiers imbraced, and would (no doubt) haue put in practice, though they had not bene there, vnto bound by precept: for the people imitate the prince, as the poet long ago well noted, saying:

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

¶ The five and twentieth daie of Maie, was in saint Pauls church at London examined nineteene men and six women borne in Holland, whose opinions were, first, that in Christ is not two natures, God and man: secondlie, that Christ toke neither flesh nor blood of the virgin Marie: thirdlie, that children borne of infidels shall be saved: fourthlie, that baptisme of children is to none effect: fifthlie, that the sacrament of Christs bodie is but bread onelie: sixthlie, that he, who after his baptisme sinneth wittinglie, sinneth deadlie, and cannot be saved. Fourteene of them were condemned; a man & a woman of them were burned in Smithfield, the other twelue were sent to other towne there to be burnt.]

On the nineteenth of June were three monkes of the Charterhouse hanged, dratoned, and quartered at Tyburne, and their heads and quarters set vp about London, for denieng the king to be supreme head of the church: their names were, Ermele, Middleton, and Pudgate. Also the one and twentieth of the same moneth, and for the same cause, doctor John Fisher bishop of Rocheſter was beheaded for denieng of the supremacy, and his head set vpon London bridge, but his bodie buried within Barling churchyard. This bishop was of manie force lauded, for he was reported to be a man of great learning, and of a verie good life. The pope had elected him a cardinall, and sent his hat as far as Calis, but his head was off before his hat was on: so that

they met not. On the first of Iulie was sir Thomas More beheaded for the like crime, that is to wit, for denieng the king to be supreme head. And then the bodie of doctor Fisher was taken vp, and buried with sir Thomas Mores in the Tower. This man was both learned and wise, and giuen much to a certaine pleasure in merie taunts and teasking in most of his communication, which manner he forgot not at the verie houre of his death.

¶ I cannot tell (saith master Hall) whether I should call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man, for vndoubtedly he beside his learning, had a great wit, but it was so mingled with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken except he had mistred some mocke in the communication. Inasmuch as at his coming to the Tower, one of the officers demanded his upper garment for his fee, meaning his gowne: and he answered, he should haue it, and toke him his cap, saying it was the uppermost garment that he had. At the wise euen going to his death at the Tower gate, a poore woman called vnto him, and besought him to declare what he had done with euidences of his in the time that he was in office (which after he was apprehended she could not come by) and that he would intreat the might haue them againe, or else she was undone. He answered, good woman, haue patience a little while, for the king is so good vnto me, that euen with in this halfe houre he will discharge me of all businesse, and helpe thee himselfe.

Also when he went vnto the staires on the scaffold, he desired one of the shirifes officers to giue him his hand to helpe him vp, and said: When I come downe againe, let me shift for my selfe as well as I can. Also the hangman kneeled downe to him, asking him forgiveness of his death (as the maner is) to whom he said, I forgive thee, but I promise thee thou shalt neuer haue honestie by striking off my head, my necke is so short. Also euen when he should laie downe his head on the blocke, he hauing a great graie beard, stroked out his beard, and said to the hangman, I praye you let me laie my beard ouer the blocke, least thou should cut it. Thus with a mocke he ended his life.

God had in most bountifull sort powred his blessings vpon this man, induing him with eloquence, wisdom and knowledge: but the grace of God withdrawing from him, he had the right vse of none, no not of reason as it should be rightlie vied. God had extraordinary blessed his children, and named his three daughters, to whom he had giuen an admirable dexteritie in the science of songs and arts, as John Leland our reuerend antiquarie noteth in a proper and learned epigramme, saying:

*Desine facundus nimium laudare disertum
Natas Hortensiam maxima Roma tuam
Candida tres Charites nam Mori cura posuit
Obscurant multis nomina vestra modis.
Non illis studium Malesia vellera dextra
Carpere, non facili ducere fila manus
Sed iuuat eloqui crebro monumenta Latini
Persare, et doctus pingere verba notis,
Nec minus aethores Græcas enothere, Homerum
Et quæſi dicendi gloria prima manet.
Et nec Aristotelis dicam quo persare libris
Scrutentur, sophia mystica dona dea.
Turpe virum posthac erit ignominie Minerva
Artes, grex adeo quas mulieribus amet.*

And yet was not the will of God for the infusing of spirituall graces, so linked to that of temporall, as because the one was granted; therefore the other must not be denied. For the blessings of God which be outward, are common to the wicked with the good:

Leland's Notes
edit. fine Chas.
1540.

The king of
Sicota a knight
of the garter.

The bishop of
Rocheſter
ambassadour
into France.
1534.

Execution of
religious you
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Dec. 1535

Reg. 26.

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Abr. Fl. ex
Edw. Hall.
fol. CC. xviij.

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e.
at the beie
house of his
death.

the Thomas
dore in some
cases com-
mended.

the Flem.
men a few
years made at
Paris crosse
bishops Cle-
ment bishop of
London on
the twentieth
of October
1534.

whether it
be a marriage
question it
is not
clear.

the Thomas
dore be-
cause given
to his king.

the king of
Scots a knight
of the garter.

the bishop of
Worcester
ambassador
into France.
1536.

William Cus-
sall burnt.

William Cus-
sall burnt.

William Cus-
sall burnt.

William Cus-
sall burnt.

William Cus-
sall burnt.

William Cus-
sall burnt.

William Cus-
sall burnt.

William Cus-
sall burnt.

William Cus-
sall burnt.

William Cus-
sall burnt.

William Cus-
sall burnt.

William Cus-
sall burnt.

god: the sun shineth upon all, the raine is kept from none: nate, God with a sparing hand reacheth out those things to the faithfull, which with full gripes he filleth out and powreth into the laps and bosoms of infidels and epicures: insomuch that the prophet David noting no lesse, with a kind of indignation opened his mouth saying: I was grieved at the wicked, I do also see the vngodlie in such prosperitie, these flourish in the world, these haue riches in possession, and I said: When haue I cleansed my heart in vaine, and washed my hands in innocencie: yea, and I had almost said euen as they; but lo, then should I haue condemned the generation of Gods children. But the end of these men, being set in slippery places, are cast downe and destroyed, yea suddenly do they come and come to a fearefull end: euen like as a dreame when one awaketh, so doth God make their image to vanish out of the citie.

And albeit the fall of this sir Thomas More was reprobicfull, issuing from a treasonable offense: yet as in pagans manie times there is somwhat which may teach christians lessons for their learning to their shame: so in this papist was one praise-worthy propercie among the rest most eminent, which I will note to the rebuke of protestants. The reuerend father doctor Clier bishop of London, in a sermon at Pauls crosse by him made in a solemne audience assembled at the parlement time 1534, teaching diuerse points of doctrine, and the duties of sundrie degrees, said, that it was commendable for noble men and gentlemen, and a great furtherance to the loue of religion, to be deuout: he thought an example of sir Thomas More, a man for his zeale (saith the bishop) to be honored, but for his religion to be abhorred.

This knight would diuerse times put on a surplexe, and helpe the priest in proper person to saie seruice: insomuch that vpon a time being at Chelise, and busie about that exercise, the duke of Suffolke then liuing, came to the said sir Thomas, then lord chancelor of England, about speciall affaires: and being informed that sir Thomas was at the church; thither went the duke, expecting the end of seruice. In the end, the duke and the lord chancelor met, and after mutuall greeting the duke said thus: What! is my lord chancelor become a parish clark? What will the kings maiestie saie to this geare, when he shall vnderstand that the lord chancelor of England, a speciall pære of the realme, and in highest rone of honor in the land next the prince is become a parish clark? Now trulie (saith sir Thomas) I thinke, and verelie beleue, that his highnesse will be so farr to misdeme or mislike me herein, that when he shall heare of the care which I haue to serue both his maiestie and mine, he will accept and take me for a faithfull seruant. And thus much of him.]

This yere in the time that the king went his progresses to Glocester, and to other places westward, the king of Scots was installed knight of the garter at Winsoze by his procurator the lord Erskin: and in October following, Stephen Gardiner (which after the cardinals death was made bishop of Winchester) was sent ambassador into France, where he remained thre yeres after. In August the lord Thomas Fitzgerard, sonne to the earle of Kildare, was taken in Ireland, and sent to the tower of London.

In the moneth of October, doctor Lee and other were sent to visit the abbeies, priories, and nunries in England, who set all those religious persons at libertie that would forsake their habit, and all that were vnder the age of foure and twentie yeres, and the residue were closed vp that would remaine. Further, they took order that no men should haue access

to the houses of women, nor women to the houses of men, except it should be to heare their seruice. The abbat or prior of the house, where ante of the brethren was willing to depart, was appointed to giue to euerie of them a priests gowne for his habit, and forty shillings in monie, the nuns to haue such apparell as secular women wore, and to go whither they liked best. The eleuenth of November was a great procession at London for iote of the French kings recouerte of health from a dangerous sickness. In December a sorcie was taken of all chanteries, and the names of them that had the gift of them.

The princeesse Dowager lieth at Kimbalton, fell into hir last sickness, thereof the king being aduertised, appointed the emperors ambassador that was legier here with him named Eustachius Caputius, to go to visit hir, and to do his commendations to hir, and toll hir to be of god comfort. The ambassador with all diligence did his dutie therein, comforting hir the best he might: but the withi in daies after, perceiving hir selfe to warde be weak and feeble, and to faile death appoything at hand, caused one of hir gentlewomen to write a letter to the king, commendng to him hir daughter and his, beseeching him to stand god father vnto hir: and further desired him to haue some consideration of hir gentlewomen that had serued hir, and to sae them bestowed in marriage. Further, that it would please him to appoint that hir seruants might haue their due wages, and a yeres wages beside. This in effect was all that she requested, and so immediatlie herevpon she departed this life the eight of Ianuarie at Kimbalton aforesaid, and was buried at Peterborough. The nine and twentieth of Ianuarie quene Anne was deliuered of a child before hir time, which was bozne dead.

On the fourth of February the parlement began, in the which (amongst other things) enacted, all religious houses of the value of thre hundred marks and vnder, were giuen to the king, with all the lands and goods to them belonging. The number of these houses were thre hundred seauentie and six; the value of their lands pearlie aboue two and thirtie thousand pounds; their mouable goods one hundred thousand; the religious persons put out of the same houses, amounted to the number of about 10000. This yere was William Tindall burnt at a towne betwixt Burels and Paclin called Willeford. This Tindall, otherwile called Wichins, was bozne in the marches of Wales, and hauing a desire to translate and publih to his countrie diuerse books of the bible in English, and doubting to come in trouble for the same, if he should remaine here in England, got him ouer into the parties of beyond the sea, where he translated not onelie the new testament into the English tong, but also the five bookes of Moses, Joshua, Iudicum, Ruth, the bookes of the kings, and Paralipomenon, Ieremias, or the first of Ezechias, and the prophet Jonas.

Beside these translations, he made certeine treatises, and published the same, which were brought ouer into England, and read with great desire of diuerse, and of many soze despised and abhorred, so that proclamations were procured forth for the condemnation and prohibiting of his books (as before you haue heard.) Finally, he was apprehended at Antwerpe by meanes of one Phillips an Englishman, and then scholer at Louaine. After he had remained in prison a long time, and was almost forgotten, the lord Cromwell wrote for his deliuerance; but then in all hast, because he would not recant ante part of his doctrine, he was burned (as before you haue heard.) Of whose conuersation and doctrine, innocent in the world, and sincere for truth, as al-

1536.

The ladie
Katharine
Dowager
deceaseth.

Religious
houses giuen
to the king.

1536.

William Cus-
sall burnt.

Spiritual
graces doe
not
necessarie
concurre
as
depend vpon
temporal.

To of his death and martyrdome, read the martyrologie of Iohn Fox our ecclesiasticall chonographer Anno 1536. *fab Hen. 8.*

Anno reg. 18.

Abr. Fl. ex
I. Stow. 1006.
Queene Anne
committed to
the tower.

Hir imprec-
ation at the
tower gate on
hir knees.

She is ar-
reigned in the
tower.

The lord
Rochford
condemned.

Queene Anne
and divers
others behea-
ded.

On Maie date were solempne iusts kept at Cræn-
wich, and suddenlie from the iusts the king departed,
not hauing aboue six persons with him, and in the
evening came to Westminster. Of this sudden de-
parting many mused, but most chiefe the queene.
¶ On the next morrow, the lord Rochford brother
to the queene, and Henrie Norris were brought to
the tower of London prisoners. Also the same date
about fife of the clocke in the after none, queene
Anne of Ballongne was brought to the tower of
London, by sir Thomas Audleie lord chancelor, the
duke of Norfolk, Thomas Cromwell secretarie,
and sir William Kingston constable of the tower,
and when he came to the tower gate, entering in he
fell on hir knees before the said lord, beseeching God
to helpe hir, as she was not guiltie of that whereof
she was accused, and then desired the said lords
to beseech the kings grace to be good vnto hir, and so
they left hir there prisoner. On the fiftenth of Maie
queene Anne was arreigned in the tower of Lon-
don on a scaffold for that purpose, made in the kings
hall, before the duke of Norfolk, who sat vnder the
cloth of estate as high steward of England, with
the lord chancelor on his right hand, the duke of
Suffolke on his left hand, with marquesses and
lords, &c. and the earle of Surrie sat before the duke
of Norfolk his father, as earle marshall of Eng-
land. The kings commission being read, the consta-
ble of the tower, and the lieutenant brought the
queene to the barre, where was made a chaire for hir
to sit downe in, and there hir indictment was read,
wherevnto she made so wise and discret answers,
that she seemed fullie to clere hir selfe of all matters
laid to hir charge: but being tried by hir peeres,
whereof the duke of Suffolke was chiefe, she was by
them found guiltie, and had iudgement pronounced
by the duke of Norfolk.

Immediatlie the lord Rochford the queenes bro-
ther was likewise arreigned and condemned: the
lord maior of London, his brethren the aldermen, the
wardens and foure persons moe of euerye the twelue
principall companies being present. The seauen-
teenth of Maie, the lord Rochford brother to the
queene, Henrie Norris, Marke Smeton, William
Brierton, and Francis Weston, all of the kings
private chamber, about matters touching the queene
were beheaded on the tower hill: the lord Roch-
fords bodie with the head was buried in the chappell
of the tower, the other foure in the churchyard there.
On the nineteenth of Maie queene Anne was on a
scaffold (made for that purpose) vpon the greene
with in the tower of London, beheaded with the
sword of Calis, by the hands of the hangman of that
towne: hir bodie with the head was buried in the
quere of the chappell in the tower.]

The words of queene Anne at hir death.

Good christian people, I am come
hither to die, for according to the
law, and by the law I am iudged
to die, and therefore I will speake
nothing against it. I am come hither to
accuse no man, nor to speake anie thing of
that whereof I am accused & condemned
to die, but I praise God saue the king and
send him long to reigne ouer you, for a
gentler, nor a more mercifull prince was
there neuer, and to me he was euer a good,

a gentle, and a souereigne lord. And if anie
person will meddle of my cause, I require
them to iudge the best. And thus I take
my leaue of the world, and of you all, and I
hartilie desire you all to praye for me. Oh
Lord haue mercie on me, to God I com-
mend my soule, Iesu receiue my soule: di-
uerse times repeating those words, till that
hir head was stricken off with the sword.

Now because I might rather saie much than suffi-
cientlie enough in praise of this noble queene, as well
for hir singular wit and other excellent qualities of
mind, as also for hir fauouring of learned men, zeale
of religion, and liberaltie in distributing almes in
reliefe of the poore, I will refer the reader into ma-
ster Fox his volume of Acts and Monuments, where
he commendeth hir mild nature in taking admoni-
tion, proueth hir marriage lawfull, defendeth hir suc-
cession, ouerthroweth the sinister iudgements, opini-
ons and objections of backbiters against that ver-
tuous queene, sheweth hir faith and trust in Christ at
hir death, and finally how the protestants of Ger-
manie forsooke king Henrie for the death of so good a
princesse. ¶ Anglorum praelia saith, that this good
queene was forwarned of hir death in a dreame,
wherein Morpheus the god of sleepe (in the likeness
of hir grandfather) appeared vnto hir, and after a long
narration of the vanities of this world (how cruell
reigneth in the courts of princes, maligning the for-
tunate estate of the vertuous, how king Henrie the
eight and his issue should be the bitter ouerthrow and
expulsion of poperie out of England, and that the go-
uernment of queene Elizabeth should be established
in tranquillitie & peace) he saith vnto hir in conclu-
sion by waie of prophesie, as our poet hath recorded:

*Fortis animo, tristis si nuntius adsum,
Insuperata tua velox necis aduenit hora,
Intra triginta spacium moriere diem:
Hoc magnus mortis solamen habeto futura,
Elizabetha suis praeclare filia gestu
Nomen ad astra feret patris, matrisque, suumque.]*

Immediatlie after hir death, in the moche before
Whitsuntide, the king married the ladie Jane Sei-
mer, daughter to sir John Seimer knight, which at
Whitsuntide was openlie shewed as queene. And on
the tuesday in Whitsunweke, hir brother sir Edw.
Seimer was created vicount Beauchampe, and sir
Walter Hungerford, lord Hungerford. The eight of
June began the parlement, during the which the lord
Thomas Howard, without the kings assent, asked
the ladie Margaret Douglas daughter to the queene
of Scots, and neece to the king, for which act he was
atteinted of treason, and an act made for like offen-
ders, and so he died in the tower, and she remained
long there as prisoner. In the time of this parlement
the bishops and all the cleargie of the realme held a
solempne conuocation at Pauls church in London,
where after much disputation and debating of mat-
ters, they published a booke of religion, intituled Ar-
ticles deuised by the kings highnesse, &c. In this
booke is speciallie mentioned but three sacraments.
Also before this booke certeine intunitions were gi-
uen forth, wherby a number of their holie daies were
abrogated, & speciallie those that fell in harvest time.
¶ The nine & twentieth of June, the king held a great
tusting and triumph at Westminster, where were or-
dained two lighters made like ships to fight vpon
the water, one of the which brake in the midst, wherby
one Gates a gentleman, & servant to sp. Kincnet
was drowned in his harnesse. In the other a gun
brake hir chamber, & maimed two of the mariners.
Thomas Cromwell secretarie vnto the king, and
mat

I. Fox in mas-
tyrologia.

Ang. praelia

And more po-
dictio, Plu. in
Pier. Securus
sede quidam
suarum.

Stratagems
conspiracie.

The king ma-
ried Jane Seimer

The Lincoln-
shire men in
armes a-
gainst the
king.

A parlement

The lady Ma-
garet Douglas
atteinted of
treason.

A booke pub-
lished concern-
ing religion
by the king.

The petiti-
ons of the re-
bels receiued
of the king
and of what
points they
contended.

I. Stow.
A triumph at
Westminster.

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the death of
the king
his son.

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master of the tols, was made lord keeper of the privie seal, and the ninth of Julie the lord Fitzwarren was created erle of Bath, and the moztow after the said lord Cromwell was created lord Cromwell. The eighteenth of Julie he was made knight, and vicar generall under the king over the spirituality, and sat diuerse times in the conuocation amongst the bishops as head ouer them. The two and twentieth of Julie, Henrie duke of Richmond and Summerset, earle of Northampton, base sonne to the king, begot of the ladie Taillebois then called Elizabeth Blunt, departed this life at saint James, and was buried at Westford in Dorsethe, of whome you shall find more in the treatise of the dukes of this land.

In September, Thomas Cromwell lord priuie seale and vicegerent, sent abroad vnder the kings spirituall priuie seale certeine intuncons, commanding that the persons and curats should teach their parishioners the Pater noster, the Ave & Creed, with the ten comandements, and articles of the faith in English. These articles and intuncons being established by authoritie of parlement, and now to the people deliuered, bred a great mistaking in the hearts of the common people, which had bene ever brought up and trained in contrarie doctrine. And here with diuerse of the cleargie as monks, priests, and others, took occasion herby to speake euill of the late proceedings of the king, touching matters of religion, affirming that if speedie remedie were not in time prouided, the faith would shortly be utterly destroyed, and all prayer and diuine seruice quite abolished and taken awate.

Spanis sinister reports, slanderous tales, and feigned fables were blowne abroad, and put into the peoples eares, and diuerse of the nobilitie did also what they coult to stir the commons to rebellion, faithfullie promising both aid and succour against the king. The people thus prouoked to mischief, and deceived through ouer light credence, incontinentlie as it were to mainteine that religion, which had so manie yeares continued, and bene esteemed, they distellie and scuttie conspired together, and in a part of Lincolnshire they first assembled, and shortly after joined into an armie, being (as it was supposed) of men apt for the warres, in number about twentie thousand. Against these rebels with all the hast that might be, the king in his proper person vpon intelligence therof had marched towards them, being furnished with a warlike armie, perfectly appointed of all things that to such a companie should apperteine.

The rebels hearing that his person was present with his power to come thus against them, began to feare what would follow of their doings: and such nobles and gentlemen as at the first fauoured their cause, fell from them and withdrew, so that they being destitute of capitaines, at length put certeine petitions in writing, which they exhibited to the king, professing that they neuer intended hurt towards his roial person. The king receiued their petitions, which consisted in choise of counsellors, suppression of religious houses, maintenance of the seruice of almighty God, the statute of vses, the release of the fifteenth, and receiuing of the first fruits, with such other matters as nothing appertained to them: wherevpon he made them answer in pithie sentence, reproouing them of their presumptuous follie and rebellious attempt, to meddle in anie such matters and weightie affaires, the direction whereof onelie belonged to him, and to such noble men and counsellors as his pleasure should be to elect and choise to haue the ordering of the same.

Wherefore he aduised them to remember their rash and inconsiderate doings, and that now in anie wise

they should resort home to their houses, and no more to assemble contrarie to his lawes and their owne allegiances; and also to cause the prouokers of this mischief to be deliuered to the hands of his lieutenant, and further to submit themselves wholly to such punishment as he and his nobles should thinke their worthie to receiue: for otherwise he would not suffer that inturie at their hands to go vnreueged. After the Lincolnshire men had receiued the kings answer thus made, to their petitions, each mistrusting other, who should be noted the greatest meddler, suddenly they began to shrink, and got them home to their houses without longer abode.

Here with the duke of Suffolke the kings lieutenant was appointed to go with the armie, to see the countrie set in quiet, accompanied with the lord admiral, sir Francis Walsan, and sir John Russell that were joined with him also in commission for the ordering of things there within the countie of Lincoln. The duke entred into the citie of Lincoln the seuenteenth of October. On the nineteenth all the inhabitants of Louth (according to order giuen by the duke) came to Lincoln, and there in the castell made their submission, holding up their hands, and crying for the kings mercie. And her with were chosen forth Nicholas Pelton, capteine Cobler, & thirtene more, which were commanded to ward, and all the residue were new sworn to the king, renouncing their former oath receiued in time of their rebellion, and then departed home to their houses in the kings peace. After this were proclamations made abroad in the countrie in euery market towne by the heralds of armes, Summerset and Walsan, that the capitaines and souldiers of the dukes armie should not take anie mans goods, cattels, or vittels, except they paid or agreed with the owners of the same.

And further commandement was giuen, that all inhabitants and dwellers within the townes and villages about, should repaire to the citie of Lincoln, with all maner of vittels as well for men as horses, where they should receiue payment at reasonable prices for the same. After this, there was likewise proclamation made for the apprehending of all such lewd persons, as had sowne anie false rumors abroad in the countrie (the chiefe occasion of this rebellion) bruting that the king pretended to haue the gold in the hands of his subjects brought into the tower to be touched, and all their cattell unmarked, the chalices, goods, and ornaments of parish churches, fines for christenings, weddings, and buriings, licences to eat white meat, bread, pig, goose or capon, with manie other slanderous, false, and detestable tales and lies, forged of diuelish purpose to incourage the people to rebellion. If therefore anie man could apprehend such as had bene the setters forth and sowers of such seditious reports, they that brought them in, should be so rewarded, as they should thinke their labour well bestowed.

Moreouer, if there were anie assemblies made in anie part of the realme without the kings licence, by anie barulie persons, and would not depart to their houses vpon warning by his graces proclamations, they should not looke for further mercie at the kings hand, but to be prosecuted with fire and sword to the uttermost. To conclude, by the wise and sage direction taken in appeasing the countrie by that noble duke, all things were quieted in those parties. Diuerse of the principall offenders were sent vnto London. He that took vpon him as chiefe capteine of the rout, was the same that called himselfe capteine Cobler: but he was indeed a monk named doctor Pakarell, which afterwards with diuerse others was executed.

But now in the meane time, whilst the duke was

The Lincolnshiremen had receiued the kings answer thus made, to their petitions, each mistrusting other, who should be noted the greatest meddler, suddenly they began to shrink, and got them home to their houses without longer abode.

The rebels submitted themselves and receiued a new oath of fealtie to the king.

False rumors the occasion of rebellions.

It cometh
in the north
parts.

In holie pil-
grimage.

The faithfull
diligence of
the earle of
Shrewsburie

A good mean-
ing of intent
doth not by
and by iustitie
and make good
the action.

The loialtie
of the earle.

was sent forwards into Lincolnshire, within five daies after the king was trulie informed, that there was a new sir begun in the north parts by the people there, which had assembled themselves into an huge armie of warlike men & well appointed, both with capitaines; horses, armor, and artillerie, to the number of forty thousand men, which had incamped themselves in Yorkshire. These men declared by their proclamations solemnly made, that this their rising and commotion should extend no further, but onlie to the maintenance and defense of the faith of Christ, and deliuerance of holie church, sore decayed and oppressed, and also for the furtherance as well of priuate as publicke matters in the realme, touching the wealth of all the kings poore subjects.

They named this their seditious voyage, an holie and blessed pilgrimage: they had also certaine banners in the field, in which was painted Christ hanging on the crosse on the one side, and a chalice with a painted cake in it on the other side, with diuers other banners of like hypocrisie and feigned holinesse. The souldiers had also imbrodered on the sleeves of their cotes in stead of a badge; the similitude of the five wounds of our saviour, and in the middell thereof was written the name of our Lord. Thus had the rebels host of fashion with false and counterfeit signes of holinesse set out themselves, onlie to deceiue the simple people in that their wicked and rebellious enterprise against their liege lord and naturall prince, whome by the law of nations and by Gods commandments they were bound in conscience to obey, and so farre to be from lifting up the least finger of their hand, as rather to put life and goods in hazard for his sake, to testifie their allegiance.

The speciall diligence and loiall dutie which was found at that present in the worthy countess George earle of Shrewsburie, is not to be forgotten, who immediatlie after he understood how the northerne men were thus by in armes, considering how much it imported to stop them of their passage before they should aduance too far forwards, where by they might both increase in power, and put all other parts of the realme in hazard, through feare or hope to incline to their wicked purposes, he sent abroad with all speed possible to raise such power of his seruants, tenants, and friends, as by any means he might make, and withall dispatched one of his seruants to the king, both to aduertise him what he had done, and also to purchase his pardon, for making such leuie of power, before he had receiued his maiesties commission so to do.

I haue heard by relation of men of good credit that were there present: that when such knights and gentlemen as were of his counsell, and other of his especiall friends were come vnto him, he put forth this question to them; Whether his fact in raising a power of armed men without the kings commission (although he had done it to resist the rebels) were treason or not? Wherevnto when answer was made by some that were knowne to haue skill in the laws of the realme, how that by no means it could be intended treason, sith his intent was good, and no euill thereby meant, but contrarie the aduancement of the kings seruice dutifullie sought: For are soles (quoth the earle) I know it in substance to be treason, and I would thinke my selfe in an hard case, if I thought I had not my pardon comming.

Such a reuerend regard had this noble earle vnto his bounden allegiance towards his prince, that whatsoeuer seemed but as it were to sound in any behalfe to the breach thereof, it so troubled his loiall mind, that he could not be satisfied, till as it were in confessing his fault: where according to the truth there was none at all. He had signified his assured

delitie in crauing pardon, where otherwise he might haue looked for thanks, which indeed he receiued with his pardon, according to his petition, and a commission to proceed as he had begun. Moreover, whereas there were diuerse speeches amongst the souldiers in the armie, uttered by some not altogether hapilie well disposed, that the said earle had so good liking of the northerne mens cause, that when it came to the point of triall, he would surelie ioin with them against that part, which he yet pretended to maintain.

To put that matter out of doubt, he caused the multitude of his souldiers to come before him, and there declared to them, that he understood what lewd talke had bene raised of his meaning amongst them in the campe, as if he had fauoured the part of the rebels: But (saith he) whatsoeuer their colourable pretence may be, true it is, that traitors they are in this their wicked attempt. And whereas my ancestors haue bene ever true to the crowne, I meane not to staine my blood now in joining with such a sort of traitors, but to live and die in defense of the crowne, if it stand but vpon a stake: and therefore those that will take my part in this quarrell, I haue to thanke them, and if there be any that be otherwise minded, I would wish them hence. And herewith he caused his chapelaine to minister an oth to him, which he receiued to the effect aforesaid, in the presence of them all.

And verelie this was thought to be done not without great cause that moued him thereto: for whereas the more part of his souldiers consisted of the countrie people, who with forged tales and wicked surmises were easilie led to beleue whatsoeuer was reported in fauor of the rebels, and dissuade of such as were then chiefe counsellors to the king, against whome they pretended to rise (although there was no reasonable occasion leading them thereto) it was greatlie to be suspected, least they might through some traitorous practise haue bene induced to forget their dutifull allegiance to their souereigne, and disobedient obedience to their leaders, inasmuch that the captiues of the rebels were perswaded (and some of them reported no lesse) that they might haue fought with the duke of Norfolk, and the earle of Shrewsburie, on this hither side of the riuer of Dun, euen with their owne men, not needing to haue brought a man of their armie with them.

Therefore it was thought, that the oth which the earle of Shrewsburie in that sort receiued before all his people there openlie in field, serued to great purpose; to put out of his souldiers wauering heads all such lewd expectation that he would turne to the enemies, staing thereby their fickle minds; sith they were now assured, that he being their chiefe captain meant no dissimulation. A matter trulie of no small importance, considering the fauor which the commons bare towards him, and the opinion they had conceiued of his high prowesse; so that which waie he inclined, it was thought verelie the game were likelie to go. But now after the king was aduertised of that perilous commotion of the northerne men, he appointed not onlie the said earle of Shrewsburie to raise a power to resist them: but also ordained the duke of Norfolk his lieutenant general, with the marquisse of Exeter, and the said earle of Shrewsburie, the earles of Huntington and Rutland, accompanied with a mightie power to go against them.

These lords raising such retinues of souldiers and men of warre as were to them assigned, made forward to the place where the armie of the rebels was then incamped, which was beyond the towne of Doncaster, in the high waie towards York. But

Robert the earle
said to them
that called
himselfe of
the campe.

The euen of
Simon and
Jude.

I stand.

Gods pro-
vidence striketh
them from
battel.

The matter
is taken up.

The oth which
the earle of
Shrewsburie
receiued in
presence of
the people
was
cellar.

And the
king was
in the
castle.

And the
king was
in the
castle.

In other
armies
marching
through
the
castle.

The duke of
Norfolk
the
king's
lieutenant.

A butcher
which hang

and the cause
why.

and the said earle of Shrewesburie, with the earles of Huntingdon; and Rutland, and such other that were next adjoining to those parties, with their powers assembled out of the shires of Salop, Stafford, Leiceſter, Rutland, Nottingham, and Derby, came to a place in Nottingham ſhire called Withlow, and there taking the muſters of their people, ſtreightwaies paſſed forth to Doncaſter, and appointed certaine bands of their men, to lie in places where any fords or paſſages late over the river of Dun, that runneth by the northſide of Doncaſter, to ſtaie the enemies if they ſhould attempt to come over. Shortly after came the dukes of Suffolke, and finallye the markeſſe of Greſſeyr with a ſmall companie of ſtreſſerme men, well and perfectly appointed.

When these capitaines and sage counsellors being here assembled, understood the manner of the notherne men, their number, and readinesse to battell, they first practised with great policie, to haue pacified the matter without bloodshedding: but the notherne men were so bent to mainteine their wilfull enterpryse, that there was no hope to take by the matter without battell: the refoze a daie was set, on the which they should trie the quarrell betwixt them with dint of sword. But for the chance, The night before the daie assigned for this bloodie and vnnaturall battell, to haue being fought betwixt men of one nation, and subiects to one king; there fell a raine not great to speake of, but yet as it were by miracle, the ruine of Dun rose suddenlie on such a height, that felddome had beinge scene there the like hugeness of water: so that the daie when the houre of battell should come, it was not possible for the one armie to come at the other, and so the appointment made betwixt both the armies for trial of the matter by force of arms, was by Gods god providence disappointed, and manie an innocent mans life preferred, that should haue died, if their purposes had taken place.

After this by the great wisdome and policie of the nobles and capteins, a communication was had, and an agreement made vpon the kings pardon, obtained for all the capteins and chiefe dmers in this insurrection, and promise made that they should be gentlie heard, to declare such things as they found themselves grieued with: and that vpon their articles presented to the king, their reasonable petitions should be granted, as by him & his counsell it should be thought expedient, whereby all troubles might be quieted, and ech thing brought to a good conclusion. Wherewith euerie man departed, and those which before came as hot as fire to fight, letted of their desperate purpose, by Gods mercifull providence, returned now peaceable to their houses without any more businesse.

At the selfe same time that these northerne men were lodged nere to Doncaster, and the kings party er ready to stop them of their passage (as before ye have heard) there was an other armie ready to have marched southwards through Lancashire: but by the faithfull diligence of the earle of Derby; who with the forces of Lancashire and Cheshire was appointed to resist them, they were likewise kept backe and byought to quiet; notwithstanding they were a verie great number assembled together of the commons out of Cumberland, Westmerland, and of the north parts of Lancashire. The earle of Suffol was sent downe by the king, to soine in assistance with the earle of Derby; who causing diuerse of the chiefe procurers of that rebellion in those parties to be apprehended and arraigned, they being found guiltie had iudgement, and were executed, as the abbats of Malleie, Sauleie, and others.

In time of this rebellion, a priest that by a butcher dwelling within five miles of Colindale, had been

procured to preach in fauor of the rebels, and the butcher (as well for procuring the priest thereto, as for words spoken as he sold his meat in Wiñdsoꝛ) were hanged: the priest on a tree at the foot of Wiñdsoꝛ bridge, and the butcher on a paire of new gallows set vp before the russell gate, at the end of the same bridge. The words which the butcher spake were these. When one had him lesse for the carcase of a shepe than he thought he could make of it: Paie by Gods soule (said he) I had rather the godd fellowes of the north had it, and a score more of the best I haue, than I would so sell it. His priest and butcher being accused on a mondate in the morning whilst the kings armie was in the field, and the king himselfe lying at Wiñdsoꝛ, they confessed their faultes vpon their examinations, and by the law martiall they were adiudged to death, and suffered as before is mentioned. This yeare in December, the Thames was frozen ouer: inasmuch that the king and quene rode thorough London to Grænewich.

In Christmas the king by his messengers and heralds sent downe into the north his generall pardons to all the offenders; and shortly after Aske that had bene the principall procurer, & as it were chiefe captaine of the northerne rebels, came to London and now was both pardoned and receiued into fauor, receiuing of the kings bounteous liberalitie, apparell, and diuerse other rewards, whereof he was most vntwofoldie: for there liued not (as Hall saith) a better wretch, as well in person as conditions and deeds, speciallie towards the kings maiestie, as after appeared. ¶ Sir Rafe Cuers kept Scarborough castell in the north, being six weeks besieged by the rebels, twentie daies whereof he and all his companie (which were his onelie friends, seruants, and tenants, and serued for god will to him) were forced to susteine themselves with bread and water, and yet he kept the same to the end of that rebellion; and so deliuered it to king Henrie, who sent him sone after to serue in the borders against Scotland, where in great credit he continued his seruice, keeping the Scots without doing hurt to England, and with such obedience of them, as within twentie miles of the borders of Scotland fore against him, there was not a Scot but at his commandement; and so continued, till he was killed in the yeare 1545.]

The twelue of Nouember, Sir Thomas Betoman
priest bare a faggot at Paules crosse, for singing
masse with god ale. On the thirde of Februarie, Tho-
mas Fitzgaret sonne and heire to the earle of Sal-
dare was beheaded, and sixe of his vnckles were
draiue, hanged, and quartered at Tiborne for trea-
son. In the same moneth Nicholas Pusgrauce, Tho-
mas Ilbie, with others, began a new rebellion at
Larkie Stephan in Westmerland, who hauing got
together eight thousand men, besieged the citie of
Carlisle, from whence they were beaten with the on-
ly power of the citie: and in returning from thence,
the duke of Northfolke, who then was lieutenant of
the north, encountered with them, toke the capitaine,
and according to the law martiall assigned sentence,
and foure of them, whome he hanged on Carlisle
walls, but Pusgrauce escaped.

In the same moneth of Februarie began a new
commotion, by the procurement of sir Francis Wals-
god, who being intitled to that mischievous enterprise
by certaine wicked persons, forgot his dutie to his
prince, although he had bene a man (as Hall saith)
that vndoubtedlie loved God, and reuerenced his
prince with a right obedient and loving feate : but
such are men when God leaueeth them, and that they
will take in hand things which Gods most holie
word vtterlie forbiddeth. This last rebellion began in
Strerington, Piskering, Aelfg, and Scarb:stow; but
A. D. 1536. it

General pardons.

I 537
The reward
ded.

Abr. Fl. ex l. 3.
pag. 1010.
Sir Ralfe C.
uers his good
seruice in the
north.

Penance at
Dunles
crosse.
The earle of
Bulbare exa-
cuted.

at Tilbie.
A new rebel-
lion.

to Sir Francis
Bigod procure
reth a new
commotion.

what the earle
said to them
that talked
lewde of him
in the campe.

The ruin of
Simon and
Jude.

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Gods prou-
dence shal
keepe them
from
harm.

The matter
is taken up.

The oath of the
 Earle of Shrewsbury in
 presence of
 the people ne-
 cessarie.

In other ar
mic of rebel
marching
southward
through La
cañare.

The duke of
Dorset the
king's lieutenant.

A butcher & a
first hanged

The purpose
of the rebels.

it was quicklie suppressed, and the said sir Francis Wigod apprehended, and brought to the Tower. The said sir Francis & one Halam, having raised a great compaignie of rebels, meant to have taken the towne of Hull, there to have fortified themselves, and to have assembled more power; but by the wisdom of sir Rafe Ellerker, & the mayo of the towne of Hull, the said Halam, & thescole other of the rebels with out anie slaughter were taken, which Halam was afterwards hanged in chaires, and two other with him, at the said towne of Hull. Sir Francis Wigod fled, & could not be heard of for a time, but at length he was also apprehended.

Like & others
practise to
raise a new
rebellion.

Robert Dac-
kington mur-
thered.

Spoeoner, about the latter end of this twentieth and eight yeare, the lord Darcie, Aste, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer and his wife, sir Thomas Perrie brother to the erle of Northumberland, sir Stephan Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest elquier, William Lomleie, began effionies to conspire, although euerie of them before had receiued their pardons: and now were they all taken and brought to the Tower of London as prisoners. This yeare Robert Dackington a mercer of London, a man both rich, wise, and of good credit, dwelling at the signe of the leg in Chrapside, on a morning going (as his custom was) about foure of the clocke to heare masse, in the church then called S. Thomas of Acres, & now the spencers chappell, as he crossed ouer the street from his house to the church, was suddenlie murdered with a gun, the cracke whereof was heard of the neighbors, and of a great number of labozers that stood at Soper lane end, and saw the said Dackington go forth of his house: but there was such a thicke mist that morning, as the like had not bene sene, by couert whereof the murderer found thist the moze easilie to escape.

Spaite were suspected, but none found in fault, albeit forsomuch as he was one that would speake his mind frelie, and was at the same time one of the burgessees of the parlement for the citie of London, and had talked somewhat against the couetousnesse and crueltie practised by the cleargie, it was mistrusted least by some of them he came thus to his end. At length the murderer in deed was condemned at Banburie in Northfolke, to die for a felonie which he afterwards committed: and when he came to the gallows on which he suffered, he confessed that he did this murder, and till that time he was neuer had in anie suspicion thereof. ¶ The nine and twentieth of March, were twelue of the Lincolneshire rebels draiue to Ttburne, and there hanged and quartered, five of them were priests, the residue laic men. One of the priests was doctoꝝ Spakarell, and an other was the vicar of Louth.

Rich. Grafton.
The inuention
of casting
pipes.

Anno reg. 29.

About this season the maner of casting pipes of lead for the conuenance of water vnder the ground, without occupieng of soulder to the same, was inuented by Robert Brocke clearke, then one of the kings chapleins, an inuention right necessarie for the sauing of expences: for two men and a boie will do that in one daie, which before could not be done by manie men in manie daies. Robert Coper goldsmith was the first that made the instruments, and put this inuention in practise. ¶ In the berie beginning of this yeare, certeine commissioners being sent into Summerstethire to take vp corne, the people began to make an insurrection: but by the wisdom and diligence of young master Paulet & others the same was suppressed, and the beginners thereof, to the number of thescole, were apprehended & condemned, and fourtene of them were hanged and quartered, one of the number being a woman, the residue were saued by the kings mercifull pardon.

In June the lord Darcie & the lord Huseie were arreigned at Westminster before the marquisse of Crester then high steward, where they were found guiltie, and had iudgement, as in cases of high treason. Shortly after also were arreigned sir Robert Constable, sir Thomas Perrie, sir Francis Wigod, sir Stephan Hamilton, sir John Bulmer, and his wife, or rather (as some report) his paramour: also William Lomleie, Nicholas Tempest, William Thurst abbat of Founteins, Adam Subbarie abbat of Teruene, William Wololprie of Wirlington, also the abbat of Kluers, and Robert Aste. They were all found guiltie of high treason, and all put to death. Sir Robert Constable was hanged in chains ouer Beuerleie gate at Hull, and Robert Aste was also hanged in chains on a towre at Porke, and Margarete siter John Bulmers paramour burnt in Smithfield in London. The other suffered at Ttburne.

In the latter end of June, was the lord Darcie beheaded at the Tower hill, and shortly after the lord Huseie was likewise beheaded at Lincoln. This yeare at saint Georges feast, was the lord Cromwell made knight of the garter. In October on saint Edwards euent, which falleth on the twelfth of that moneth, at Hampton court the quene was deliuered of hir sonne named Edward, for whose birth great sole was made thorough the realme, with thanksgiuing to almighty God, who had sent such a young prince to succed his father in the crowne of this realme (as afterwards he did) by the name of king Edward the first. His godfathers at the fontaine were the archbishop of Canturburie & the duke of Northfolke, the ladie Marie was his godmother, and at the bishopping, the duke of Suffolke was his godfather. On the eighteenth of October he was made prince of Wales, duke of Cornewall, and erle of Chester.

But as sole is often mired with sorow, so at that time it came to passe by the death of his mother, that noble and vertuous ladie quene Jane, which departed out of this life the fourteenth daie of this moneth of October, to the great grieve of the whole realme: but namely the king hir husband toke it most grievouslie of all other, who remouing to Westminster, there kept himselfe close a great while after. The eight of November, the corps of the quene was caried to Windsoꝝ, with great solemnitie, and there buried in the midst of the quire in the castell church. There was also a solempne hearse made for hir in Paules church, and funerall equeles celebrated, as well as in all other churches within the citie of London. Thus was the king left againe a widower, and so continued the space of two yeares together. Upon the death of which quene Jane, and the birth of prince Edward hir son this dischord following was made:

Phoenix Iana iacet nato Phænice, dolendum
Secula Phænices nulla tulisse duas.

The king held his Christmas at Crénetsch, with as well he as all the court ware mourning apparell, till the morrow after Candlemas daie, & then he and all other changed. This yeare Edward Selmer count Beauchampe the quenes brother was created earle of Hertford, & sir William Fitzwilliams lord high admerall was created earle of Southampton, & master Paulet was made vicechanceloꝝ, sir John Russell comptrollor of the kings house, master Henedge, master Long, master Bineuet of the kings priuie chamber, knights; master Coffin, master Astar, & master Selmer the quenes brother, knights. On Allhalloves euent, the lord Thomas Howard brother to the duke of Northfolke, died prisoner in the Tower of London, and was buried at Ttburne, and then the ladie Margarete Douglas was pardoned, and

The birth of
king Edward
the first.

The death of
quene Jane.

John Fox in
Acts & Apoc-
ryphes.

These verses
were thought
to be made by
master Ar-
gill Wade.

1538
Creation of
officers.

Abt. Fl. ex
LS pag. 101,
101a.

Lord Tho-
mas Howard
was burnt
at Ttburne.

Kind of grace
showed at
Paules.

Saint Joan
in South-
wiche.

Anno Reg 30
fruer 1537
rell.

Frier Fog-
not burnt.

8 prophesies

Ric. Graf. in
fol. pag. 123;

Execution.

Rod of grace
showed at
Pauls.

Reignment.

Execution.

Saint Shans
in South-
wiche.An. Reg. 30.
four foy
nd.The birth of
king Edward
the first.The death of
queen Jane.four foy
nd burnt.John Fox to
the 390
ments.These verses
were thought
to be made by
after Armi-
ll Wade.1538
creation of
ficers.br. Fl. ex
pag. 1011,
12.old the
as Edward
scaled.

and released out of the Tower. The foure and twen-
tith of Februarye, being sūdate, the rod of Borleie
in Kent, called the rod of grace, made with diuerse
vices, to moue the eies and lips, was shewed at
Pauls crosse by the preacher, which was the bishop
of Worcester, and there it was broken and plucked
in peeces.

The five and twentieth of Februarye, sir Thon Al-
len priest, and also an Irish gentleman of the Carets
were hanged & quartered at Tiburne. The second
of March, the image of the rood, called saint Sancio,
at Bermonseie abbey in Southwiche, was taken
downe by the kings commandement. The one and
twentieth of March, Henrie Barham customer of
Plimmouth, and Thomas Cwell, were hanged and
quartered at Tiburne. In Maie a frier obseruant
called frier Forrest was apprehended, for that he
was knowne in secret confessions to haue declared
to manie of the kings liege people, that the king
was not supream head of the church, where he had
by his oth neuer thelesse affirmed him so to be. Where-
upon in his examination, that point being laid to his
charge, he answered that he toke his oth with his
outward man, but his inward man neuer consented
thereunto. But being further accused of diuerse he-
reticall and damnable opinions that he held & main-
tained contrarie to the scripture, at length being not
able to defend the same, he submitted himselfe to the
punishment of the church.

Now upon this his submission, hauing more
libertie than before he had to talke with whome he
would, and other hauing libertie to talke with him,
he was incensed by some such as had conference
with him, that when his formall abjuratiō was
sent him to read and peruse, he utterly refused it,
and obstinate stood in all his heresies and trea-
sons. Whereupon he was condemned, & afterwards
on a paire of new gallowes prepared for him in
Smithfield, he was hanged by the middle and arme-
holes all quick, and vnder the gallowes was made
a fire wherewith he was consumed and burnt to
death. There were diuerse of the counsell present at
his death ready to haue granted him pardon, if a-
nie sparke of repentance would haue appeared in
him. There was also a pulpit prepared, in which
that renowned preacher Hugh Latimer, then bi-
shop of Worcester, by manifest scriptures confuted
the friers errors, and with manie godlie exhortati-
ons moued him to repentance, but he would neither
heare nor speake.

A little before the execution, an huge and great
image was brought to the gallowes. This image
was fetched out of Wales, which the Welshmen had
in great reuerence: and it was named Daruell Ga-
theren. They had a prophesie in Wales, that this
image should set a whole forest on fire, which prophesie
was now thought to take effect, for he set this frier
Forrest on fire, and consumed him to nothing. The
friar when he saw the fire come, caught hold on the
ladder, which he would not let go, but in that fort vi-
patientlie toke his death, so as if one might iudge
him by his outward man, he appeared (saith Hall) to
haue small knowledge of God, and lesse trust in him
at his ending: otherwile he would haue bene per-
suaded to patience, and a christian farewell to the
world. Upon the gallowes that he died on, was set
up in great letters these verses here following:

David Daruell Gatheren,
As saith the Welshmen,
Fetched outlawes out of hell:
Now is he come with speare and shield,
In harness to burne in Smithfield,
For in Wales he maie not dwell.

And Forrest the frier,
That obdurate lier,
That wilfullie shall be dead:
In his contumacie,
The gospell dooth denie,
The king to be supreme head.]

In Iulie was Edmund Cuninghie attainted
of treason, for counterfeiting the kings signe ma-
nuell, and in August was Edward Cliford for the
same cause attainted, and both put to execution as
traitors at Tiburne. In September by the speciall
motion of the Lord Cromwell, all the notable ima-
ges, vnto the which were made anie especiall pilgri-
images and offerings, were utterly taken awaie, as
the images of Wallingham, Ipswich, Worcester,
the ladie of Wilton, with manie other, and likewise
the shynes of counterfeit saints, as that of Thomas
Becket, and others. And euen forthwith, by meanes
of the said Cromwell, all the orders of friers and
nuns, with their cloisters and houses, were suppressed
and put downe. As for the images of our ladie of
Wallingham, and Ipswich, were brought by to
London, with all the iewels that hong about them,
and diuerse other images both in England & Wales,
whereunto anie common pilgrimage was vsed, for
auoiding of idolatrie, all which were burnt at Chelise
by the lord priuie seale.

On the first of September being sūdate, one
Gratnell hangman of London and two other were
hanged at the wexfling place by Clearken well, for
robbing a booth in Bartholomew faire, at which exe-
cution were aboute twentie thousand people, as Ed-
ward Hall himselfe (then a present beholder) iudged.
This moneth of September, Thomas Cromwell
lord priuie seale, vicegerent to the kings highnesse,
sent forth instructions to all bishops & curats throug-
h the realme, charging them to see that in euery parish
church, the bible of the largest volume, printed in
Englisch, were placed for all men to read on: and
that a booke of register were also provided and kept
in euery parish church, wherein shall be written eue-
rie wedding, chistening, and burieng, within the
same parish for euer.

Saint Augustines abbey at Canturburie was
suppressed, and the shyne & gods taken to the kings
treasurie, as also the shyne of Thomas Becket in
the priorie of Chypps church was likewise taken to
the kings vse, and his bones, scull and all, which was
there found, with a pece broken out by the wound of
his death, were all burnt in the same church by the
lord Cromwell. The monks there were commanded
to change their habits, &c. The one and twentieth of
October, the church of Thomas Becket in London
called the hospitall of saint Thomas of Acres was
suppressed. Nicholas Gibson groser, for this yeare
thiraffe of London, builded a free schole at Ratchiffe,
nere vnto London, appointing to the same, for the
instruction of thre score poore mens chyldren, a schole-
maister and vsher, with a stipend of ten pounds by the
pere to the maister, and six pounds thirtene shillings
four pence to the vsher. He also builded there cer-
teine almes houses for fouretene poore and aged per-
sons, who quarterlie receiue six shillings eight pence
a pece for euer.]

In this season sute was made to the king by the
emperour, to take to wife the duchesse of Spillan: but
thortlie after that sute brake off, because (as was
thought) the emperours counsell ment by a cautell
to haue brought the king in mind to sue for a licence
of the pope. When the duke of Cleue began to sue to
the king, that it would please him to match with his
sister the ladie Anne, which after toke effect. In No-
uember, one John Picholson, otherwile called Lam-
bert,

Execution.

Certaine ima-
ges to be away
and remoued
from their
places.Ab. Fl. ex I.S.
pag. 1013.Hangman
hanged.The bible in
euery church
to be read.Register booke
in euery
church to
be kept.Thomas
Becket
burnt.Free schole
and almes
houses at
Ratchiffe.

bert, a priest, was accused of heresie, for holding opi-
nion against the bodilie presence in the sacrament of
the altar. He appealed to the kings maiestie, who fa-
uourable consented to heare him at a daie appoin-
ted, against which daie, in the kings palace at West-
minster, within the kings hall, there was set up a
throne or seat of state for the king, with scaffolds for
all the lords, and a stage for Nicholson to stand upon.

This Nicholson was esteemed to be a man well
learned, but that daie he uttered no such knowledge
(saith Hall) as was thought to be in a man of that
estimation. Diuerse arguments were ministred to
him by the bishops, but namelie the king pressed him
so, and in the end offered him pardon if he would
renounce his opinion: but he would not consent
thereto, and therefore he was there condemned, and
had indgement, and so shortly after he was drawne
into Smithfield, and there burnt to ashes. The third
of Nouember, Henrie Courtneie marques of Exce-
ster and earle of Denonshire, Henrie Pole lord
Pontacate, and sir Edward Neuill brother to the
lord Aborgauennie, were sent to the tower, being
accused by sir Gessreie Pole, brother to the lord Pon-
tacate, of high treason. They were indicted for deul-
sing to mainteine, promote, & aduance one Reginald
Pole, late deane of Excester, enemie to the king
beyond the sea, & to depriue the king. The marques,
and the lord Pontacate were arraigned the last of
December at Westminster befoze the lord Audleie
that was chancellor, and for that present time high
steward of England, and there they found him
giltie.

The third daie after were arraigned sir Edward
Neuill, sir Gessreie Pole, two priests called Cross
and Collins, & one Holland a mariner, & all attain-
ted. The sixteenth of Nouember, was the blacke
friers in London suppressed, the next daie the wyse
friers, the grate friers, and the monks of the Char-
terhouse, and so all the other immediatlie. The foure
and twentieth of Nouember, the bishop of Rochester
preached at Paules crosse, & there shewed the bloud
of Hales, and affirmed the same to be no bloud, but
homic clarified, and coloured with sackron, as it had
bene euidentlie proued befoze the king and his
councell. Also foure anabaptists, three men, and one
woman, all Dutch, bare sagots at Paules crosse the
same daie. The nineteenth of Nouember, a man and
a woman Dutch anabaptists, were burnt in Smith-
field.]

The ninth of Januarie, the lord marques, and
the lord Pontacate, with sir Edward Neuill lost
their heads on the Tower hill. The two priests and
Holland were drawne to Tiburne, and there han-
ged and quartered. Sir Gessreie Pole had his par-
don. On Alwednesday, John Johns, John Pot-
ter, & William Spanering, were hanged in the prin-
ces lieries (because they were the princes seruants)
on the southside of Paules churchyard, for killing
Roger Cholmelcie esquier in that place, of malice
prepened. The third of March, sir Nicholas Carew
of Bedington in the countie of Surrie knight of
the garter, and maister of the kings house, conden-
ned befoze of treason, was beheaded on the Tower
hill, where he made a godlie confession, both of his
fault, and superstitious faith, giuing God thanks, for
that his hap was to be prisoner in the Tower, where
he first sauored the pleasant tast of Gods holie word,
meaning the bible in English, which there he read by
the exhortation of one Thomas Philips then keeper
of that prison, and sometime a citizen and point-
marker of London, who had bene in some trouble for
religion, and examined befoze doctor Stokellie bi-
shop of London, and sir Thomas More, but through
his wise demeanour and mild answers, he escaped

their hands.

The ninth of March, the king created sir Willi-
am Paulet knight treasurer of his house, lord saint
John, and sir John Russell comptroller of his house-
hold, lord Russell. Also either then or shortly after,
was sir William Par created lord Par. The new
abbie of white monks at the Tower hill, and the
Spinories, hiris without Algate, were suppressed on
the last of March. The same time the king caused all
the hauens to be fenced with bulwarks, and blocke-
houses, and riding to Dover, he took order to haue
bulwarks made alongst the sea coasts, and sent com-
mission to haue generall musters made through the
realme. Whereouer on Easter daie there were three
score sail discovered that late in the冬nices, and
for that it was neither knowne what they were, nor
what they intended to do, all the able men in Kent
rose and mustered in armour the same daie. The
eight and twentieth of Aprill began a parlement at
Westminster, in the which Margaret countesse of
Salisbury, Gertrude wife to the marques of Exce-
ster, Reginald Pole cardinall, brother unto the lord
Pontacate, sir Adrian Fokew, & Thomas Dingleie
knight of saint Johns, and diuerse other were
atteinted of high treason, which Fokew and Dingleie
the tenth of Iulie were beheaded.

In this parlement the act of the six articles was
established. Of some it was named the bloodie sta-
tute, as it proued indeed to manie. And even shortly
after the making thereof, when the first inquest for
inquirie of the offenders of the same statute sat in
London at the mercers chappell, those that were of
that inquest were so chosen for the purpose, as
there was not one amongst them that wished not to
haue the said statute put in execution to the bitter-
most, inasmuch that they were not contented onlie
to inquire of those that offended in the six articles
contained in that statute, but also they desired to in-
quiere of certeine branches (as they took the matter)
belonging to the same, as of those that came seldom
to heare masse, that held not by their hands at the
sacring time, who took no holie bread nor holie wa-
ter, who used to read the bible in churches, or in com-
munication seemed to despise priests, or images in
the churches, &c. To conclude, they inquired of dis-
gentle of them that had so offended in anie of those
articles or the branches, that they indicted & presen-
ted to the number of five hundred persons and a-
bove, so that if the king had not granted his pardon,
for that he was informed by the lord Audleie then
lord chancellor that they were indicted of malice, a
great manie of them which already were in pri-
son, had died for it in Smithfield, in frieng a saggot.
But although the king at that present granted his
gratious pardon, and forgane all those offenses: yet
afterwards, during the time that this statute stood in
force, which was for the space of eight years insuing,
they brought manie an honest and simple person to
death. For such was the rigor of that law, that if two
witnesses, true or false, had accused anie, and ad-
uouched that they had spoken against the sacrament,
there was no waite but death; for it boted him not
to confesse that his faith was contrarie, or that he
said not as the accusers reported, for the witnesses
(for the most part) were beleued.

The king being informed that the pope by insti-
gation of cardinall Pole, had moued and stirred di-
uers great princes and potentars of christendome to
inuaide the realme of England; without all delate
rode himselfe toward the sea coasts, and sent diuerse
of his nobles and counsellors to sarueie all the ports
and places of danger on the coast, where anie meet
and conuenient landing place might be doubted, as
well in the borders of England, as also of Wales: in
which

The marques
of Excester
condemned.

I. Stow,
pag. 1019.

Frieries
suppressed.

Shroud of
Hales shewed
at Paules
crosse.

Anabaptists.

1539
The lord
marques
executed.

Sir Nicho-
las Carew
executed.

Creation of
new officers.

Bulwarks &
blockhouses
built.

Anno Reg. 31
A parlement
at Westminster.

Execution.

The statute
of the six ar-
ticles.
An inquest of
inquire.

Parlament
in London
for a statute
made &
beheaded
the king.


The extreme
proceeding in
execution of
the six arti-
cles.

Appointment for
defence of the
realme.

The 5

The 1
Articles.

1. Reg. 31.



The wilkers on foot, being in number foure hundred proper light persons, were clad in white terts of leather cut, with white hose and shoues, euerie man with a taelin or slaughtsword in his hands, to be the people in arraie. They had chaines about their necks, and fethers in their caps. The minstrels were in white, with the armes of the citie, and so was

60 The eight of Julie, Griffith Clearkie, vicar
Wandsworth, with his chapleine and his seru-
ant frater Maite, were all foure hanged and quarter
at S. Thomas Waterings. The tenth of Julie
Adrian Fortescue, and Thomas Dingleie were
headed. The ninth of September, the nunnerie
Clerkenwell and diuerse others were suppressed.
This yeare the firste of September came
London duke Frederike of Banier, the Palsgra-
of the Rhine, and the eighteenth of the same moneth
came to London the marshall of Hans Freder-
prince elego; of Saronie, and the chancelloz of Wil-
liam duke of Cleue, Gulicke, Gelderland, and Fl-
ghen. The Palsgraue was receiued and condu-
to Windsor by the duke of Suffolke, and the o-
thers were accompanied with other noble men, and
thre and twentieth of the same moneth they all ca-
to Windsor, where eight daies together they
continualle feasted, and had pastime theweth
in hunting and other pleasures, so much as night
The Palsgraue hostlie after departed homewards
and was princelie rewarded, & at that present t
the marriage concluded betwixt the king and
ladie Anne, sister vnto duke William of Cle

be. The marriage concluded
was twixt king
the Henrie & the
ue, ladie Anne
and Cleve.

I. Stow, pag.
1016.Thom. Hunt-
low his cha-
ritic.Pensioners
instituted.Ladie Anne
of Cleue is
received into
Calis.She landeth
in Kent.

a great preparation was made for the receiuing of hir. The twelue of October the nunnerie of Walswell, & southwith the priorie of S. Marie oueries in Southwoke, and S. Bartholomeus in Smithfield, were suppressed, & all their lands & goods taken to the kings vse. Thomas Huntlow of London for this yeare thiriffe, gaue the haberdashers certeine tene-ments, for the which they be bound to giue to ten poze almes people of the same companie, euerie one of them eight pence euerie fridate for ever: and also at euerie quarter dinner kept by the masters, to be giuen to euerie one of those ten poze people a penie loose, a pottell of ale, a peece of beefe worth foure pence in a platter, with pozeage, and foure pence in monie.]

The fouretenth of Nouember, Hugh Feringdon abbat of Reding, and two priests, the one called King, and the other Union, atainted of high treason for denieng the supremacie of the king ouer the church of England, were hanged, and quartered at Reding. The same daie was Richard Whiting abbat of Glasseburie likewise hanged and quartered on Tolwe hill beside his monastirie, for the same matter and other treasons whereof he had bene convicted. The first of December was John Bech abbat of Colchester put to death for the like offense. In December were appointed to wait on the kings person fiftie gentlemen called pensioners, of spares, vnto whome was assigned the sum of fiftie pounds peece a peece, for the maintenance of themselves and two horses, or one horse and a gelding of service.

The eleuenth daie of December at the turne pkie on this side Graueling, was the ladie Anne of Cleue receiued by the lord deputie of the towne of Calis, and with the speares and horsemen belonging to the retinue there. When she came within little more than a mile of the towne of Calis, she was met by the erle of Southampton high admerall of England, who had in his companie thirtie gentlemen of the kings household, as sir Francis Bryan, sir Thomas Seimer, and others, beside a great number of gentlemen of his owne retinue clad in blue velvet, and crimson satin, and his peomen in damaske of the same colours. The mariners of his ship were apparelled in satin of Bridges, cotes & slops of the same colour. The lord admerall brought hir into Calis by Lanterne gate. There was such a peale of ordinance shot off at hir entrie, as was marvellous to the hearers. The mase presented hir with an hundred markes in gold, the merchants of the Staple with an hundred souveraignes of gold in a rich purse. She was lodged in the kings place called the Chexker, and there she laie fiftene daies for want of prosperous wind.

During which time, goodlie iusts and coslie banquets were made to hir, for hir solace and recreation. And on S. Johns daie in Christmasse, she with fiftie saile toke passage about none, and landed at Dele in the Dolomes about fise of the clocke, where sir Thomas Henie lord Warden of the ports receiued hir. She taried there a certeine space in a castell newlie built, and thither came the duke of Suffolke, and the dutches of Suffolke, and the bishop of Chichester with a great number of knights and esquires, and ladies of Kent and other, which welcomed hir grace, and brought hir that night vnto Dover castell, where she rested till mondaie, on which date (notwithstanding it was verie foule and stormie weather) she passed towards Canturburie, and on Waram doleone met hir the archbishop of Canturburie, with the bishops of Elie, S. Asse, S. Daues, and Dover, and so brought hir to S. Augustins without Canturburie, where she laie that night. The next daie she came to

Sittingburne, and laie there that night. As she passed towards Rochester on Petweares even, on Ketnam doleone met hir the duke of Suffolke, and the lord Maces of the south, and the lord Pontioe, with a great companie of knights and esquires of Suffolke and Suffolke, with the barons of the eschequer which brought hir to Rochester, where she laie in the palace all Petweares daie. On which daie, the king (longing to see hir) accompanied with no more but eight persons of his priue chamber, both he and they all apparelled in marble cotes, piallie comming to Rochester, suddenlie came to hir presence, whereof at the first she was somewhat affonied, but after he had spoken to hir and welcomed hir, she with louing countenance and gracions behaviour him receiued, and welcomed him on hir knees, whom he gentlie toke vp and kissed, and all that after none communed and deuised with hir, supped that night with hir, and the next daie he departed to Greene-wich, and she came forward to Dartford.

On the morrow the thirde daie of Januarie being saturday, in a faire plaine of Blackheath, more nere to the foot of Shooters hill, than the ascendent of the same, called Blackheath hill, was pitched a pavilion of rich cloth of gold, and diuerse other tents and pavilions, in which were made fiers and perfumes for hir and such ladies as were appointed to receiue hir: and from the tents to the parke gate of Greene-wich, all the bushes and firs were cut downe, and a large open waie made for the shew of all persons. And first next to the parke pale on the east side stood the merchants of the Stillard, and on the west side stood the merchants of Genoa, Florence and Venice, and the Spaniards in cotes of beluet. Then on both sides the waie stood the merchants of the citie of London, and the aldermen, with the counsellors of the said citie, to the number of a hundred and threescore which were mingled with the esquires; then the fiftie gentlemen pensioners: and all these were apparelled in beluet and chaines of gold, trulle accounted to the number of twelue hundred & above, beside them that came with the king and hir, which were sir hundred in beluet cotes and chaines of gold. Behind the gentlemen stood the seruicemen in good order well horsed and apparelled, that who so ever had well viewed them, might haue said, that they for tall and comelie personages, and cleane of lim and boile, were able to giue the greatest prince in christendome a most full breakfast, if he had bene the kings enemie.

About twelue of the clocke, hir grace with all the companie which were of hir owne nation, to the number of an hundred horse, accompanied with the dukes of Suffolke and Suffolke, the archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops, lords, and knights, which had receiued and conueied hir, came downe Shooters hill towards the tents, and a good space from the tents met hir the earle of Rutland appointed lord chamberlaine to hir grace, sir Thomas Denise hir chancellor, and all hir counsellors and officers, amongst whom doctor Daie (appointed to be hir almoner) made to hir an eloquent oration in Latine, presenting to hir on the kings behalfe all the officers and seruants: which oration was answered vnto by the duke hir brothers secretarie, there being present: which done the ladie Margaret Dowglas, daughter to the quene of Scots, the ladie mar- quesse Dowset, daughter to the French quene, being nextes to the king, and the dutches of Richmond the countesses of Rutland and Hereford, with diuers other ladies and gentlewomen, to the number of threescore and fise, saluted and welcomed hir grace, who alighted out of hir chariot in the which she had rid all hir long tourneie, and with courteous demeanour

1540

The king
commeth to
see hir at the
chexker.The oration
receiued by
on Black-
heath.The kings
maistie on
houselbacke.who followed
the king.The meeting
of the king &
the ladie Anne
of Cleue on
BlackheathThe ladies
that receiued
hir on Black-
heath.The kings
trumpets an-
the ladie An-
of Cleues.

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1540

The king
commeth to
see hir at Black-
heath.

The order of
receiving hir
on Black-
heath.

The ladies
that receiued
hir on Black-
heath.

loning countenance, gaue to them hartie thanks, and kissed them all, and after all hir counsellors and officers kissed hir hand: which done, she with all the ladies entered the tents, and there warmed them a space.

When the king knew that she was arrived in hir tent, he with all diligence set out through the parke. And first issued the kings trumpets, then the kings officers swome of his priuie chamber, after them follo-
wed barons, the yongest first, and sir William Wol-
lis lord maior of London rode with the lord Par-
that was the yongest baron. Then followed the bi-
shops, and immediatlie after them the earles, and
then the duke of Bauiere, and countie Palatine of
the Rhine, with the liuierie of the Tolson or golden
sleece about his necke.

Then came the ambassadours of the French king
and emperour, next to whome followed the lord pri-
uie seale lord Cromwell, and the lord chancellour,
then Carter king at armes, and the other officers
and sargeants of armes gaue their attendance on
each side the lord. The lord marquesse Dorset bare the
sword of estate, and after him a good distance follo-
wed the kings highnesse, mounted on a goodlie cour-
ser. To speake of the rich and gorgeous apparell that
was there to be seene that daie, I haue thought it
not greatlie necessarie, with each man may well
thinke it was right sumptuous, and as the time then
serued, verie faire and collie, as they that are desi-
rous to vnderstand the same may read in maister
Halles chronicle more at large, which in this part I
haue thought good to abridge.

After the king followed the lord chamberleine,
then came sir Anthonie Browne maister of his
horses, a goodlie gentleman, and of personage verie
semlicie, richlie mounted, & leading the kings horse
of estate by a long reine of gold. Then followed his
pages of honour riding on great couriers, and last-
lie followed sir Anthonie Wingfield capteine of the
gard, and then the gard well habited, and in their
rich cotes. In this order rode the king till he came to
the last end of the ranke of the pensioners, & there e-
uerie person that came with him placed himselfe on
the one side or the other, the king standing in the
middle.

When hir grace vnderstood that the king was
come, she came forth of hir tent, and at the doore ther-
of, being set on a faire and beautifull horse richlie
traped, she rode forth towards the king, who percei-
uing hir to approach, came forward somewhat beyond
the croffe on Blackheath, and there staid till she
came nether, & then putting off his cap, he made for-
ward to hir, and with most loning countenance and
princelie behauiour saluted, welcomed, and imbra-
ced hir, to the great reioysing of the beholders: and
she likewise not forgetting hir dutie, with most ami-
able aspect and womanlie behauiour receiued him
with manie apt words and thanks, as was most to
purpose. Whilste they were thus talking together, the
fifte pensioners with the gard departed to furnish
the hall at Greenwich. After the king had talked
with hir a small while, he put hir on his right hand,
and so with their footmen they rode together, and
with their companies being thus met, returned in
this manner through the ranks of the knights and
squires (which stood still all this while and remoued
not.)

First hir trumpets set forward, being twelue in
number, beside two kettledrums on horsebacke; then
followed the kings trumpeters, then the kings coun-
cellors, then the gentlemen of the priuie chamber, af-
ter them the gentlemen of hir graces countie in
rotes of beluet, and all on great horses. When the

maior of London with the yongest baron, then all
the barons: next them the bishops, then the earles,
with whom rode the earles of Duerstein and Wal-
dec hir countmen, then the dukes of Suffolke and
Suffolke, and the archbishop of Canturburie, and
duke Phillip of Banier: next followed the ambassa-
dors, then the lord priuie seale, and the lord chancellor,
then the lord marquesse Dorset that bare the sword:
next followed the king himselfe equalle riding with
the ladie Anne, and behind him rode sir Anthonie
Browne with the kings horse of estate, as yee haue
heard, and behind him rode sir John Dobleie mai-
ster of his horses, leading hir spare horse trapped in
rich tissue downe to the ground: after them folloved
hensmen and pages of honor.

Then followed the ladie Margaret Douglas, the
ladie marquesse Dorset, the dutches of Richmond
and Suffolke, the countesses of Rutland and Hert-
ford, and other countesses. Then came hir chariot in
which she had rid all hir iournie, well carued and gilt
with the armes of hir countie curiously wrought &
couered with cloth of gold, all the horses were trap-
ped with blacke veluet, and on them rode pages of
honor, in which chariot rode two ancient ladies of hir
countie: next after the chariot, followed sir ladies
and gentlewomen of hir countie verie beautifull
and richlie apparellled, and with them rode sir ladies
of England. Then folloved an other chariot, gilt
and furnished, then ten English ladies, and next
them an other chariot couered with blacke cloth, and
therein rode foure gentlewomen that were hir
chamberers. Then folloved all the remnant of the
ladies, gentlewomen and damosels in great num-
ber: and last of all came an other chariot all blacke,
with three launders appertaining to hir grace; next
after folloved an horlitter of cloth of gold and crim-
sin veluet upon veluet paled, with horses trap ac-
cordinglie, which the king had sent to hir. Then fol-
loved the seruingmen of hir traine, all clothed in
blacke, mounted on great horses, euerie one in
due place and decent order, so that it was verie mag-
nificall and more than princelie brauerie that then
was exhibited to the beholders eyes, as the poet saith:

Cernitur hic plusquam regia pompa comes.

In this order they rode through the ranks and
through the parke, till they came at the late friers
wall, where all men alighted except the king, the two
maisters of the horse, and the hensmen, which rode
to the hall doore, & the ladies rode to the court gate, &
as they passed, they might behold on the wharfe, how
the citizens of London were rowing vp and downe
on the Thames right before them, euerie craft with
his barge garnished with banners, flags, streamers,
pencels, and targets, painted and beaten with the
kings armes, some with hir armes, and some with
the armes of their craft and myserie.

There was also a barge called the bachellores
barke, richlie decked, on the which waited a foist that
shot great peeces of artillerie, and in euerie barge
was great store of instruments of diuerse sorts, and
men and children singing and plaing altogether, as
the king and the ladie Anne passed by on the wharfe.
When the king and she were within the bitter court,
they alighted from their horses, and the king loning-
lie imbraced hir, kissed hir, & bad hir welcome to hir
stone, leading hir by the left arme through the hall,
which was furnished beneath the harch with the gard
and above the harch with the fifte pensioners, with
their battell ares; and so the king brought hir vp to
hir priuie chamber, where he left hir for that time.
As soon as the king and she were entered the court,
a great peale of artillerie was shot off from the
tower of Greenwich, and there about.

When the kings companie and hers were once
come

The king and
the ladie Anne
ride together.

Hir chariot
wherein she
rode all hir
iournie.

The kings
saddle on
gillbacke.

who followed
the king.

The meeting
of the king
and the ladie Anne
at Greenwich.

The kings
trumpets and
the ladie Anne
at Greenwich.

The king
welcometh
hir to Green-
wich.

The marriage
is solemnized
between king
Henrie & the
ladie Anne of
Cleue.

come with in the parke (as before ye haue heard) then
all the horsemen on Blackheath brake their arais,
and had licence to depart to London or otherwhere to
their lodgings.

On the tuesday following, being the daie of the
Epiphanie, the marriage was solemnized betwixt the
king and the said ladie. She was fetched from hir
chamber by the lords, so that the going betwene the
earle of Duerstaine, and the grand master Holcon-
der, which had the conduct and order to see the mari-
age performed, she passed through the kings chamber
& all the lords before hir, till she came into the galle-
rie, where the king was readie, stateng for hir, to
whom she made three low obeisances and courtesies.
Then the archbishop of Canturburie received them,
and married them together, and the earle of Duer-
staine did giue hir. When the marriage was celebrate
they went hand in hand into the kings closet, and
there hearing masse, offered their tapers, and after
masse was ended, they had wine and spices. And
that done, the king departed to his chamber, and all
the ladies waited on hir to hir chamber, the duke of
Norfolke going on hir right hand, and the duke of
Suffolke on hir left.

After nine of the clocke, the king having shifted
his apparell, came to his closet, & the likewise in hir
haire, & in the same apparell she was married in the
came to hir closet with hir sargeant at armes, & all
hir officers before hir like a queene, & so the king and
she went openlie in procession, and offered and dined
together. After they had supped together, there were
banquets and masks, and diuerse disports thewed,
till time came, that it pleased the king and hir to
take rest. On the saturday after were kept solenne
tusts, which greatly contented the strangers. This
daie she was apparelled after the English manner,
with a French hood, which became hir exceedingly well.
When the earle of Duerstaine and the other lords
and ladies which had giuen their attendance on hir
grace all that iourneie, had bene highly feasted
and interteined of the king and other of the nobles,
they toke leaue, and had great gifts giuen to them;
both in monie and plate, and so returned toward
their countrie, leaving behind them the erle of Wal-
decke, and diuerse gentlemen and damoels to re-
maine with hir, till she were better acquainted in the
realme.

Tusts and
toynements.

The king and
the ladie Anne
remoue to
Westminster.

The fourth of Februarie, the king and she remou-
ed to Westminster by water, on whome the lord
enslor & his brethren, with twelue of the cheefe com-
panies of the citie, all in barges gorgeondie garni-
shed with baners, penons, and targets, richlie coue-
red, and furnished with instruments, sweetlie soun-
ding, gaue their attendance: and by the waie, all the
ships shot off, and likewise from the towre, a great
peale of ordinance went off lustilie. The twelue of
Februarie, the duke of Norfolke was sent in am-
bassage to the French king, of whome he was well
interteined, and in the end of the same moneth he re-
turned againe into England.

The duke of
Norfolke
ambassador
into France.

S. Marie Ma-
garet made a
parish church.

After Christmas, the priorie church of S. Marie Ma-
garet in Southwiche was purchased of the king by
the inhabitants of the Bowe, D. Gardener bishop
of Winchester putting to his helping hand: they
made thereof a parish church, and the little church of
Marie Magdalen toining to the same priorie, was
made all one church, and saint Margarets in South-
wiche a parish, was admitted to the same parish.

John Stow,
Erle of Essex
deceased.

The twelue of March, Henrie Bourcher erle of Es-
sex riding a porgie horse, was cast, & brake his necke,
at his manour in Essex: he was the eldest erle in
England. The nineteenth of March, John Wre erle of
Oxford, high chamberleine of England, deceased at
his manour in Essex. The tenth of April, sir Willi-

Erle of Ox-
ford deceased.

am Peterdon priest, late commissarie of Calis, and
sir William Richardson priest of S. Maries in Ca-
lis, were both there beheaded, hanged, and quartered in
the market place for denieng obediencie the kings
supremacie.]

The thirde saturday in Lent, one doctor Barnes pre-
ached at Paules crosse, and in his sermon inuicighed
against the bishop of Winchester, for doctrine by
him preached in the same place, the first saturday of
that Lent, intrcating of iustificatiou. Among other
taunts that Barnes offered against the bishop, this
was one, that if he & the bishop were both at home,
he knew that great sums of monie would not save
his life, where but for the bishop, there was no great
feare, but by all intreatance would serue. The bishop
offended herewith, complained of Barnes to the ki-
ng, and had him examined, & at length by the kings com-
mandement he came to the bishops house, where the
matter was so handled at this time, that Barnes
with two other preachers, the one named Hierome,
and the other Garret (of whom hereafter more shall
be said) were appointed to preach at S. Maries spittle
by London in the Easter weeke. In that sermon which
Barnes made before all the people, he asked the bi-
shop forgiveness, for speaking so inuicentlie of
him in his former sermon, and requited the bishop
(if he did forgive him) in token thereof to hold by
his hand, which like as it was long before he did, so
(as manie thought afterward) it was but a signed
forgiveness.

The twelue of April began a parlement, and sir
Nicholas Hare was restored to the office of speaker,
who together with sir Humfrey Woluene knight, and
William Conneftie esquier, the three and twentieth
of Februarie last past, had bin called before the lords
into the Star chamber, for being of counsell with sir
John Shelton knight, in making a fraudulent will
of his lands, to the hinderance of the kings preroga-
tiue, and contrarie to the statute of Anno 27, for the
which offense they were all at that time dismissed of
their offices and seruices to the king, and the two
knights were immediatlie sent to the towre, and
the daies after Conneftie was committed thither
also. They remained there in ward about ten daies,
and were then deliuered. Sir Humfrey Woluene
was the kings sargeant at law, sir Nicholas Hare
was one of the kings counsellors, and speaker of the
parlement, who being then depeyued, was now a-
gaine thereto restored. William Conneftie was
attorneye of the dutchie of Lancaster. In this par-
lement, were freely granted without contradictions,
four score six hundred and a hundred of good
lands, and twelue peice of good, toward the kings
great charges of making Bulwikes.

The eighteenth of April at Westminster was
Thomas lord Cromwell created earle of Essex, and
ordained great chamberleine of England; which of-
fice the earles of Oxford were wont ener to enioie;
also Gregorie his sonne was made lord Cromwell.
The foure and twentieth of April, Thomas lord
Audley, & chancellor of England, with sir Anthoine
Woluene, master of the kings houses, were made
knights of the right honourable order of the garter.
On that daie, was a great triumph of iusting at
Westminster, which iusts had bene proclaimed in
France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spaine, for all
commers that would, against the challengers of
England; which were, sir John Audley, sir Thomas
Selmer, sir Thomas Pointings, sir George Carew
knights, Anthoine Kingston, and Richard Crom-
well esquires, which said challengers came into the
lists that daie richlie apparelled, and their horses
trapped all in white beluet, with certeine knights and
gentlemen riding afoze them, apparelled all in white
beluet,

D. Surin

John
Barnes &
with him.

Carmilong

Surin

Sir John
Shelton, Sir
Nicholas
Hare, Sir
Humfrey
Woluene
Barnes
fraudulent
lawyers ge-
mised.

The order of
the houses
altered.

Spag 1019
John
a surplise
appellied.

The bishop
Chichester,
John with
committed
the Tower.

Domestic
of Thomas
Cromwell.

Ab. Fle. ex
Ed. Hal. Co.
The lord
Cromwell
committed
the Tower

1540.

Henric the eight.

Warron.

1540.

Henric the eight.

Warron.

Warron.

Henric the eight.

Henric the eight.

Henric the eight.

Henric the eight.

Henric the eight.

Henric the eight.

belnet, and white farlenet, and all their seruants in white dublets, and hozen cut after the Burgonion fashion: and there came to iust against them the said daie, of defendants for the fir, the earle of Surrie being the for most, lord William Howard, lord Clinton, and lord Cromwell, sonne and heire to Thomas Cromwell earle of Essex, and chamberleine of England, with other, which were richly apparelled.

And that day, sir John Dobleie was overthorne in the field, by mischance of his horse, by one master Brome defendant, neuertheless he brake diuerse speares balliantly after that. And after the said iusts were done, the said challengers rode to Durham place, where they kept open household, and feasted the king and quene, with hir ladies, and all the court. The second of Maie, Anthonte Kingston & Richard Cromwell were made knights at the said place. The third of Maie, the said challengers did tourne on horsebacke with swords, & against them came nine and twentie defendants; sir John Dobleie, and the earle of Surrie running first, who in the first course lost both their gantlets: and that daie, sir Richard Cromwell overthrew master Palmer in the field off his horse, to the great honor of the challengers. On the fift of Maie, the said challengers fought on foot at the barriers, and against them came thirtie defendants, which fought balliantly: but sir Richard Cromwell overthrew that daie at the barriers master Calpeper in the field.

The said challengers brake by their household, after they had kept open hospitalitie, and feasted the king, quene, and all the lords, beside all the knights and burgeses of the common house in time of the parlement, and the maiors, aldermen, and all their wives to their no small honor, though great expence. In the parlement which began the eighteenth of April last past, the religion of saint Johns in England, commonlie called the order of knights of the Hospites, was dissolved: & on the ascension day, being the fift of Maie, sir William Weston knight, prior of saint Johns departed this life for thought (as was reported) which he took to the heart, after he heard of that dissolution of his order. & For the king took all the lands that belonged to that order into his hands, to the augmentation of his crowne, and gaue vnto euery of the challengers above written for a reward of their balliantnesse, a hundred marks, and a house to dwell in of yearelye revenues out of the said lands for ever.]

The same moneth were sent to the Tower doctor Samson, bishop of Chichester, and doctor Wilson, for releasing certeine traitorous persons: and for the same offense was one Richard Farmer, a grocer of London, a rich and welthe man, and of good estimation in the citie, committed to the Marshalsee, & after at Westminster hall arraigned, and atteinted in the premunire; so that he lost all his goods. & The ninth daie of Iulie, Thomas lord Cromwell, late made earle of Essex (as before you haue heard) being in the counsell chamber, was suddenlie apprehended & committed to the Tower of London: the which manie lamented, but more reioiced, and spectallie such as either had bene religious men, or fauoured religious persons, for they banketed & triumphed together that night, manie wishing that that daie had bene seven yeares before; & some fearing that he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be merie.

Other who knew nothing but truth by him, both lamented him, and heartilie praised for him. But this is true, that of certeine of the cleargie he was detestable hated, and spectallie such as had borne swinge and by his means were put from it: for in deed he was a man that in all his doings seemed not to fauor anie kind of poperie, nor could not abide the

smutting pride of some prelates, which bridonblelie (whatsoeuer else was the cause of his death) did shorten his life, and procured the end that he was brought vnto: which was, that the nineteenth daie of the said moneth he was atteinted by parlement, and neuer came to his answer: which law manie reported that he caused first to be made, howbeit the plaine truth thereof I know not. The articles for which he died appeare in the records, where his attainder is written, which are too long here to be rehearsed; but to conclude he was there atteinted of heresse and high treason, and the eight & twentieth of Iulie was brought to the scaffold on the Tower hill, where he said these words following.

The words of the lord Cromwell spoken at his death.

I Am come hither to die, and not to purge my selfe, as may happen some thinke that I will, for if I should so do, I were a verie bozetch and a miser. I am by the law condemned to die, and thanke my Lord God, that hath appointed me this death for mine offense. For since the time that I came to yeares of discretion I haue liued a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I aske him hartlie forgiveness. And it is not knowne to manie of you, that I haue bene a great trauelier in the world, and being but of a bale degree, was called to high estate. And since the time I came therevnto, I haue offended my prince, for the which I aske him hartlie forgiveness, and beseech you all to praie to God with me, that he will forgive me. O Father forgive me, O Sonne forgive me, O Holie ghost forgive me, O three persons and one God forgive me. And now I praie you that be here, to beare me record, I die in the catholike faith, not doubting in anie article of my faith, no nor doubting in anie sacrament of the church. Manie haue slandered me, and reported that I haue bene a bearer of such as haue mainteined euill opinions, which is untrue: but I confesse, that like as God by his holie spirit doth instruct vs in the truth, so the diuell is ready to seduce vs, and I haue bene seduced: but beare me witness, that I die in the catholike faith of the holie church, and I hartlie desire you to praie for the kings grace, that he may long liue with you in health and prosperitie, & after him that his sonne prince Edward, that goodlie tyme may long reigne ouer you. And once againe I desire you to praie for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I wauer nothing in my faith.

Then made he his praier, which was long, but not so long as goodlie and learned, and after committed his soule to the hands of God, and so patientlie suffered the stroke of the ax, by a ragged and butcherlike miser, which ill fauouredlie performed the office. This man being borne in Putneie, a village in Surreie by the Thames side, foure miles distant from London, was sonne to a Smith, after whose deceasse, his mother was married to a Shereman. But notwithstanding the basenesse of his birth and lacke

Henric the eight.

Henric the eight.

lacke of maintenance was at the beginning (as it happeneth to manie others) a great let and hindrance for vertue to shew hir selfe: yet through a singular excellencie of wit, joined with an industrious diligence of mind, and helpe of knowledge, gathered by painefull trauell, and marking the courses of states and governments as well of his native countrie at home, as in foren parties abroad, he grew to such a sufficient ripenesse of understanding and skill, in ordering of weightie affaires, that he was thought apt and fit for anie come or office where to he should be admitted.

Thomas Cromwell in most authority under the king.

Which being perceived of cardinall Wolseie, then archbishop of Yorke, he toke him into his service, and making him his solicitor, imploied him about businesse oftentimes of most importance, wherein he acquitted himselfe with such dexterity, as answered alwaies the credit committed to him. After the cardinals fall; he was advanced to the kings service, behaving himselfe so aduisedly in matters which he toke in hand, that within a small time he rose to high authoritie, and was admitted to be of the priue counsell, bearing most rule of all other under the king, as partlie ye haue heard: so that by him it well appeared, that the excellencie of hericall vertues, which aduance men to fame and honoz, resteth not onelie in birth and blood, as a priuilege appropriate and alonely annexed vnto noble houses, but remaineth at the disposition of almightie God the giuer: disposer of all gifts, who raiseth the poore manie times from the basest degree, and setteth him vp with princes, according to the saying of Ecclesiastes:

*Qui iacuit tetro quandoque in carcere vincit,
Paria suis meritis regia sceptru tulit.*

Nevertheless, concerning the lord Cromwell earle of Essex, if we shall consider his comming vp to such high degree of honoz as he attained vnto, we maie doubt whether there be cause moze to maruell at his good fortune, or at his worthie and industrious demeanoz. But sith in the booke of Acts and Ponuiments ye maie find a sufficient discourse hereof, we need not to spend moze time about it, saue onelie as master Fox hath trulie noted, such was his actiuitie and forward ripenesse of nature, so readie and pregnant of wit, so discreet and well aduised in iudgement, so eloquent of tong, so faithfull and diligent in service, of such an incomparable memoize, so bold of stomach and hardie, and could do so well with his pen, that being conuerfant in the sight of men, he could not long continue vnhelped, nor yet vnprovidded of fauoz and helpe of friends, to set him forward in place and office.

Friscovaldan Italian, see John Fox in the Acts and Ponuiments.

Thankesfull he was and liberall, not forgetting benefits received, as by his great courtesie shewed to Friscovald the Italian it well appeared: a fauourer of the poore in their suites, and readie to relieue them that were in danger to be oppressed by their mightie aduersaries: a fauourer of the gospel, and an enuie to the pride of prelates, verie stout, and not able well to put vp injuries, which wane him shewd enemies that ceased not (as was thought) to seeke his curethow, till at length they had brought to passe that they wished. Carefull he was for his seruants, and readie to do them good, so that fearing the thing which came to passe, he provided well for the moze part of them, notwithstanding his fall. And thus much for the lord Cromwell. The moztow after Midsummer daie, the king caused the queene to remoue to Richmond, supposing it to be moze for hir health, and moze for hir pleasure.

The marriage betwixt the king and the ladie Anne of Cleue aduanced unlawful.

The first of Iulie, certeine lords came downe into the nether house, & expresselie declared causes, for the which the kings marriage was not to be taken lawfull: & in conclusion, the matter was by the con-

uocation clarelie determined, that the king might lawfullie marrie where he would, and so might she. And thus were they clarelie binorsed, and by the parliament it was enacted, that the should be taken no moze for queene, but called the ladie Anne of Cleue. In this yeare, the lord Leonard Greie, brother vnto Thomas marquisse Dorset, being the kings lieutenant in Ireland, was reuoked home, and upon his comming to London was sent to the Tower. In Iulie the priue of Salernit, and the lord d'Alouola came into England to see the king, & after they were departed, Don Frederiks, marquisse of Padoua, brother to the duke of Ferrara, the prince of Spaccedonie, the marquisse of Terra Noua, & monsieur de Flagic, with other, came from the emperors court into England to see the king, the which on Marie Magdalens daie came to the court at Westminster, and after they had bene highlie feasted, and noble intertained, they were richly rewarded as the other, and so departed.

The eight and twentieth of Iulie (as ye haue heard before) the lord Cromwell was beheaded, and likewise with him the lord Hungerford of Hertsford, who at the houre of his death seemed vnquiet, as manie iudged him rather in a frensie than otherwise: he suffered for buggerie. The thirteenth of Iulie were drawne on hurdels from the Tower to Smithfield, Robert Baris doctor of diuinitie, Thomas Garard, and William Jeron bachelors in diuinitie; Jeron was vicar of Stepnie, and Garard was person of Honio tane: also Dowell, Fetherston, and Abell priests. The first three were drawne to a stake, there before set vp, and then burned. The other three were drawne to the galloies, and hanged, beheaded and quartered. The three first (as is found in their atteindoz) were executed for diuerse heresies, but none alledged, whereat (saith Hall) I haue much maruelled, that their heresies were so manie, and not one alledged as a speciall cause of their death. And verelie at their deaths they asked the shiriffs what was their offense for which they were condemned: Who answered, they could not tell: but most men said it was for preaching against the doctrine of Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who chiefe (as the same Hall saith) procured their deaths. The last three, to wit, Dowell, Fetherston, and Abell, suffered for treason, as in their atteindoz was speciall mention made, to wit, for denieng the kings supremacie, and affirming his marriage with the ladie Katharin Dowager to be good.

The fourth of August, Thomas Empton some time a monke of Westminster, which had bene in prison for treason in Petogate now for the space of three yeares and moze, came before the iudices of gaole deliuerie at Petogate, and for that he would not aske the kings pardon, nor be swoone to be true to him, his monks garment was plucked from his backe, and he repriued, till the king were informed of his malicious obstinacie: and this was the last monke that was scene in his clothing in England till queene Maries daies. The fourth of August were drawne from the Tower of London to Tiburne, Giles Heron gentleman, Clement Philpot gentleman, late of Calis, and servant to the lord Lile, Darbie Genning, Edmund Bindholme priest, chapleine to the said lord Lile, William Horne late a late brother of the Charterhouse of London, and an other offendo: which six persons were there hanged and quartered, and had bene atteind of treason by parliament. The same daie also was one Charles Carew gentleman hanged for robbing of the ladie Carew.

The eight of August was the last Katharine Howard neere to the duke of Norfolk, and daughter

The lord Hungerford executed by buggerie. Executed at Smithfield.

called by the.

Justices.

The earle Harrie at Southham.

Richard, thus dar the lord in the.

154

Anno F. 2 new hon pro in 706

Sir J. Smith cured. The c. of St. Michael of the gard.

11.1540.

An. Reg. 32. 33.

The lord Le-
onard Greie
committed to
the Tower.
The prince of
Wales.The lord Le-
onard Greie
committed to
the Tower.
The prince of
Wales.The lord
Hungerford
executed for
buggerie.
Execution of
Barnes and
others.Richard built
a bridge.Richard
burned.The lord of
Warwick
and
Barnes
burned.Richard
burned.
The lord of
Warwick
and
Barnes
burned.Thomas
Empson and
obdurate
monks.Execution for
treason.

1541

Anno Reg. 33.
A new rebel-
lion practised
in Yorkshire.Sir John
Russell
executed.
The countess
of Salisbury
beheaded.
Execution
of two of the
gods.

ter to the lord Edmund Howard shewed openlie as
quene at Hampton court. The eleuenth of Sep-
tember a stranger was hanged in a poyse field, na-
med James Minatian, who had slaine his maister,
one Capon a Florentine in a garden, for his harlot.
In the latter end of this summer, was universallie
through the most parts of this realme great death
by a strange kind of hot agues and aures, and some
pestilence, in which season was such a drought, that
wells and small rivers were cleane dreyed up, so that
much cattell died for lacke of water, and the Thames
was so shallow, & the fresh water of so small strength
that the salt water flowed above London brydge, till
the raine had increased the fresh waters.

On the two and twentieth of September, Rafe
Egerton, servant to the lord Audley, lord chancel-
lor, and one Thomas Harman servant to one maister
Flightwood, were drawne, hanged, and quartered,
the one for counterfeiting and antebating of the
kings seale in a signet, wherewith he sealed licen-
ces for denizens, under the name of the clearkes of
the chancery: and the other, that is to saie Harman,
for writing them. One Tuckfield, being of their
faction, robbed the lord Audleys chappell and fled,
who being afterward apprehended at Calis, which
towne he would have betrayed, he slue himselfe with
a dagger. In the end of this yeare, the French king
made a strong castell at Ard, and also a brydge over
into the English pale, which brydge the crew of Calis
did beat downe, and the Frenchmen built it up a-
gaine, but the Englishmen beat it downe againe.
After this, the king sent about fiftene hundred work-
men to fortifie the towne of Guisnes, and sent with
them five hundred men of warre to gard them.

It was reported in France, that a mightie ar-
mie was come over forth of England with great
ordnance: which bryte caused the French king to
send to the frontiers of Picardie the duke of An-
doverne, and other capitaines with all speed to defend the
same. The king of England hearing thereof, sent
the earles of Surrie, and Southampton, and the lord
Russell, high admerall into the marches of Calis, to
set order there, and after them he likewise sent two
hundred light horsemen of the borders of Scotland,
whom the Frenchmen called Stradiots. The lords
having set order in things, thortly returned. A boie,
one Richard Perkins, not past fiftene yeares of age,
was burnt in Smithfield, for speaking against the
sacrament, and contrarie to the statute of the six ar-
ticles. The bishop of London was thought in great
fault, for procuring that terrible execution, seeing
the yong fellow was but an ignorant foole without
learning, and gladlie recanted that wherewith he
was charged.

About the latter end of this yeare, doctor Sam-
son bishop of Chichester, and doctor Willson, which
had bene committed to the tower (as before ye have
heard) were now pardoned of the king, and set a-
gaine at libertie. In the beginning of this yeare,
five priests in Yorkshire began a new rebellion,
with the assent of one Leigh, a gentleman, and nine
tempozall men, all which persons were apprehended,
and in divers places put to execution. The said Leigh
and two other, the one named Waterfall a clothier,
& the other Thornton a peoman, on the seuententh of
Maie, were drawne through London to Tiburne,
and there executed. And sir John Hewill knight, and
ten other persons, died for the same cause at Dozke.
The same date, Margarete countesse of Salisburie,
that had remained a long time prisoner in the tower,
was beheaded there within the tower. She was the
last of the right line and name of Plantagenet. The
ninth of June for example sake, two of the kings
gard, the one named Dampozt, and the other Chap-

man, were hanged at Greenwich by the kiers wall,
for robberies which they had committed.

¶ On the tenth of June, sir Edmund Raneet
knight, of Dorsetshire, was arraigned before the
kings iustices (sitting in the great hall at Grene-
wich) maister Coge, comptroller of the kings house,
hold, maister Southwell, sir Anthonie Browne, sir
Anthonie Winkesfield, maister Wristleie, and Co-
mund Beckham, cofferer of the kings household, for
striking of one maister Clers of Dorsetshire, servant
with the earle of Surrie, within the kings house in
the tenis court. There was first chosen to go upon the
said Edmund, a quest of gentlemen, and a quest of
peomen, to inquire of the said stripe, by the which in-
quests he was found gilty, and had iudgement to
lose his right hand. Whereupon was called to do the
execution, first the sergeant surgion with his in-
struments appertaining to his office: the sergeant
of the woodyard with the mallet, and a blocke where-
upon the hand should lie: the maister cooke for the
king, with the knife: the sergeant of the larder, to set
the knife right on the joint: the sergeant ferrer, with
the searing irons to seare the veines: the sergeant
of the poultrie, with a cocke, which cocke should have
his head smitten off upon the same blocke, and with
the same knife: the peoman of the chanterie, with
seare cloths: the peoman of the skullerie, with a pan
of fire to heate the irons, a chafer of water to cole
the ends of the irons, and two formes for all officers
to set their stufte on: the sergeant of the cellar, with
wine, ale, and here: the peoman of the peltrie in the
sergeants tread, who was absent, with bason, cewe,
and towels.

Thus euerie man in his office readie to do the
execution, there was called forth sir William Pic-
kering knight marshall, to bring in the said Ed-
mund Raneet: and when he was brought to the bar,
the chiefe iustice declared to him his trespass, and the
said Raneet confessing himselfe to be gilty, humbly
submitted him to the kings mercie: for this offense
he was not onlie indged to lose his hand, but also
his bodie to remaine in prison, and his lands and
goods at the kings pleasure. Then the said sir Ed-
mund Raneet desired that the king of his benigne
grace would pardon him of his right hand, and take
the left, for (quoth he) if my right hand be spared, I
maie hereafter do such good service to his grace, as
shall please him to appoint. Of this submission and
request the iustices forthwith informed the king, who
of his goodnesse, considering the gentle heart of the
said Edmund, and the good report of the lords, gran-
ted him his pardon, that he should lose neither hand,
lands, nor goods, but should go free at libertie.

The lord Leonard Greie being indicted of cer-
teine points of treason by him committed, as was
alleged against him, during the season that he was
the kings lieutenant in Ireland, to wit, for deliv-
ring his nephew Girald Fitzgerard brother unto
Thomas Fitzgerard before executed, and also for
that he caused certeine Irishmen to invade the lands
of the kings friends, whome he favoured not: on the
five and twentieth of June he was arraigned at
Westminster in the kings bench, and appointed to
be tried by knights, because he was a lord by name,
and no lord of the parlement; but he discharged the
turie, and confessed the indictment, wherupon he
had iudgement, and on the eight and twentieth of
June being saint Peters euen, he was beheaded at
tower hill, where he ended his life verie quietlie and
godlie.

This noble man as he was come of high linage,
so was he a right valiant and hardie personage, ha-
ving in his time done his prince and countrie good
service, both in Ireland, France, and other pla-
ces,

Abr. Fl. ex
I. S. pag. 1020.
Sir Edmund
Raneet was
reigned for
striking in
the court.The other of
euerie officer
about that
execution.Judgement
upon Raneet
to lose his
hand.
He is par-
doned.The lord Le-
onard Greie
beheaded.

A a a a. f.

res, greatlie to his commendation, although now his hap was thus to lose his head, as conuicted by law, and his renowne (ouercast with a cloud of disgrace) banished, as future chances befell, to the abolishing of the present hono^r which sometime he intoid. Whobest, his estimation he might haue preserved unblemished, had provident circumspection undertaken the direction of his doings, and that he had bozne his eyes in his forehead, to foresee all afterclaps, which a wise man will in no case neglect:

*Nam sapiens in fronte oculos habet, omnia spectans,
Omnia prudenti cum ratione videns.*

The same daie that he suffered, there was erected at saint Thomas Waterings thre gentlemen, John Pantell, John Frotods, and george Roidon: they died for a murther committed in Suffer (as their indictment imported) in companie of Thomas Fines lord Dacres of the south. The truth whereof was thus. The said lord Dacres, through the lewd persuation of some of them, as hath bene reported, meaning to hunt in the parke of Nicholas Delham esquire at Laughton, in the same countie of Suffer, being accompanied with the said Pantell, Frotods, and Roidon, John Cheinie and Thomas Illete gentlemen, Richard Middleton and John Goldwell yeomen, passed from his house of Hurkmonseur, the last of Aprill in the night season, toward the same parke, where they intended to hunt; and coming unto a place called Pikehaie in the parish of Wilinglesie, they found one John Busbyg, James Watbyg, and Richard Sumner standing together; and as it fell out through quarrelling, there ensued a fraie betwixt the said lord Dacres and his companie on the one partie, and the said John and James Busbyg and Richard Sumner on the other: insomuch that the said John Busbyg received such hurt, that he died thereof the second of Maie next ensuing.

Whereupon, as well the said lord Dacres as those that were there with him, and diuerse other likewise that were appointed to go an other waie to meet them at the said parke, were indicted of murther: and the seauen and twentieth of June the lord Dacres himselfe was arraigned before the lord Audleie of Walden then lord chancelor, sitting that daie as high steward of England, with other p^{er}ces of the realme about him, who then and there condemned the said lord Dacres to die for that transgression. And afterward the nine and twentieth of June being saint Peters daie, at eleuen of the clocke in the forenone, the shriffs of London, accordinglie as they were appointed, were readie at the towler to haue received the said prisoner, and him to haue lead to execution on the towler hill. But as the prisoner should come forth of the towler, one Heire a gentleman of the lord chancelors house came, and in the kings name commanded to fraie the execution till two of the clocke in the afternone, which caused manie to thinke that the king would haue granted his pardon. But neuerthelesse, at thre of the clocke in the same afternone, he was brought forth of the towler, and delivered to the shriffs, who lead him on foot betwixt them unto Tiburne, where he died. His bodie was buried in the church of saint Sepulchers. He was not pass foure and twentieth yeres of age, when he came through this great mishap to his end, for whome manie fore lamented, and likewise for the other thre gentlemen, Pantell, Frotods, and Roidon. But for the sad young lord, being a right towardlie gentleman, and such a one, as manie had conceiued great hope of better p^{ro}fe, no small mone and lamentation was made; the more indeed, for that it was thought he was induced to attempt such follie, which occasioned his death, by some light brads that were then about him.

The true report of the cause whereupon the murther of John Busbyg ensued.

The lord Dacres arraigned before the lord Audleie.

Lord Dacres executed at Tiburne.

The first of Iulie a Welchman a minstrell was hanged and quartered for singing of songs, which were interpreted to be propheties against the king. This summer the king took his progresse to Porke, and passed through Lincolnshire, where was made to him an humble submission by the temporalitie, and confessing their faults, they humbly thanked him for his pardon, which he had granted them. The towne of Stanford gaue to him twentie pounds, the cite of Lincoln fortie pounds, Boston fiftie pounds, that part of the shire which is called Lindsey gaue thre hundred pounds, and Kesteven and the church of Lincoln presented him with fiftie pounds. At his entering into Dorsetshire, he was met with two hundred gentlemen of the same shire, in coies of beluet, and foure thousand tall yeomen and serving men well horsed, which on their knees made their submission, by the mouth of sir Robert Botwes, and gaue to the king nine hundred pounds. On Barnetdale the archbishop of Porke, with thre hundred priests and more met the king, and making a like submission, gaue to him six hundred pounds. The like submission was made by the maiors of Porke, Bewcastle, and Hull, and ech of them gaue to the king an hundred pounds.

After he had bene at Porke twelue daies, he came to Hull, where he deuised certeine fortifications. This done, he passed over the water of Humber, and so through Lincolnshire, returned toward the south parts, and at Alhallowen tide came to Hampton court. About the same time, the king had knowledge that the queene lived dissolute, in using the vnlawfull companie of one Francis Diram, with whom she had bene so familiar before hir maraige with the king; not meaning to forgo his companie now in time of hir marriage; without regard had either to the feare of God, or the king hir husband, the last summer being in progresse with the king at Domfret, the seuen and twentieth of August, he retained the said Francis Diram in hir seruice, to the intent she might vse his companie in such vnlawfull sort the more frelie: and not satisfied with him, she also vied the vnlawfull companie of Thomas Culpeper esquire, one of the gentlemen of the kings priue chamber, as well at Domfret as of old on the nine and twentieth and last of August as of old said, and on the first of September, as at diuerse other times and places before and after. Whereupon, the thirtieth of Nouember, sir Thomas Wriothesle knight the kings secretarie, came to Hampton court unto the said queene, and called all hir ladies, gentlewomen, and seruants into hir great chamber, & there openlie in p^{re}sence of them all, declared hir offenses committed in abusing of hir bodie before hir maraige, & therewith he discharged hir household. The morrow after she was conuicted to Sion, the ladie Watnton and certeine gentlewomen and some of hir seruants being appointed to wait upon hir there, till the kings pleasure might be further knowne. Culpeper, Diram, and others were had to the towler. Diram in his examination being charged with the familiaritie which had bene betwixt them, before she was married to the king, confessed that he and the said queene had made a precontract together, and that he concealed it for hir preferment in marriage to the king, after he understood the king began to cast a li king towards hir.

The first of December, Culpeper and Diram were arraigned at the Guildhall in London, before the lord maior sitting there in iudgement as cheefe iudge, hauing the lord chancelor upon his right hand, and the duke of Norfolke upon his left hand, the duke of Suffolke the lord priue seale, the earles of Suffer and Hereford, with diuerse other of the council.

Culpeper and Diram executed.

Hammonds.

Parliament 1542

The petition of the lord Dacres against the parties in the king.

The que and other tainted by parliament. The que sent to the tower.

She is beheaded.

The king proclaimed king of Ianz.

Dom. 1541

An. Reg. 33.

counsell sitting there as Iudges in commission that daie: the prisoners in the end confessed the indictment, and had Iudgement to die, as in cases of treason.

The tenth of December, the said Culpeper and Diram were drawn from the tower unto Tyburne and there Culpeper had his head stricken off, and Diram was hanged, dismembred and headed. Culpeper's bodie was buried in S. Sepulchers church, but both their heads were set on London bridge. The two and twentieth of December were arraigned in the kings bench at Westminster, the ladie Margaret Howard, wife to the lord William Howard, Katharine Willene, & Alice Kestwold gentlewomen, Joane Bulmer, wife to Anthony Bulmer gentleman, Anne Howard, wife to Henrie Howard esquier, and brother to the late queene, Mailein Willene widow, Margaret Benet, wife to John Benet gentleman, Edward Algraue gentleman, William Ashbie gentleman; all these were condemned of misprision of treason, for concealing the queenes misdeemeanour. And the same daie in the afternone, the lord William Howard, and Dampport a gentleman were likewise arraigned, and condemned of the same offense, and as well these as the other were adjudged to lose their goods, & the profits of their lands during life, and to remaine in perpetuall prison.

The firste of Januarie the parlement began at Westminster, in the which the lords and commons exhibited certeine petitions to the king. First, that he would not vex himselfe with the queenes offense, and that he and the ladie Rochford might be attainted by parlement: and to avoid protracting of time, they besought him to give his roiall assent thereto, under his great seale, without stateng for the end of the parlement. Also, that Diram and Culpeper be soe attainted by the common law, might also be attainted by parlement, & that Agnes duchess of Norfolk, and Katharine countesse of Widdewater his daughter, which for concealing the said offense, were committed to the towre, and indicted of misprision, & the lord William Howard arraigned of the same, might likewise be attainted. Also, that who soever had spoken or done anie thing in detestation of his naughtie life, should be pardoned.

To these petitions the king granted, thanking the commons, for that it appeared they took his grieffe to be theirs: whereupon the queene and the ladie Rochford were attainted by both the houses. On the tenth of Februarie, the queene was conveyed from Sion to the towre by water, the duke of Suffolke, the lord priue seale, and the lord great chamberleine, having the conduction of hir. The next daie after being Saturday, and the eleventh of Februarie, the king did send his roiall assent by his great seale, and then all the lords were in their robes, and the common house called by, & there the act was read, and his assent declared. And so on the thirteenth daie, those two ladies were beheaded on the greene within the towre with an ax, where they confessed their offenses, and died repentant.

Before this, on the three and twentieth daie of Januarie was the king proclaimed king of Ireland, as it was enacted both by authoritie of the parlement here, and also of an other parlement holden at Dublin in Ireland, there begun the thirteenth of June last past, before sir Anthony Saintleger knight, and the kings deputie there, where as till that time the kings of England were onlie intituled lords of Ireland. In the beginning of March died sir Arthur Plantagenet vicount Lisle, bassard sonne to Edward the fourth, in the towre of London unattainted, when he should haue bene deliuered and set at libertie.

The occasion of his trouble for the which he was committed to the towre, rose upon suspicion that he should be priue to a practise, which some of his men (as Hilpot and Hindholme executed the last yeare as before ye haue heard) had consented unto, for the betraying of Calis to the French, whilste he was the kings lieutenant there. But after that by due trial it was knowne that he was nothing guiltie to the matter, the king appointed sir Thomas Wriotheslie his maiesties secretarie, to goe unto him, and to deliver to him a ring, with a rich diamond for a token from him, & to will him to be of good cheere. For although in that so weightie a matter, he would not haue done lesse to him if he had bene his owne son; yet now upon through trial had, sith it was manifestlie proued that he was void of all offense, he was soeie that he had bene occasioned so farre to trie his truth: and therefore willed him to be of god cheere and comfort, for he should find that he would make accompt of him as of his most true and faithfull kinsman, and not onelie restore him to his former libertie, but otherwise forth he readie to pleasure him in what he could. After secretarie set forth this message with such effectuall words, as he was an eloquent and well spoken man, that the lord Lisle took such immoderate ioy thereof, that his hart being oppressed therewith, he died the night following through too much reioicing. After his decesse, the twelue of the same moneth of March, sir John Aubeleie sonne and heire to the said lord Lises wife, was at Westminster created vicount Lisle. The seuenteenth of March one Margaret Danie a yong woman, being a seruant, was boyled in Smithfield for poisoning of hir mistres with whome she dwelt, and diuerse other persons.

In the Lent season, whilste the parlement yet continued, one George Ferrers gentleman, seruant to the king, being elected a burgesse for the towne of Blimmothe in the countie of Denonshire, in going to the parlement house, was arrested in London by a procelle out of the kings bench, at the sute of one White, for the sum of two hundred markes or thereabouts, wherein he was late afoze condemned, as a suertie for the debt of one Melbon of Salisburie: which arrest being signified to sir Thomas Spolls knight, then speaker of the parlement, and to the knights and burgesse there, order was taken, that the sargeant of the parlement, called S. John, should forthwith repaire to the counter in Bedstreet (whither the said Ferrers was caried) and there demand deliuerie of the prisoner.

The sargeant (as he had in charge) went to the counter, and declared to the clerks there what he had in commandement. But they and other officers of the citie were so farre from obeleng the said commandement, as after manie stout words they forcibly resisted the said sargeant, whereof ensued a fraie within the counter gates, betwene the said Ferrers and the said officers, not without hurt of either part: so that the said sargeant was driven to defend himselfe with his mace of armes, & had the crostone thereof broken by bearing off a stroke, and his man stricken downe. During this brawl, the shiriffes of London, called Rotoland Wyll, and Henrie Snelkiffe came thither, to whome the sargeant complained of this iniurie, and required of them the deliuerie of the said burgesse, as afoze. But they hearing with their officers, made little accompt either of his complaint or of his message, reiecting the same contemptuously, with much proud language, so as the sargeant was forced to returne without the prisoner, whereas if they had obeyed authoritie, and shewed the seruice necessarilie required in their office and person, they might by their discretion haue appeased

A a a a y.

The occasion of sir Arthur Plantagenets trouble.

The lord Lisle took such immoderate ioy thereof.

George Ferrers a burgesse of the parlement arrested, and what mischiefe ensued.

The shiriffes and officers denie the deliuerie of the burgesse.

The hirge given to him by them of L. the colnebur.

The hirge given to him by them of L. the colnebur.

The hirge given to him by them of L. the colnebur.

Will. Loxford.

Parliament. 1542

The petition of the lords & commons of the parlement in the burg.

Diram and Culpeper queene Katharine's paramours.

At Lincoln (saith Hall) in August, where she gaue to him a rich cap and a chain.

Queene Katharine deposed of inconuenient living.

She is beheaded.

The king proclaimed king of Ireland.

all the houle, for wisdomes assuageth the outrage & unrestrainable furiosnes of war, as the poet saith:
Instrumenta feri vincit sapientia belli.

The sargeant thus hardlie intreated, made returne to the parlement houle, and finding the speaker, and all the burgeses set in their places, declared unto them the whole case as it fell, who took the same in so ill part, that they altogether (of whom there were not a few, as well of the kings private counsell, as also of his private chamber) would sit no longer without their burges, but rose up whole, and repaired to the upper houle, where the whole case was declared by the mouth of the speaker, before sir Thomas Audley knight then lord chancelor of England, and all the lordes and iudges there assembled, who iudging the contempt to be verie great, referred the punishment thereof to the order of the common houle. They returning to their places againe, upon new debate of the case, took order, that their sargeant should estowies repaite to the shiriffe of London, and require deliverte of the said burgesse, without anie writ or warrant had for the same, but onelie as afoze.

And yet the lord chancelor offered there to grant a writ, which they of the common houle refused, being in a clere opinion, that all commandements and other acts of proceeding from the nether houle, were to be done and executed by their sargeant without writ, onelie by shew of his mace, which was his warrant. But before the sargeants returne into London, the shiriffes having intelligence how heinouslie the matter was taken, became somewhat more mild, so as upon the said second demand, they delivured the prisoner without anie deniall. But the sargeant having then further in commandement from those of the nether houle, charged the said shiriffes to appear personallie on the morrow, by eight of the clocke before the speaker in the nether houle, and to bring thither the clerks of the counter, and such officers as were parties to the said affraie, and in like manner to take into his custodie the said White, which wittinglie procured the said arrest, in contempt of the privilege of the parlement.

Which commandement being done by the said sargeant accordingly, on the morrow the two shiriffes, with one of the clerks of the counter (which was the chiefe occasion of the said affraie) together with the said White, appeared in the common houle, where the speaker charging them with their contempt and misdeemeanor aforesaid, they were compelled to make immediat answer, without being admitted to anie counsell. Albeit, sir Roger Cholmeleite, then recorder of London, and other of the counsell of the citie there present, offered to speake in the cause, which were all put to silence, and none suffered to speake, but the parties themselves: whereupon in conclusion, the said shiriffes and the same White, were committed to the Tower of London, and the said clerke (which was the occasion of the affraie) to a place there called litle ease, and the officer of London which did the arrest, called Tailor, with foure other officers to be dwgate, where they remained from the eight & twentieth untill the thirtieth of March, and then they were delivured, not without humble sute made by the mayor of London & other their friends.

And for somuch as the said Ferrers being in execution upon a condemnation of debt, and set at large by privilege of parlement, was not by law to be brought againe into execution, and so the partie with out remedie for his debt, as well against him as his principall debtor; after long debate of the same by the space of nine or ten daies together, at last they resolved upon an act of parlement to be made, and to reuise the execution of the said debt against the said Whelden which was principall debtor, and to dis-

charge the said Ferrers. But before this came to passe, the common houle was divided upon the question: howbeit in conclusion, the act passed for the said Ferrers, twine by fourteene voices.

The king then being advertised of all this proceeding, called immediatlie before him the lord chancelor of England and his iudges, with the speaker of the parlement, and other of the grauest persons of the nether houle, to whom he declared his opinion to this effect. First commending their wisdomes in maintaining the privileges of their houle (which he would not haue to be infringed in anie point) he alleged that he being head of the parlement, and attending in his owne person upon the businesse thereof, ought in reason to haue privilege for him and all his servants attending there upon him. So that if the said Ferrers had bene no burgesse, but onlie his servant, yet in respect thereof he was to haue the privilege as well as anie other.

For I understand (quoth he) that you not onelie for your owne persons, but also for your necessarie servants, even to your cookes and householders, inioine the said privilege; in somuch as my lord chancelor here present hath informed vs, that he being speaker of the parlement, the cooke of the Temple was arrested in London, and in execution upon a statute of the staple. And for somuch as the said cooke, during all the parlement, served the speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution, by the privilege of the parlement. And further we be informed by our iudges, that we at no time stand so highlie in our estate roiall, as in the time of parlement, wherein we as head, and you as members, are conioined and knit together into one bodie politike, so as whatsoeuer offense or iniurie (during that time) is offered to the meaneest member of the houle, is to be iudged as done against our person, and the whole court of parlement. Which prerogative of the court is so great (as our learned counsell informeth vs) as all ads and proceses comming out of anie other inferior courts must for the time cease and giue place to the highest.

And touching the partie, it was a great presumption in him, knowing our servant to be one of this houle, and being warned thereof before, would nevertheless prosecute this matter out of time, and thereupon was well worthy to haue lost his debt (which I would not wish) and therefore do commend your equitie, that hauing lost the same by law, haue restored him to the same against him who was his debtor. And if it be well considered, what a charge hath it bene to vs and you all, not onelie in expence of our substance, but also in losse of time, which should haue bene imploied about the affaires of our realme, to sit here twelue or one whole fortnight about this one private case, he may thinke himselfe better used than his desert. And this may be a good example to other to learne good manners, & not to attempt anie thing against the privilege of this court, but to take their time better. This is mine opinion, and if I erre, I must referre my selfe to the iudgement of our iustices here present, and other learned in our lawes.

Whereupon sir Edm. Montacute lord chiefe iustice, verie grauelie told his opinion, confirming by diuers reasons all that the king had said, which was asserted unto by all the residue, none speaking to the contrary. The act in deed passed not the higher houle, for the lordes had not time to consider of it, by reason of the dissolution of the parlement, the feast of Easter then approaching. Because this case hath bene diuerslie reported, and is commonlie alleged as a precedent for the privilege of the parlement; I haue endeavored my selfe to learne the truth thereof, and so set it

The speaker of the parlement declareth all the matter to the lordes.

The shiriffes deliuer the burgesse and are charged to appear before the speaker.

The shiriffes committed to the Tower.

An. Dom. 1542.

An. Reg.

Anno Reg. 34.

1 June.

Submission of the shiriff nobilitie.

The cause of the tower & the tower & the tower.

The king counted it presumption to arrest the burgesse.

The willall obdurate of the shiriffes commissioners.

Sir Edmund Montacute lord chiefe iustice.

An. Reg. 34.

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Ano Reg. 34.

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Submission
of the Irish
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The causes of
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The willall
of the Scots
commissioners.

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it forth with the whole circumstance at large accord-
ing to their instructions, who ought best both to
know and remember it.

This yeare in Spaine the king took a lode of mo-
nie of all such as were valued at fiftie pounds and
upward in the subsidie booke. The lord pryncesse
the bishop of Winchester, sir John Baker, and sir
Thomas Wriothesley were commissioners about
this lode in London, where they so handled the mat-
ter, that of some head citizens they obtained a thou-
sand markes in prest to the kings use. They that laid
forth anie summe in this wise, had pryncesse scales for
the repayment thereof within two yeares next insu-
ing. Divers of the Irish nobilitie came this yeare
into England, and made their submission to the king
as in the Irish chronicle it is more particularie tou-
ched. Also wars fell out betwixt England and Scot-
land, the causes whereof (as appereth by a declarati-
on set forth by the king of England at this present) in
effect were these. First there were divers of the
English rebels, such as had moued the commotion
in the north and Lancashire, that fled into Scot-
land, and were there maintained: and although re-
quest had bene made that they might be deliuered,
yet it would not be granted.

Moreover, where the king of Scots had promised
to repaire unto Forke the last yeare, and there to
meet his uncle the king of England, whereupon the
king of England to his great charges had made pre-
paration for their meeting there; the same was not
onelic disappointed, but also at the kings being at
Forke, in lieu thereof an inuasion was made by the
Scots, as it were in contempt and despite of the
king of England, who notwithstanding imputing
the default of meeting to the aduise of his nephues
councell, and the inuasion to the lewdnesse of his sub-
iects, was contented to giue courteous audience vnto
such ambassadozs as the same king of Scots sent
into England, which came to the king at Christmas
last, and with manie sweet and pleasant wordes excu-
sed that which was done amisse, & sought to persua-
de kindnesse and perfect amitie in time to come. And
for the better accomplishment thereof, they offered
to send commissioners to the borders, there to deter-
mine the debate betwixt them of the confines, if it
would please the king likewise to send commissi-
oners for his part, which to doe he graciously conde-
scended, desirous to make triall of his nephue in
some correspondence of deeds, to the faire and plea-
sant messages in wordes which he had receined from
him.

Whereupon commissioners were sent from either
king, the which met and talked. But where the Eng-
lishmen chalenged a peece of ground, vndoubtedly
stirred by the Scots, being for the same shewed
such euidence as more substantiall, or more autentike
can not be brought forth for anie ground within the
realme; the same was neuertheless by the Scots
denied and reiected, onelic for that it was made (as
they alleged) by Englishmen, and yet was it so an-
cient, as it could not be counterfeited now, and the
value of the ground so little, and of so small weight,
as no man would attempt to falsifie a writing for
such a matter. But yet this deniall notwithstanding,
the English commissioners departed from the Scot-
tish commissioners as friends, taking order, as hath
bene accustomed, for good rule vpon the borders in
the meane time to be obserued.

After their departure, the lord Sparwell warden
of the west marches in Scotland, made proclamati-
on in deed for good rule to be kept: but neuertheless
added therewith, that the borderers of Scotland shuld
withdraue their goods from the borders of England,
and incontinentlie after the Scottish borderers, on

the fourth of Iulie entered into England suddenlie,
& spoiled the kings subjects, contrarie to the league,
and euen after the plaine maner of warre. Where-
vpon the king of England greatlie maruelling,
was driuen to furnish his borders with a garrison
for defense of the same, as mistrusting a further mis-
chiefe intended by the enemie, whose treacherie & loose
dealing became a whetstone to the kings wrath, and
set him in a heat of indignation, as the poet saith:

*Iam Scotus Henrici instam irritauerat iram
Fœdificagus.*

Then was James Leirmouth master of the Sco-
tish kings household sent into England with letters
deuised in the best maner, offering a good redress of
all attempts: and yet neuertheless at the entrie of
the said Leirmouth into England, a great number
of Scots then not looked for, made a rode into Eng-
land, to the great annoiance of the English borders,
which dealing, though it much moued the king of
England to take displeasure against the Scots, yet
he gaue gentle audience to Leirmouth at his com-
ming into him, and by his faire wordes and promises
was partlie pacified. But in the meane time, the
deeds of the Scottish borderers were as extreme as
might be. And in a rode made by sir Robert Wolues
for reuenge thereof, the same sir Robert, and manie
other with him, were taken prisoners, and could not
be deliuered, nor admitted to pake their fine and ran-
some, as hath bene euer accustomed betwixt them
on the borders.

And where at the same time, an assurance was
made on both sides for a season, at the sute of the said
Leirmouth, the Scots ceased not to make sundrie
inuasions into England, in such wise, as the king no
longer trusting to their faire wordes, but weleing
their deeds, put an armie in a readinesse for defense
of his subjects, as the due meane to attaine such a
peace, as for the safetie of his people and dominions,
he thought it stood with his honour to procure.
After which preparation made, and knowledge
thereof had, the king of Scots made new sute to
haue the matter taken vp by treatie. Wherevpon
the king caused the armie to staie about Forke, and
appointed the duke of Suffolke his lieutenant ge-
nerall, the lord pryncesse, the bishop of Durham, &
sir Anthoine Wolue master of his hostes, to treat
& conclude with the ambassadozs of Scotland some
friendlie peace, vpon reasonable and indifferent
condicions, as should be thought requisite, for the a-
uoiding of warres, than by sundrie inuasions of the
Scots made open and manifest. But after they had
viewed ech others commissions, and began to pro-
pone articles, the Scottish commissioners to pro-
tract time, at the first seemed to like such articles as
the English commissioners had preposed, and made
semblance as if there were no doubt, but that in
case their king & ours might meet, all matters shuld
be quietlie compounded and ended: and so taking it
as for a thing sure and certeine, they onlie desired sir
daies to obtaine answer from their master, and our
armie for that time to staie: wherevnto the English
commissioners accorded.

After those six daies was sent a commission out
of Scotland, to conclude a meeting precise, at such
a place as they knew well could not in the winter
season be obserued nor kept. Wherewith when the
English commissioners seemed nothing content, the
Scottish commissioners shewed forth instructions,
wherein libertie was giuen to them to exceed their
commission in the appointing of a place, & to consent
to anie other by the English commissioners thought
meet and conuenient. But when the English com-
missioners refused to deale with men wanting suffi-
cient commission to warrant their doings, the Scot-
tish

James Leir-
mouth.

King Henrie
forced to take
armes against
the Scots.

The double
dealing of the
Scots in the
negotiation a-
bout an agree-
ment.

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with commissioners required other five daies respite, to send for a larger commission, which being granted, at the end of those five daies, they brought forth a commission made in god forme, and without exception of restraint of place: but therewith they shewed instructions containing a like restraint, as in the former commission was expressed. And thus delaying forth the matter by trifling, upon purpose onlie to win time, they hoped thereby through the winter coming on, that the English armie should not be able much to annoie their countrey for that yeare. And so their talke brake by without any conclusion of agreement at all; and forthwith was the armie set forward, a good part whereof had lien all this time of the treatie in Poyke, and in the countreies thereabouts.

The English armie entirely into Scotland.

When the whole power was assembled, the duke of Norfolk then lieutenant general, accompanied with the earles of Shrewsburie, Derby, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rosland, and the lords of the north parts, and sir Anthoine Browne master of the hounses, sir John Cage controller of the kings hounse, and others, having with them twentie thousand men well and warlike appointed, entered Scotland the one and twentieth of October, and tarried there eight daies, without having any battell offered unto them, in which space they burnt these townes and villages, Darton, Kamrige, Stine, Cradin, Shilles lang Conem, Newton, Skittwell, Newthorne, Smellem spittle, the two Herdens, Slederiche, and the two Worlawes, Floris, and the Faire croft, Conem spittle, Norborough, Helleie and the abbete, long Spyonstow, Kiden, and Hadenston. For they had determined with fire and sword to take utter reuenge, crying out, as the poet saith;

*Vindice ferro opus esse, opus esse & vindice flamma,
Acclamant omnes.*

Now while the duke was at Farnton, the fourth daie after his coming into Scotland, there came to speake with him halfe a mile from the campe, the bishop of Orkenele, and James Letrmouth sent from the king of Scots to intreat of peace, but they agreed not. Finally, after the Englishmen had lien so long within Scotland as they might recover victols, at length for necessitie they returned to Berwick. In all which iourneie the standard of the earle of Southampton, late lord pynie seale (which died at Newcastell before their entring into Scotland) was borne in the foreward, because he was appointed capitaine of the same.

The earle of Southampton: tons standard.

The king of Scots, hearing that the English armie was returned, raised a power of fiftene thousand men forth of all parts of his realme, under the guiding of the lord Sparwell (or rather of Oliver Sinclair, as the Scots affirme) boasting to carrie as long in England, as the duke of Norfolk had tarried in Scotland. And so on fridaie being saint Katharins euen, they passed ouer the water of Clike, and burnt certeine houses of the Greues on the berie border. Thomas bassard Dacres, with Jacke of Pulgrau sent word to sir Thomas Wharton lord Warden for the king upon the west marches, to come forward to succour them. But in the meane while the Scots entring verie fierclie, the aforesaid two valiant capitaine, bassard Dacres and Pulgrau, manfullie set upon the Scots with one hundred light hounses, and left a skale on the side of a hill, wherewith the Scots were wonderfullie dismayed, thinking that either the duke of Norfolk with his whole armie had bene come to those west marches, or that some other great power had bene coming against them, when they saw onlie sir Thomas Wharton with three hundred men marching forward toward them. But so it fortuneed at that time un-

An armie of Scots invaded England.

The error of the Scots.

The Scots lie.

doubtleslie, as God would haue it, that the Scots fled at the first hunt; whome the Englishmen followed, and toke prisoners at their pleasures; for there was small resistance, or none at all shewed by the Scots.

Amongst others that were taken, we find these men of name, the earle of Caill and Glencarne, the lord Sparwell admiral of Scotland, and warden of the west marches, the lord Fleming, the lord Shermwell, the lord Oliphant, the lord Greie, sir Oliver Sinclair the kings minion, John Ross lord of Craigie, Robert Crislin son to the lord Crislin, Carre lord of Breton, the lord Sparwell two brethren, John Lelake bassard son to the earle of Ros, thus, George Hume lord of Hermiton, John Spauland lord of White castell, James Pringell, James Sinclair brother to Oliver Sinclair, John Carmichael capitaine of Craisforth, Patrike Hebborne esquire, John Seton esquire son in law to the lord Crislin, William Seton esquire, John Steward cousin to the king, John Foxrowe esquire, Henrie Dowmont esquire, James Gittton esquire, John Carmurth esquire capitaine of Craisforth, James Gittton esquire, and other esquires and gentlemen (beside the earles and lords before mentioned) to the number of two hundred and above, and more than eight hundred other persons of meaner calling; so that some one Englishman, yea some women had three or foure prisoners. They toke also foure and twentie peeces of ordinance, foure carts laden with speares, and ten paulions, with other things of price; so that this might well be said to be the handie worke of God; and the verse of the psalme verified:

Contemplans dixi, Et ecce militatio dextra

Numinis excelsi mortalia cuncta gubernans.

The king of Scots toke such grieue and inward thought for his ouerthrow, and also for the murder of an English herald that was slain at Dunbar, by one Lech an Englishman (the which for the rebellion in Lincolnshire was fled into Scotland) that he fell into a hot ague, and thereof died, although manie reported that he was at the bickering, and recovered there his deaths wound, and fled therewith into Scotland. But of his death, and of the birth of his daughter ye may see more in the historie of Scotland.

The number of prisoners and articles taken.

The death of the king of Scotland.

In many times the tally

Of these prisoners before named, one and twentieth of them were brought to London, and on the nineteenth of December entred into the citie by Bishops gate, and so were conueied to the tower, where they remained for the space of two daies: and upon saint Thomas daie the apostle, being the one and twentieth of December, they were conueied to Westminster, sir John Cage constable of the tower riding before them, and the lieutenant of the same tower riding behind them. They rode two and two together, and eight of them being earls and lords, had new gowns of blacke damaske furred with blacke conie, coates of blacke velvet, and doublets of sattin, with shirts and other apparell bought new for them at the kings charges.

Four and twentieth of the king of Scotland's prisoners brought to London.

Thus being solemnlie conueied through the streets of London into Westminster, they came before the counsell sitting in the Star chamber, and there the lord chancelor declared to them their vntruth, unkindnesse, and false dissimulation, declaring further how the king had cause of war against them, both for denieng of their homages, and also for their traitorous invasions made into his realme without defiance, and for keeping his subjects prisoners without redemption, contrarie to the ancient laws of the marches; for which doings, God (as they might perceiue) had scourged them. Wherewith the more regarding his honor than his princelie power, was

The Scots prisoners: for the cause in the Star chamber.

They kept the count

1542. Hen. Reg. 34. 35.

Scottish
lords taken
at Holm
Hesse.

The number
of prisoners
and artillery
taken.

The death of
the king of
Scotland.

Four and
twenty hath
Hall.
Scots priso-
ners brought
to London.

The Scots
prisoners be-
fore the coun-
cil in the privy
chamber.

was content to shew them kindnesse for takinge
nesse, and right for wrong. And although he might
keepe them in streit prison by iust law of armes,
yet he was content that they should haue libertie to
be with the nobles of his realme in their houses, and
according to their estates, they were appointed to
dukes, earles, bishops, knights, and gentlemen,
which so interteined them, that they confessed them-
selues neuer to be better bled, nor to haue had grea-
ter chere in all their life times.

The earle of Caillis was appointed to be with the
archbishop of Cantuarburie, the earle of Glencarne
with the duke of Norfolke, the lord Fleming with
the lord priue seale, the lord Sparwell with sir Antho-
nie Holore, the lord Summerwell with the lord chan-
cellor, the lord Oliphant with sir Thomas Lee, Oli-
ver Schieler with the duke of Suffolke, Robert
Crisith with the bishop of Westminister, the lord
Monteth with sir Antonio Wingfield, the lord Mon-
eth with sir Rafe Sadler, George Hume with the
earle of Hertford, the lord of Gracie with sir Tho-
mas Weincie, the lord of Gredon with maister
Gosswike, Henrie Sparwell with sir Richard Long,
Thomas Craiford with sir Arthur Darcie, Patrike
Debbone with sir Thomas Wriothesleie, James
Jungell with sir Richard Rich, John Spatland with
sir Edward North, the lord Greie, James Schieler,
and John Lisleie, were appointed to men of such cre-
dit, as were thought meet to answer for their safe
keeping.

The two and twentieth of December, tidings
came of the king of Scots death, and upon S. Johns
daie in Christmas weeke the foresaid lords of Scot-
land were brought to the court, which was then at
Greenwich, where they had great cheare, and went
before the king to the chappell, and were lodged with
in the court. Hereupon ye must consider, that where
as the king of Scots had left no issue behind him in
life but onelie one daughter, the king and his coun-
cell perceiving a meane now offered, whereby with-
out warre the two realmes might be united, these
Scottish lords hauing first made the motion them-
selues, for a marriage to be had betwixt prince Co-
ward and their yong queene, the king required their
helpe unto the furtherance of that matter, which
might be a great benefit to themselves and their coun-
trie. This they promised faithfullie to do, and aswell
by themselves as by their friends, to bring the same
to effect, so much as the king could require. Where-
upon the king was not onelie contented to release
them home, but also highly rewarded them with rich
and costlie gifts of sundrie sorts, in most bountifull
wise, as *Anglorum praelia notet verie uell, sateng:*

Præterea ex auro captiuos torquibus ornat,

Et sumpsit, vestes, argentum donat et aurum.

The Scots
depart into
their owne
countrie.

35. 43

The thirtieth of December they departed from the
court, and the morrow after, eight of them dined
with sir John Cotes then lord maior of London,
and the rest with the shiriffes, and had verie great
cheare. On Newpeares daie they departed from
London homewards towards Scotland, and rode
to Enfield to see the prince, and there dined that day,
greatlie reioicing, as by their words and counte-
nance it seemed, to behold so proper and towarlike
an impe. From thence they kept on their iournie
till they came to the north parts, where they found
the duke of Suffolke the kings lieutenant there, and
with him remained till such pledges were come forth
of Scotland, as it was couenanted they should
leane behind them.

The duke then after he had receiued the hostages,
permitted them to depart, and so they returned into
Scotland, where they were gladlie welcomed by
their kinsmen and friends. With them went also the

earle of Angus, who had bene banished Scotland,
and hauing remained here in England a long time,
receiued of the kings fee, a thousand markes by yeare;
and likewise his brother sir George Douglas, who
had five hundred markes yearelie likewise of the
kings gift. They were now both restored home into
their countrie, and that (as was said) by the kings
last will. The said earle of Angus, and diuerse of
the lords that had bene prisoners here in England,
were made of the priue councill of the realme by the
earle of Araine; that was chosen gouernour to the
yong queene, and of the realme, as next better ap-
parent: notwithstanding that the archbishop of saint
Andrewes, and cardinal of the see of Rome, came
and sett vnto the king of England for the popes
cause (and partly set on by the french king) had for-
geu a bill, expelling him the king had made him
gouernour (associated with two earles of his affinitie)
as well of the queene as realme, contrarie to the
lawes of Scotland. Whereupon the said earle of Ar-
raine, according to his right (as he pretended) with
the helpe of his friends, tooke upon him the au-
thoritie of gouernour, and put the said cardinal in pri-
son, and deliuered sir Robert Bowes, and the other
English prisoners, by their bonds, according to the
custome of the marches.

All this yeare was neither perfect peace, nor o-
pen warre betwixt England and France, but the
merchants ships were taken and robbed on both
parts, and at length merchants goods were seized,
and the ambassadoes of both realmes staied. Howbeit,
shortlie after the ambassadoes were deliuered: but
the merchants still were robbed, and no warre pro-
claimed. In the end of this yeare came from the go-
uernor of Scotland as ambassadoes, sir William
Hamilton, and James Leirmouth the secretaire of
Scotland, whose message was so meane like, that
they were faine to send an herald into Scotland for
other ambassadoes, and so came hither the earle of
Glencarne, and sir George Douglas: but what for-
uer their answer was, sir George returned in post,
and within twentie daies came backe againe with
an answer that was well liked of. But shortlie after
they brake promise, and went from that which they
had couenanted, greatlie to their reproch.

Now was sold verie deare in the winter season
of this yeare, and likewise bittels both flesh and fish
grow to an high price towards the spring, by reason
(as was thought) of the vntemperate wet summer
last past, causing great death among cattell. A quar-
ter of mutton was sold for two shillings, or seuen
grotes, a lambe at three shillings, or three and foure
pence, which afore that time was esteemed scarce
worth sixteen pence. Against Easter at a court
of aldermen kept in the Guildhall the twentieth of
March 1542, it was enacted by the lord maior and his
brethren, that the maior and shiriffes should be serued
at their tables but with one course at dinner and
supper in their houses; the maior to haue but seuen di-
shes at the most at one messe for his owne table, and
the shiriffes and euerie other alderman but six dishes,
upon paine to forfeit for euerie dish fortie shillings
at euerie time when they offended in this ordinance.
Also that the fargeants and peomen of their houses
should haue but three dishes at dinner or supper, the
swordbearers messe onlie excepted, which should be
allotted to haue one dish more. It was also enacted,
that from the feast of Easter then next ensuing, nei-
ther the maior nor his brethren should haue anie
crane, swan, or bussard, upon paine to forfeit for eu-
rie soule by them so bought, twentie shillings, the of-
fense to be tried by oth, if it should be presented.

In the beginning of this yeare, on Erinitie
sundae, was a new league swozne betwene the
king

The num-
ber of king
Henrie to the
earle of
Angus.

Archbishop of
S. Andrew
deadlie enemy
to H. Henrie.

The earle of
Araine.

Sir Robert
Bowes de-
liuered.

Ambassadoes
from Scot-
land.

A death.

A necessitie &
wholsome
ordinance
for mod. rati-
on in diet.

Anno Reg. 36.
A league be-
twixt the king
of England
and the empe-
rour.

Abr. H. ex. l. S.
pag. 1026.
Whit meate
licensed to be
eaten in Lent,
and noble men
punished for
breaking the
law.
Summerfet
an herald kil-
led, & the offen-
dor dieth as
a traitor.

First iron
pieces cast.

Creations
of earles and
barons.

The king mar-
rieth the ladie
Katharine
Dar.

Coppoyations,
fraternities, &
comunalties
paid more as
well of their
lands as goods
as appeareth
by the statute.

Articles de-
manded of the
French king.

king and the emperor at Hampton court, either of them to be friends to the others friends, and enemies to the others enemies. ¶ In this yeare also a proclamation was made, whereby the people were licensed to eat whit meates in Lent, but stricte forbidden the eating of flesh. Whereupon Hostie after the earle of Surrie, with diuerse lords, knights, and gentlemen, were imprisoned for eating of flesh in the same Lent, contrarie to the said proclamation. The eight of Maie, one Lech, sometimes bailie of Louth, who had killed Summerfet one of our heralds of armes at Dunbar in Scotland, was drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered. And the twelue of June, Edward Lech his brother, and with him a priest, for the same fact were likewise executed at Tiburne.

This yeare the first cast peeces of iron that euer were made in England, were made at Bucksted in Sussex, by Rafe Hoge, and Peter Babd. The third of June came to the court from the realme of Ireland, thre Irish lords, Dhrin, Mache William a Burgh, and Mache Gilpatrick. In Iulie the said Dhrin was created earle of Downon, Mache William a Burgh, earle of Claunrickford, and sir Dunon Dhrin was made baron of Chankie, and so with rewards they toke leaue and returned. The same moneth also, the Scottish ambassadoys returned with great rewards. The twelue of Iulie, at Hampton court, the king married the ladie Katharine Dar, widow, late wife unto the lord Latimer deceased, and then she was nominated queene, and so proclaimed.

In the parliament holden this yeare at Westminster, a subsidie was granted to the king, to be paid in thre yeares. Euerie Englishman being worth in goods twentie shillings & upward to five pounds, paid foure pence of euerie pound. From five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence. From ten pounds to twentie pounds, sixtene pence. From twentie pounds and upward, of euerie pound two shillings. Strangers as well denizens as other, being inhabitants, doubled this summe; and euerie stranger not being an inhabitant, that was sixtene yeares of age and upward, paid foure pence for euerie poll. And for lands, fees, and annuities, euerie one borne within the kings dominions, paid eight pence of the pound, from twentie shillings to five pounds. And from five pounds to ten pounds, sixtene pence. From ten pounds to twentie pounds, two shillings. And from twentie pounds and upward, thre shillings; strangers still doubling this summe. The cleargie granted a subsidie of six shillings the pound, to be paid of their benefices in perpetuities in thre yeares ensuing; and euerie priest hauing no perpetuities, but an annuall stipend, paid yearelie (during the said thre yeares) six shillings and eight pence.

About the same time, the king and the emperor sent Carter and Tolson Do. kings at armes, to demand the performance of certaine articles of the French king, which if he denied, they were commanded then to desie him, but he would not suffer them to come within his land, & so they returned. Whereby on the king caused the said demands to be declared to the French ambassadoys at Westminster. And in Iulie the king sent ouer sir Thousard men, under the leading of sir John Mallop, appointed to haue the generall conduction of them, accompanied with diuerse other knights, esquires and gentlemen right hardie and valiant. Sir Thomas Seimer was marshall of that armie, sir Robert Wolbes treasurer, sir Richard Cromwell capteine of the horsemen, and sir George Carew his lieutenant. There were likewise sir Thomas Palmer, sir John Keinsforth, sir

John saint John, and sir John Gascoigne, knights, that were capteines of the footmen. They were appointed to ioin with the emperours power, and so to make warre into France. They departed from Calis the two and twentieth of Iulie. The third of August open warre was proclaimed in London betwixt the emperor and the king of England on the one part, and the French king on the other, as enemies mortall to them both, and to all other christian princes beside, as he that had confederated himselfe with the Turke.

The armie that was sent ouer under the leading of sir John Mallop, passed south from the marches of Calis, and keeping alongst betwixt the borders of the French and Burgonion pales and confines, and joining with the emperours forces, Spaniards, Mallons, and Dutch, came at length before Landerseie, a towne latelie fortified by the French, within the borders of the emperours dominions, to the which they laid a strong siege. At length the emperor hauing dispatched his wars against the duke of Cleue, who had submitted himselfe unto him, came now to the siege of Landerseie, with a mightie power of sundrie nations, so that the towne was sore constrained and in danger to haue bene lost, if at that present the French king had not likewise with an huge armie of Frenchmen, Switzers, Lantiquenets, Italians, and others, come to the rescue, pitching downe his campe, making countenance as if he ment presentlie to giue battell: and verelie it was thought that two such powers as were there at that time so nere together, should neuer haue departed without battell. The emperor thinking surelie to fight, raised his siege, and drew his people into the field. The Frenchmen thereby espying their auantage, put as well fresh men as vittells, and all kind of munition necessarie into the towne, and in the meane while kept the emperours people occupied with hot skirmishes.

But now after the towne was thus releued, which thing the French king onelie wished to accomplish, the next daie when the emperor was readie with his armie ranged in battell to haue fought with his aduersaries, the French king put his armie also in order; but hauing no mind to come forward, he trilled south that daie, and in the night following, secretlie departed with as much haste as was possible. When the next morning had discovered the Frenchmens flight (for manie so termed this their sudden retire) it was no need to bid diuerse troops of the emperours armie to hie after them: but some made too much haste, for the French king suspecting what would ensue, appointed his eldest sonne Henrie the Dolphin to remaine behind with the reterward, accompanied with diuerse noble capteins, which ordered their people in their retire with such warinesse and heedfull skill, as the reason of warre required, that such of the emperours campe as adventured ouer rashlie, and shewed themselves more forward than wise, fell within danger of such ambushments as were by the waie couertlie laid in places of auantage: and so diuerse were taken, as sir George Carew, sir Thomas Palmer knight porter of Calis, Edward Bellingham, and others. But neuertheless a great number of such Frenchmen as could not make waie, and keepe pale with their maine troops, were snapped up, slaine, and taken in no small numbers by their enemies, who followed them as egges as tigers, and as the describer of that puruite saith:

Imbut et gladius manante cruore Britannum.

This was after Alhalowentide, so that now by reason the winter was farre entred, and the weather waring extreme foule, and contrarie to an armie that should lie in the fields, the emperor brake up his

Landerseie
belleged.

The French
king cometh
to the rescue
of Landerseie.

A great death
in London.

I. Stow, pag.
1027.

Ambassadoys
from the em-
peror.

The French
king returneth
backe with
his armie.

The lord is
created earle
of Essex.

I. 544
The lord
was the first
Abr. Fl. ex
15. pag. 1027
Four E.
ships,
Germanie
Gardner an
other execu-
ted.
I. Stow 1005.
Charitable

m. 1543.

An. Reg. 35. 36.

Henrie the eight.

961

The emperor
his camp.

his campe and licenced the most part of his people to depart home into their countries, for all hope to win Landersele at that time was cleane cut off, sith it was vittelled and newlie furnished with fresh men and munition. After that the warres were once open betwixt England and France, sundrie enterprises were attempted by the parties on either side in the marches of Calis and Bullognois, in which, for the most part, the Englishmen got the vpper hand of their enemies.

Landersele
besieged,

The French
king commeth
to the reliefe
of Landersele.

At one time the Frenchmen, to the number of eight hundred, comming in the night season to enter into the English pale by the turne pike at Hammes, in purpose to make some spoile in the countrie there, were assailed vpon the sudden by sir George Sumner, and sir William Walgraue, latelie before come ouer with two hundred men out of Suffolke, to strengthen the English pale against the enemies, and at this time did behaue themselves so valiantlie, that they disappointed the enemies of their purpose. 20 for whereas they were entered into a lane inclosed with hedges on either side, sirkene archers getting into the grounds on the backe side of the hedges lying alongst the lane, through which the Frenchmen were marching, placed their arrows as they saw their advantage, and so bestowed their shot, that they galled the Frenchmen in such wise, that they were forced to recule in so great disorder, that other of the Englishmen comming vpon them, easilie slue and took of them no small number.

A great death
in London.

Some pag.
1007.

Ambassadors
from the em-
perour.

The French
king retireth
backe with
his armie.

Beside this, at sundrie times the Englishmen inuading the countrie of Bullognois, waisted the townes and villages, brought awaie great botties of goods and cattell, to the great impouerishing of the countrie. They burnt at one time the towne of Avinghen, and took the steeple of the church there, into the which were fled sir score pezzants with their wiues and children, whome the Englishmen threw downe headlong out of the steeple, because they had most stubbornele refused to yeld. In this yeare a 40 great death of the pestilence reigned in London, and therefore Michellmasse terme was adourned to St. Albons, and there kept till the end thereof. The eighteenth of December the archbishop of Canturburies palace at Canturburie was burnt, and therein was burnt his brother in law, and other men.

In Christmasse weeke came to the king lieng at Hampton court, Ferdinando Gonzaga viceroy of Sicilie, prince of Malfeta, duke of Juano, the emperours capteine generall. The chiefeest cause of his comming was, to appoint what time the emperours armie should be readie to inuade France. He had great chere, and at his departure was rewarded with a hundred and fiftie thre ounces of gold in plate, and foure thousand and thre ounces in gillt plate, all verie curiously wrought, and all the time of his being here, his charges were borne by the king. The sundefte before Christmas, the lord William Par brother to the quene, who had married the daughter & heire of Henrie Bourchier erle of Essex, at Hampton court was created earle of Essex, & sir 60 Will. Par knight vncle to them both, was made lord Par of Boston, & chamberleine to the quene.

The lord Par
created earle
of Essex.

1544
The lord
Montgomerie,
sir Fl. ex
1543. 1007,
France.
Hilps.
Germaine
Gardner and
other appen-
tib.
1544. 1007.
Chamblaine

On the first yeares date, was sir Thomas Wriotheslie the kings secretarie made lord Wriotheslie of Wichefeld. This yeare chanced foure eclipses, one of the sunne the fourteenth of Januarie, and thre of the moone. On the seventh of March, Germaine Gardner, and Larke person of Chessele were executed at Tiburne, for denieng the kings supremacie, & with whom was executed for other offenses one Singleton. And shortly after Albere was likewise executed for the supremacie. In this yeare sir John Al- 70 len (who had bin twice maior of London, & of coun-

cell to the king) departing out of this life, did giue to the citie of London a rich collar of gold, to be worn by the maior: which collar was first worn by sir William Lorton on St. Edwards daie, to the election of the new maior, who gaue to euerie ward in London twentie pounds to be distributed to the poore householders, besides to one hundred and twentie persons, thre score men euerie of them a gowne of bzode cloth, and a blacke cap, and thre score women, to euerie of them a gowne of the like cloth, and a white kerchiefe. Humfries Bonmouth, and John Cotes which were thirties in his maiestie, in the beginning of their yeare put awaie twelue large- 10 ants and twelue peomen, till they were forced by a court of common counsell to take them againe.

Shiriffes put
awaie their
officers.

In this meane while was the cardinal of Scotland deliuered forth of prison, and shortly after got into his hands againe all such conclusions as were made touching the marriage betwixt the quene of Scots and prince Edward, procuring in maner all the lords and nobles of the realme to renounce that which they had promised to the king of England, as well bluerle of those whome the said king had released home out of captiuitie, as others. Wherewith the king took such fore displeasure, that he prepared an armie to passe into Scotland by sea, and ordeined the lord Edward Seimer, earle of Hertford to be lieutenant of the north parts, and to haue the leading of the same armie: who went thither in March, as well 30 for defense of the borders, as to foresee all things in order for the armie that should thus go into Scotland, whereof he was appointed generall.

The earle of
Hertford
lieutenant of
the north.

When all things were in a readinesse for the nauie which was rigged to set forward towards Scotland, and that the soldiers were come which were appointed to go with sir John Dudley lord Lisle, and high admerall of England in that voyage, they were imbarcked, and so the two and twentieth of March the said lord admerall, with sir Nicholas Pointz, and diuerse other knights and capteins departed from the port of London towards the north parts; and com- 40 ming to Newcastle, found the erle of Hertford readie with such power as was appointed to be there at a daie assigned, forth of those countries that lie from Trent northwards. And now wanted nothing to further their iourne, but a conuenient wind; which caused them to staie certeine daies at the said towne of Newcastle, and in the villages thereabouts.

The lord ad-
merall Dudley
leue setteth
forth from
London to-
wards Scot-
land.

After that the earle of Hertford, and the lord ad- 50 merall, accompanied with the earle of Shrewsburie, the lords Cobham, Clinton, Counters, Skinton, the lord William Howard, and manie other right valiant knights, gentlemen, and capteins, had lien with the armie and nauie readie at Newcastle a certeine time, looking for a prosperous wind to set forward on their purposed iourne, at length the same came about berie fit to serue their turne, and then with all speed the soldiers were bestowed aboard, euerie companie in their appointed vessels: and here- 60 with by went the sailles, and forth they got into the maine seas, making their course direalie towards the Forth, a gulfe or riuer in Scotland, able to beate vessels fiftie miles by within the countrie. There were at the least two hundred sailles which the lord admerall had caused to come together, according to his commission, rigged, trimmed, and furnished with all things necessarie for the conduction of such an armie, esteemed to be about ten thousand men.

Anno Reg. 36.

The armie
setteth for-
ward by sea
towards
Scotland.

The third of Maie they arrived in the Forth, en-tring betwene two Ilands, the Bas and the Paie. The next daie being the fourth of Maie, the whole armie was landed two miles by west the towne of Leth, at a place called Grantham crag. And forth- 70 with the lord lieutenant putting his people in good order

The number
of the Eng-
lish armie.

The English
armie landeth
in Scotland.

The Scots
offer to im-
peach the
Englishmens
passage.

The Scots
flee to Eden-
burgh.

The English
armie entrench
into Litch.

The prouost
of Eden-
burgha re-
quest.

The earle of
Hertford
answer.

Sir Christo-
pher Poole.

Edenburgh
entered by
force.

order of warre, marched on towards the said towne of Litch. The lord admerall led the foreward, the lord lieutenant the battell, and the earle of Shrewsburie governed the reereward. Before they came to the towne of Litch, they found in their waie readie to impeach their passage sir thousand horsemen beside footmen. At the first the Scots made towards the Englishmen, as if they had ment to set upon the bowward; but being manfullie assailed by the batquebutters, five hundred in number, and shewable by them curried and galled, they had no mind to come forward, but perceiving how willing the Englishmen were to encounter with them, after certeine shot on both sides, they made a sudden retreat, and leaving their artillerie behind them, they fled to Edinburgh.

The first man that fled (as the talke went) was the cardinal, who perceiving the deuotion which the Englishmen had to his holinesse, had no mind to followe. With him also fled the gouernour, the earles of Huntley, Murray, and Bothwell: as for their soldiers, they were disparted, and feared the English forces as the lambe doth the wolfe, the doe the dog, or the hart the lion: to vse the words of Anglorum praelia berie fitlie describing this battell, and saieing:

Exhorrent, ut dama capes, ut cerva leones.

The Englishmen thus hauing put their enemies to flight, & seized upon their artillerie, made straight to the towne of Litch, and entered it without any great resistance, wherein they incamped themselves the same night to their most ease and aduantage, and afterwards landed their vittels and great artillerie. They found also in this towne such plenty of riches as they looked not to haue found in any one towne of Scotland.

The first of Maie they went towards Edinburgh, and as they approached nere the towne, the prouost of the same towne accompanied with one or two burgesses, and two or three officers at armes, desired to speake with the kings lieutenant, and in the name of all the towne, said that the heies of the towne should be deliuered unto his lordship, conditionallie that they might go with bag & baggage, and the towne to be saved from fire. Whereunto answer was made by the said lord lieutenant, that where the Scots had so manifestlie broken their promises confirmed by othes and seales, and certified by the whole parlement, as was euidentlie knowne to the world, he was sent thither by the kings highnesse to take vengeance of their detestable falschod, to declare and shew the force of his highnesse sword to all such as should make any resistance unto his graces power sent thither for that purpose. And therefore he told them resolutely, that unless they would yeld by their towne franklie without condition, and cause man, woman, and child, to issue forth into the fields, submitting them to his will and pleasure, he would put them to the sword, and their towne to the fire. The prouost answered it were better to stand to their defense.

Whereupon charge was given to the said prouost and officer at armes, upon their perill to depart. And forthwith the lord lieutenant sent to the bowward, commanding that they should march toward the towne, which right hardlie they did, and the English gunners manfullie assailed the gates; namelie sir Christopher Poole master of the ordinance, in such sort that the Scots were beaten from their ordinance, and the gate called Canogate beaten open with shot of the great artillerie, and therewith the Englishmen entering the same gate by fine force, beat downe & slew a great number of Scots, and continuallie without tairing was the great ordinance balone by the street to the castell gates: but those that were within the castell shot so frelie at the Englishmen thus approaching with their great artil-

lerie, that diuerse were slaine, the artillerie of the castell beat so direalie alongest the high street, as the Englishmen came by the same. At length also one of the Englishmens culuerings was stricken, and dismounted, and thereupon they were forced to retire backe and giue over their enterpryse of making batterie to the castell, wanting pioners, baskets, and other things necessarie for such a purpose.

This daie the Englishmen set fire in diuerse parts of the towne, but they had not leasure to mainteine it, by reason of the smoke rising and troubling them so extremelie, that no great hurt could be done that daie, for that the night also came on, and so they departed backe againe to their campe at Litch. But the next daie, a certeine number of Englishmen under the leading of doctor Leigh, went againe to Edinburgh, and did what they could, vntillie to destroye the whole towne with fire, and so continued all that daie & the two daies next following. During all this violence offered by the English to the enemy, & nothing left but despaire of life, the women and children beholding this desolation, made such outrageous exclamations and woofull lamentations, that heauen it selfe rang with their noise, as berie pitillie is described by Chr. O. in his report, saieing:

*Femine! sexus gemitis ad sidera grandis
Tolluntur strepitus, puerorum clamor in auribus,
Nil nisi triste fuit, faciesque miserrima rerum.*

In the meane time, foure thousand light horsemen, under the leading of the lord Evers, came from our borders, as order was taken afore, and joined themselves with the armie thus lieng in Litch, where after their comming, they did such exploits, in riding and waiking the countrie, that within fouen miles euerie waie of Edinburgh, they left few places, either pile, village, or house vnburnt. And beside this, they brought great numbers of cattell dalie into the armie, and met with much good stuffe, which the inhabitants of Edinburgh had for the safetie of the same conueied out of the towne.

The names of the knights made at Litch after the burning of Edinburgh by the earle of Hertford, gouernall of the kings armie there, on lundae the eleuenth of Maie, in the six & thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare 1544, as they were deliuered to me by sir Gilbert Deshike knight, alias Carter, king of armes, are as followeth: The lord Clinton, the lord Coners, sir William Wroughton, sir Thomas Holcroft, sir Edward Dorell, sir John Luttrell, sir John Fenins, sir Thomas Waterton, sir Charles Howard, sir George Blunt, sir Peter Dewitas, sir Edward Warner, sir Rafe Bulmer, sir Hugh Cholmeleie, sir Thomas Leigh, alias doctor Leigh, sir Richard Leigh, sir Peter Leigh, sir John Leigh of Both, sir Lawrence Smith, sir William Banasour, sir Richard Shirburne, sir Robert Stapleton, sir Thomas Holt, sir William Danenport, sir Rafe Leicester, sir Humfrie Bradborne, sir Thomas Maluereie, sir Francis Bothome, sir John Passie, sir Leonard Beckwith, sir Thomas Cokaine, sir Peter Freshwell, sir Richard Egerton, sir Anthoine Penill, sir John Penill, sir William Katchiffe, sir George Wolues, sir Brian Bereton, sir William Bereton, sir Roger Bereton, sir Edward Warren, sir Brian Leiton, sir Robert Warkeleie, sir Thomas Talbot, sir Hugh Caluerleie, sir John Clerc, sir Richard Holland, sir Thomas Menables, sir John Constable, sir Edmund Trafford, sir John Aberton, sir Richard Cholmeleie, sir Philip Egerton, sir Hugh Willoughbie, sir Thomas Constable, sir William Woodhouse, sir Edmund Sanage, and sir Thomas Gerard.

On the fourtenth daie the Englishmen brake downe

The end of
the boiage.

Comes
burnt in the
same boiage.

downe the piers of the haven of Litch, and burnt eu-
erie sickle of it. This done, and hauing shipped their
great artillerie, and taken forth all such Scottis
ships as were meet to serue, appointing them to at-
tend on their ships, they took upon them to returne
home by land. Amongst other ships which the Eng-
lishmen had in Litch haues, there were two of nota-
ble fauour, the one called the Salamander, giuen
by the French king at the marriage of his daughter
into Scotland, the other called the Glouciers, made
by the said Scottis king. The ballast of these two
ships was cannon shot, which they found in the
rowne, to the number of foure thousand. The
rest of the Scottis ships being taken awaie together
with their ordnance, which they brought with them,
were for the moze part possessed with the spoile and
booties of the said ships and armiers. On the fiftenth
of Aprill, their armie and their fleet departed from
Litch both in one booke, the towne being set on fire
and burned to the ground.

The English armie incamped that night at a
place called Seaton, seven miles from Litch, where
they burnt the castell, and destroyed the orchards and
gardens with the moze despayre, for that the lord Sea-
ton owner of the place, was the chiefe laborer to
helpe the lord cardinal out of prison. The same daie
was Haddington burnt, with a great nurrie and
house of friers there. The next night they incamped
beside Dunbar, where they had an alarm given
them, but in the morning they burnt the towne of
Dunbar, and marched forth, though somewhat staie
by the waie, by reason of the mist and fog; which was
verie thicke, continuing all the forenoon, and because
also they understood how the lords of Seton & Hume
with the lord of Bonclough, and others, had assem-
bled a power of men of warre, and were minded to
impeach their passage at a streit named the Pease.

But after that the mist brake vp, which was about
two of the clocke in the afternoone, the Englishmen
came forthward, and passed the same streit without a-
nie resistance, for the Scottis lords perceiving that
they were not of power sufficient to encounter with
the Englishmen, minded not to put their people in
their danger, but wiselie retired, suffering the Eng-
lishmen to passe at their pleasure, who that night
lodged at Kanton, eight miles distant from our boy-
ders, where hauing ouerthrowne a pile which stood
there, they dislodged the next morrow, and the same
daie being the eighteenth of Aprill, they entered into
Berwick: so ending their voyage with great tole
and gladnesse, not hauing lost past forty persons in
all this tourne.

The names of the chiefe towne, castles, and pla-
ces burned in this voyage, were these: the burrow
and towne of Edinburgh, with the abbey called ho-
lie Rod house, and the kings palace adioining to the
same. The towne of Litch burnt, and the haven and
pire destroyed, the castle and village of Cragmiller,
the abbey of Helybottle, part of Hufkelburow
towne, with the chappell of our ladie of Lauret, Pre-
ston towne and the castell, Seton castell, Hading-
ton towne, with the friers and nurrie, a castell of
Bluer Sinclers, the towne of Dunbar, Lanrefton
with the grange, Dilat, Wester crag, Cnderligh,
the pile, and the towne, Broughton, Theffer fields,
Crawnab, Wodiston, Stan house, the ficket, Be-
uerton, Cranent, Shenston, Parkie, Trapen, Kirk-
land hill, Hatherwike, Belton, east Barnes, Bot-
land, Butterden, Nickelwood, Blackeburne, Kan-
ton, Bilde and the Tower, Kirkcubine, saint Spi-
nes, the quenes ferrie, part of Petin Malines, and
the burnt Island, were burned by the fleet on the sea.
For during the continuance of the armie at Litch,
the ships laie not idle, but scowling the riuer, burnt

diuerse places, and left neither ship, craier, nor bote
belonging to ante village, towne, crake, or haven,
upon either side of the fowd, betwene Sterling, and
the mouth of the riuer, vnburned, or brought awaie,
which space containeth fiftie miles in length. About
the same time the earle of Lenox fled out of Scot-
land into the rebine of England, where he was right
gladlie received by king Henrie, and shortly he ob-
teined in marriage the ladie Marie Dologlas, neece
to the king of England, and returned some after in-
to Scotland by sea, accompanied with a good compe-
tent crew of English. But finding no such friend-
ship among his countrie men as he looked to haue
done, he was constrained to returne without attein-
ing the enterprize which he had taken in hand, in
hope of such assistance by his friends, as now failed
him at need.

In the moneth of Aprill proclamation was made
for the inhancing of gold to eight & forty shillings,
& silver foure shillings the ounce. Also the king caused
to be coined base monie, which was since that time
called doine, the first yeare of Edward the first, and
called in the second of quene Elizabeth. In the same
moneth also passed through the cite of London in
warlike maner, to the number of seauen hundred
Irishmen, hauing for their weapons, darts, and
handguns, with bagpipes before them: and in faint
James parke besides Westminster they mustered
before the king. In June the letanie or procession
was set forth in English, with commandement by
the king to be generallie used in parish churches.
About the same time that the armie before reitern-
ized, was set forthward into Scotland under the gui-
ding of the earle of Hertford, as before ye haue
heard, the king by aduise of his counsell took order
for the leuieing of a nightie armie, to passe ouer into
France, according to the appointment taken with
his confederate, friend and colleague, the emperor,
against the French king, at that present common
aduersarie to them both, and not long before had en-
tered in leagu with the Turks, as Ch. Oc. noteth:

— cum dirasadera Turcis
Iunxerat, heu nimium res est indigna relatu,
Christicolam facere hoc, qui religionis amantem
Se profutens, titulum pietatis vendidit orbi.

There were appointed three battels, the forward
under the leading of the duke of Norfolk, the bat-
tell under the guiding of the duke of Suffolke, which
also was reckoned to be the kings battell, because
his maiestie ment to be present with the same in
person, and the reere-ward was led by the lord Russell
lord priute seale. Those of the fore-ward were appare-
led in blew cotes garbed with red, and had caps and
hosen after the same sute, partie blue and partie red,
their caps made fit for their sculs, which were put in-
to the same. The battell in cotes, caps, and hosen, af-
ter the like fashon, but their colours were red and
yellow.

The duke of Norfolk and the lord priute seale,
accompanied with diuerse other noble men, as the
earle of Surreie sonne to the said duke of Norfolk
marthall of the field, the earle of Arford, the lord
Grete of Wilton lieutenant of Hammes, whose
name euen then began to grow famous, the lord
Ferrers of Charteleie, and sir Richard Deucreur
his sonne and heire, that brought with them a great
number of Welshmen, sir Thomas Cheint lord
warden of the cinque ports, the lord Mountioie a fo-
wardlie yong gentleman, well learned, and for his
time perfect in all points and qualities fit for a noble
man, sir Francis Bytan knight, one of the kings
priute chamber, and no lesse affectioned to his ser-
uice, than of him fauoured and well esteemed, sir Tho-
mas Poinings capitaine of Guilnes, and diuerse
others

See more
hereof in
Scotland.

Abr. Fl. ex
I. Stow. 1029.

Base monie
coined.

Irish in war-
like maner
passe through
the cite.

Procession in
English.

An armie le-
uied to invade
France.

Three battels
appointed with
their severall
licutnants.

The duke of
Norfolk &
the lord priute
seale.

The lord Se-
aton brought
a power of
housmen
from the boy-
ders.

Knightes cre-
sted at Litch by
the castle of
Hertford.

Litch burnt.

The lord
Seaton.

Haddington
burnt.

Dunbar
burnt.

The end of
the voyage.

Common
burnt in the
same voyage.

The countie
de Waren.

Monsieur
de Dies.

The duke of
Suffolke.

Bullongne
besieged.

The king
passeth the
seas to Bul-
longne.

others beside, no lesse worthe to be remembered for their valure and merits, if time would permit to tel hearse them; passed over to Calis about Whitsturtide, and from thence marching forward to France, lest Bullongne on their right hand, & keeping forth towards Puttrell, joined with an armie which the emperor had raised for that purpose, under the leading of the countie de Waren, admerall of the low countries, and so these armies being united in one, came before Puttrell, and there laid siege to that towne, being well manned and furnished with all things necessarie for defense, as well in bittels as munition. The chiefe captaine of which towne was monsieur de Dies, one of the marshals of France, and gouverneur also in the absence of monsieur de Glandoune of Picardie, who being within Bullongne & hearing how the English armie was passed by, and drew towards Puttrell, he left Bullongne, and with all speed got him into Puttrell, not mistrusting anie thing of that policie which the king of England went about, which was, to send this armie to besiege Puttrell, to the end the Frenchmen might be kept occupied further off, while he with the residue of his power should come and besiege Bullongne, which towne standing most commodious for his purpose, he ment by force to bring under his subiection.

Whereupon was the duke of Suffolke appointed with the kings armie to passe over, accompanied with the earle of Arundell marshall of the field, the lord saint John, and the bishop of Winchester, sir John Cage comptrolor of the kings house, sir Anthony Browne maister of the kings horse, with diuerse other worthe captaines, all which the nineteenth of Julie came before Bullongne, incamped on the east side of the said towne aloft upon the hill, and after for his more safetie removed into a vallie, where after manie sharpe skirmishes they first entered the base towne, being left and forsaken by the inhabitants, which hauing set fire on their fishing nets, and other such baggage, under couert of the smoke, got them vp into the high towne, before the Englishmen could espie them. After this, the old man, other wise called *Le tour d'ordre*, standing without the towne for a direction to them that were to enter the haven, and now being kept by sirène souldiers, was yielded by by them, upon presenting the canon before it.

The Frenchmen within the towne, being despoiled of those two places, yet spared not to shot off from their walles and bulwokes, doing what damage they might deuise, and namelie from the castle and grène bulwoke they did much hurt to the Englishmen with their shot, whereof they made no spare, till at length they were forced to be quiet: for the Englishmen so applied them with such plentie of their shot, that the Frenchmen had no oportunitie to do them anie great hurt with their artillerie. The fourteenth of Julie, the king in person, accompanied with diuers of the nobilitie, passed the seas from Dover to Calis; and the six and twentieth of the same moneth incamped himselfe before Bullongne on the north side, within lesse than thre quarters of a mile of the towne, where he remained, till the towne was surrendered into his hands. The king being then in campe, it was a matter of ease to discerne which was he, for none of the rest came nere him in tallnesse by the head: as for his proportion of lims, it was answerable to his goodlie stature and making: a memorabile description whereof, as also of his artificall armour, I find reported as followeth:

*Rex capite Henricum reliquos supereminet omnes,
Heros præualidus sen fortis brachia spectes,
Sensuras quas fuluo opifex incluserat auro,
Sine virile ducis præstanti pectore corpus,
Nulla vi domitum, nullo penetrabile ferro, &c.*

Beside the trenches which were cast, and brought in manner round about the towne, there was a mount raised upon the east side; and diuerse peeces of artillerie planted aloft on the same, the which together with the mosten peeces, had quailed them within, & battered downe the steeple of our ladies church. To conclude: the batterie was made in most forcible wise in those severall places, and the walles, towers, and castles were undermined; and the towne within so beaten with shot out of the campe, and from the mount and trench by the mosten peeces, that there were verie few houses left whole therein. The towne thus standing in great distresse, there were two hundred Frenchmen and halpards, which entered under the couert of night, to enter the towne in court of the night, which exploit they so warlike achieved, that by means of a priest that could speake the English tongue, they passed by the scouts, & through the watch, so as the most part of them were got over the trenches, yet it was knowne that they were: to the number of six score of them got into the towne, but the residue after they were once detected, being intercepted, were taken or slaine. Although this small succour somewhat relieved them within, and put them in some hope to defend the towne somewhat longer against the kings power: yet at length when a pece of the castle was blowne by, and the breaches made, as was thought reasonable, the assault was given by the lord admerall Dudley, that was comethither from the sea, which he had scouered after his returne from Scotland.

This assault was couragiously given, and to speake a truth, no lesse manfully defended: so that when the assailants had perceiued in what state the breaches stood; and what position they within had made for defense of their towne, which undoubtedly was great (for nothing was by them omitted, that might either auantage the defendants, or annoy the assailants) those that were appointed in this sort to giue the assault, were called backe, and so they retired, but not without losse on both sides, and namelie of them within. For during the time of the assault, the great artillerie did beat still upon them that presented themselves at the breaches to repell the assailants, and so diuerse of their valiant captaines and brave souldiers were slaine at this assault, & among other, captaine Philip Cose. Shortly after, the captaines within the towne, doubting to be euenly assaulted, and perceluing themselves in extreme danger to lose the towne by force, if they prolonged not the sooner, by rendering it to saue themselves: they sent forth two of their chiefe captaines, monsieur Sembelmont, and monsieur de Hales, which declared unto the king, that monsieur de Weruine gouverneur of the towne, with his retinue, was contented to deliuer the towne unto his grace, with condition that they might passe with bag and baggage. Which request the king, like a noble and mercifull prince, freely granted: and so the next date, the duke of Suffolke rode into Bullongne, unto whom in the kings name the keies of the towne were deliuered, & in the afternone departed out of Bullongne all the Frenchmen with heauie hearts, to the number of six thousand, as C. O. witnesseth, saing:

Sex hinc exierant Gallorum milia gentis.

The number of the men of warre that were strong and able to serue, were of horsemen sixte score, of footmen sixtine hundred, threescore and thre; of the which number eight hundred were harquebutters, of hurt men fourescore and seuen, of women & children ninetene hundred and twentie seuen, beside a great number of aged & sicke persons, not able to depart with the others. The last person that came forth was monsieur de Weruine himselfe, who upon

The king ent-
ered into
Bullongne.

The king re-
turneth into
England.

Bullongne
deliuered.

The emperor
concludeth a
peace with
franch him

Bullongne
deliuered.

The number
of them that
were sent
to Bullongne.

The num-
ber of the men
that were in
Bullongne.

his approach to the place where the king stood, alighted from his horse, and came to the king, and after he had talked with him a space, the king took him by the hand, and he reverentlie kneeling upon his knees, kissed his hand, and afterward mounted upon his horse, and so departed, following his companie.

The eight of September, the king having the sword borne before him by the lord marques Dorset, like a puissant conqueror rode into Bullongne, and the trumpeters standing on the walles, sounded their trumpets at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of the beholders. In the entering, there met him the duke of Suffolke, and deliuered to him the keies of the towne, and so he rode forth to his lodging that was prepared for him on the south side of the towne. Within two daies after, the king rode about the towne within the walles, and appointed that our ladie church of Bullongne should be taken downe, and in the place thereof a mount to be made, for the more strengthening of the towne. Finallye after he had set things in order for the safe keeping of this his towne of Bullongne, by his princely force thus wonne out of the possession of his aduersaries hands, he appointed the lord Lisle high admiral of the seas, to be his deputie of the same towne, and then determining not to stae there any longer, he took the seas, & returned into England, landing at Dover the first of October.

In this meane time, whilst the king of England laie (as ye haue heard) with his siege about Bullongne, and the duke of Suffolke, and lord priuie seale about Putterell, the emperor invaded France by Champeigne, winning diuerse castles and townes, as Comersis, Agnie, saint Desir, Chantreaux, Ytierie, and others. But at the length, meanes were made by treatie to haue the matter taken up, as in the end it was, and a peace concluded without consent of the king of England, although there was place left for him and other princes to enter into this agreement of peace. But the king of England hauing now defrauded no small quantitie of treasure in these warres, beside the trauell of his owne person and his people, and hauing the thing now in a manner sure in his possession, which he chiefly went about to obtaine, that is to wit, the strong towne of Bullongne, he would not agree vnto any peace, except he might inioy that towne, at that instant redie to be deliuered into his hands. And euen now after it was to him deliuered, hearing that for certaine, the peace was concluded betwixt the emperor and the French king, he determined to breake up his camps: but neuertheless to keepe Bullongne in his possession, in despite of all his aduersaries. But here, before we proceed any further, we haue thought good somewhat to speake touching the siege which all this while continued afore Putterell, where the Englishmen and Burgonians inforced themselves by all waies and meanes they could deuise, how to constrain their enemies within the towne. On the other part, monsieur de Biez, and those that were with him in gard of the same towne, lest nothing vndone that might serue for their defense, and make to the annoiance of their enemies.

There were with monsieur de Biez within the towne, an hundred men at armes of the retinue of the constable of France, vnder the leading of the lord de la Cuche an expert man of war. There were also with the lord of Genlie, foure enignes of French souldiers. Count Berenger a Neapolitane with a thousand souldiers Italians. Capteine Francisco de Chiaramont, a Neapolitane also, with the like number of Italian souldiers. So that the towne might seeme sufficientlie furnished with men, and they wanted neither shot nor powder requisite, so that

there was no spare thereof when occasion serued on either part.

The duke of Suffolke and the lord priuie seale caused a mount to be raised, and aloft thereon were certaine peeces of artillerie planted to shot into the towne. Whereouer they compassed the walles so on each hand with their seuerall camps and trenches, that hardlie might any escape either in or out vnspied. Sir Francis Bryan was appointed with certaine bands, containing about the number of a thousand men, to lodge in a campe fortified by himselfe, ouer against one part of the towne, to stop certaine passages on that side, that no succors should enter by the same to the reliefe of them within. There were likewise baillie betwixt them that sallied forth of the gates, and the Englishmen that watched and warred in the trenches, and other places, inso much that diuerse lost their liues, and some were irreuerable wounded, as *Anglorum praelia* witnesseth, saing :

*Confessi sano moriuntur vulnere multis
Disperso cerebro, faciei nulla figura.*

On a daie as sir Thomas Poinings soldours were warding in one of the trenches, an Italian secretly comming forth of the towne, fetched awaie the said sir Thomas Poinings his ensigne; and notwithstanding the pursute that was made after him, he escaped and got into the towne with it, to the great displeasure of the whole campe. But as the enemies sometimes went awaie with the aduantage of their attempted enterprises, so oftentimes againe they paid for their aduenturing ouer rashlie about the common price of the market.

But here I cannot but lament the negligence used in that season: for there is not one English writer to be found extant, that hath written any thing effectualle of the exploits atchieued in that fornie; so as we are dyuen to borrow of the aduersaries that haue written thereof, wanting other helps of our owne nation to furnish our booke herein according to our wished purpose. But neuertheless, to giue occasion to those that yet liue, and can best doe it, to set forth hereafter a more perfect discourse thereof, I haue thought it not amisse to recite in part what I haue read and learned of such things as then were accounted worthy of relation, and now like to be buried in the dimme booke of oblivion, unless some fauourer of notable euents chancing in the siege of those two townes, Bullongne and Putterell, will put to his helping hand to report the same to posteritie.

Among other stratagems, one I remember, devised and put in practise by the lord Mountiole, as thus. The enemies had espied a place of aduantage without the towne, where vnder fauour of the shot of certaine peeces of great artillerie lodged upon some platforms or bulwarks within the towne, they might lie without the walles betwixt the Englishmens trenches and the towne ditches, and there couer themselves within a litle trench or counterscarpe made for the purpose, and out of the same be readie with their harquebusses to shot at the Englishmen, so some as any of them should once shew his head out of the trenches, to the great danger of them that warred in the same.

The lord Mountiole perceiuing this, deuised with himselfe how to rouse the enemies out of that lurking place, and withall came to the duke of Suffolke, and desired licence to put the deuise (which he had already forecast in his mind) in practise. But the duke being not willing that he should put himselfe in such danger, was loth to grant thereto, but rather perswaded with him not to attempt it: for (said he) my lord, ye may do the king better service than so to hazard your life, and cast your selfe awaie,

as

I mount raised.

Sir Francis Bryan.

Tiberio, that after serued the king of England.

Negligence of Englishmen for not putting their valiant doings in writing.

A stratagem of the lord Mountiole.

Bullongne assaulted.

Looking to the south into England.

Emperors army with the French king.

Bullongne deliuered.

The number of the men of Sir Francis Bryan.

A politike
feat atchieved
by the lord
Moutioie.

as it is verie like you should, in aduenturing vpon
such a desperat peece of seruice, and therefore I would
not wils you to meddle therewith, for we shall o-
therwise prouide for the matter well enough. But
the lord Moutioie still persisted in his sute verie
earnestlie, declaring that he doubted not (by Gods
helpe) but to atchieue his purpose to his god conten-
tation without anie great danger, if that were exe-
cuted which he toke to be necessarie for the accom-
plishment of his deuise: and that was to haue cer-
teine peces of the great ordinance shot off that
waie forth, at what time the wind shod met to car-
rie the smoke full vpon the place where the French
men laie. At length vpon his earnest sute, the duke
gaue him licence to trie what he could do, comman-
ding the great ordinance to be laid and charged rea-
die to shot off as he should appoint it. Herewith the
lord Moutioie taking with him fourteteene of his
oldest soldiors (of the which number one of them for-
soke to go through with him when it came to the
point) immediatlie vpon the shooting off of the artil-
lerie, & that all the ground about was couered ouer
with smoke, he came to the place where those French
men laie under covert of their trench, and so displa-
ced them, that they had no liking of stones to lodge
so nere vnto such vnfrendlie neighbors.

The lord
Moutioie a
noble young
gentleman.

Manie other valiant and politike feats (no doubt)
were atchieued during this siege, & happie as was
the rehearfall as this. But sith it was the inuen-
tion of so noble a young gentleman, I haue esteemed
it not impertinent to speake thereof, and withall to
lament the losse of the inuentor, who being taken a-
waie shortly after in his returne homewards, by
vntimelie death, was like (if he had liued to grea-
ter yeas of experience) to haue proued comparable
in valor to anie of his noble progenitors. But now
to speake of other incidents that chanced whilest this
siege remained before Sputtrell, you must under-
stand that the most part of the vittels that was spent
in the campe was brought to them either from the
kings campe at Bullongne, or else from St. Omers,
to conuie the same so far off, it was needfull to haue
the carriage garded with good troops and bands both
of horsemen and footmen: for the French fortresses
were stronglie furnished with great numbers of
men of war, which vpon occasions were readie to
take aduantages offered.

And as it fortuneth at one time among other, there
was a conuoie of certeine wagons laden with vittels
appointed to come from saint Omers, the same be-
ing garded with diuerse bands of Englishmen and
Burgonions, sent thither for that purpose, the which
marching forward from saint Omers, kept not so
good order as had bene requisite: whereof certeine
companies of French horsemen that were abroad
being auaire, set vpon the Burgonions that were
attendant vpon the foremost carriages, and finding
them in some disorder, easilie discomfited them, follo-
wed, and slue them in the chafe, till they came to the
hindermost carriages, where sir hundred English
men that attended on the same, impaled themselves
with their wagons, so as the Frenchmen could take
no aduantage: but with shot of the English archers
were so curried and galled that they were driuen to
retire, and that in such hast, as they left diuerse of
their companie captiues in the Englishmens hands
beside those that were saile laide to take their last
sleepe there on the ground. Next betwixt, of the
Burgonions there were slain foure hundred, and
much good vittels lost, the bottoms of the hogheads
and other vessels being beaten out, and manie a good
Flemish mare killed or taken. For the Frenchmen
found small resistance (as before ye haue heard) till
they approached to the Englishmen, by whose accusto-

The English
archers gail
the French
horsemen.

med manhood, some part of the vittels of that con-
uoie was saued, to the releafe of the campe, which not-
withstanding by losse of the residue suffered great
want for the time.

Moreouer, somewhat towards the latter end of
this siege, the earle of Surreie son vnto the duke of
Norfolke and marshall of his field, accompanied
with the lord warden of the cinque ports, and thurle
other valiant capteins English & Burgonions mar-
ched forth into the countrie towards Abule, where
they toke and burnt a proper towne called saint Re-
quiers: and after comming to another towne cal-
led Aien, they found no bodie at home but women
and children, for the men were departed out of it be-
fore their comming thither. When they had taken
their pleasure in sacking all such goods as they found
there fit to be carried awaie, they spared the towne
from fire, and so departed. And thus after they had
bene thus daies and two nights abroad in the coun-
trie, they returned home to the campe with a great
botie of beasts, sheepe, and other things which they
had got in that voyage.

But now to conclude with this siege of Sputtrell,
after the king had toome Bullongne, and understood
how the emperor had agreed with his aduersarie the
French king, he resolved to haue his armie to raise
that siege which thus had lien before Sputtrell, and
with all conuenient speed to draw toward Calis. And
because it was signified that the Dolphin of France
Henrie was comming forward with a great pow-
er, which had bene raised by his father the French
king to resist the emperor, and now was sent vnder
the conduct of the said Dolphin, to the succours of
them that were besieged in Sputtrell, the kings sent
the earle of Arundell, sir John Coge, sir George
Carew, sir John Keinsford, and others, with a chosen
number of lustie soldiors vnto Sputtrell, to reinforce
his armie there, that in leuieng the campe, and with-
drawing backe, they might be the better able to with-
stand anie attempt which the enemies might put in
execution to their annisance. And verelie this was
done with good aduise and necessarie consideration,
for the Englishmen that had lien so long time at the
siege before Sputtrell, wanting such behouefull re-
freshment as those were stored with that late before
Bullongne, hauing the seas open, and all things at
pleasure brought vnto them forth of England, were
soe weakened and decayed by death and sicknesse,
and now in raising their campe had manie things to
loke vnto, as well for the conueieng of their ordi-
nance, trusse, and baggage, as their feeble and disca-
sed persons: so that if the Dolphin with his armie
might haue made such speed forward as to haue over-
taken them with his maine power before they had
come to Bullongne, it was to be feared least he
might haue put them in danger of a plaine distresse.
But with such timelie foresight as was vsed the siege
was raised, and the armie retired first to Bullongne,
and after to Calis without losse, although the French
horsemen in great number followed, and sundrie
times made proud proffers to giue the charge vpon
the hindermost companies; but nothing was done
to make great account of, except certeine skirmi-
shes that were procured, and alarums giuen, as in
such cases it fortuneth.

The Dolphin notwithstanding that the siege was
thus raised from Sputtrell, yet he could come thither,
yet he kept forward his iourneie, to proue what he
might do to reconer Bullongne, which towne the
king of England (as ye haue heard) had left in the
keeping of the lord Lisle high admerall. The same
towne being then weake, God knoweth, on all sides
through batterie and minings, which by the kings
power had been made, so bring it into his subiectors
and

Saint Re-
quiers burnt
by the Eng-
lishmen.

The siege of
Sputtrell
broken by.

Monseigneur de
Biez cometh
before Bul-
longne with
an armie.

The Dol-
phin cometh
before Bul-
longne with
his great
power.

The French
men in bullo-
gnie are
slayne.

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and the trenches not cast downe, nor the ordinance mounted.
The Dolphin being come befoze the towne, sent certene bands of his best soldiors by night to giue a camfado to the hafe towne. They that thus were sent, entred the same the ninth of October, about two of the clocke in the morning, where they toke the stand wat ches, and slue (beside a great number of sicke and weake persons) as well soldiors as other, before they could araise themselves, or well get out of their beds. But after, the Frenchmen and Italians fell to rising and breaking bp of coffers, scattering here and there abroad, and began to fall to their vittels, which they found there in good plentie. The Englishmen that were dyuen vp to the gates of the high towne, got weapons that were throwne downe vnto them forth of the same, & assembling togither, fierce, he entred in amongst the pzease of their enemies. And here with there sallied forth of the high towne sir Thomas Poinings with a band of two hundred soldiors, the which togither with the other so besirred themselves, that they manfullie beat backe the enemies, slue to the number of eight hundred of them, and chased the residue out of the towne, which fled ouer the sands vp to the hill, where the Dolphin himselfe stood with a great troupe of horsemen about him, and durst not once come downe to the rescue of his people, for feare of the great artillerie that with plentie of bullets saluted the enemies, after that the beake of the daie had once discovered them in sight. Amongst other that were slaine in this repulse of the Frenchmen, le seigneur de Froquellolles, another of the marshall de Biez his sons in law, and senechal of Bullongne was one.
Thus the Dolphin, perceiuing that it would nothing auail him to make anie further attempt against Bullongne, passed forth toward Cuiues, & shortly after through want of vittels, and sicknesse which soze infested his campe, brake vp his armie, and returned into France: so that the poud enterprises of the vainglorious and most insolent French turned to their olone great shame, as C. O. tralie saith:
Sic Galli in magnam cesserunt dedecus ausa.
What shortly after Christmas came downe an armie of fourtene thousand, vnder the conduction of monsieur de Biez, the which the six and twentieth of Januarie incamped on the west side of Bullongne beyond the haueu, where they laie ten daies: but on the first of Februarie, the earle of Hertford, the lord admerall, as then lord lieutenant of the towne of Bullongne, the lord Greie of Wilton, sir Thomas Poinings & others, hauing assembled out of the garisons on that side the seas, to the number of foure thousand footmen, & seuen hundred horsemen, whereof an hundred or foure score were Albanoises, issued forth of Bullongne about foure of the clocke in the morning, and comming to the place where the king had incamped during the time of the siege, they staid there, and put the mselues in order of battell: and about six of the clocke, it being then a low water, capteine Edward Bzeie, with three hundred shot, was appointed to passe ouer, and to giue the enemies an alarm in their campe.
At which instant the trumpets sounded, and the drums stroke vp in the English armie, and herewith they being diuided into three battels, and to each one his gard of two hundred horsemen, beside the od hundred that attended as a defense to the residue, they shewed themselves to their enemies. The Frenchmen perceiuing this, packed abuaie with all haste possible, marching toward Hardilo in two battels. Whereupon the English capteins leauing their footmen behind them, and taking onlie with them the horsemen, followed with all speed after the

enemies, and comming to the bridge commonlie called pont de Bieque, which certene English carpenters garded with a number of harquebutters, and foure small field pieces, had forced and repaired the same that night: and so the horsemen finding it sufficientlie repaired, passed ouer, and comming to S. Estienne, they found there five hundred Dutch horsemen, commonlie called Swart ritters, that were lodged there to keepe that passage: but being surprised on the sudden by the English horsemen, and sherpelie assailed, they were wholie distressed, and the most part of them taken prisoners, and there with left with the followers of the armie, were after slaine, because they knew not where to bestow them.
But now the hill of saint Estienne being thus gained by the English horsemen, they put themselves in order of battell againe, appointing an hundred of their men at armes to follow and keepe aloof as a stalle to relieue their fellows in time of need, when they saw them in anie danger. The lords, to encourage euerie one to do his dutie, rode bp and downe about the troops, & using manie comfortable words, desired them, that although they were but an handful in comparison to the number of their enemies, they would yet in regard of the honour of the realme of England, make a proffer of an onset to the enemies, that they might perceiue that there they were to giue them battell, and to follow, as they should see them their capteins and gouernors to lead them the waie. Here with forward they make towards the enemy, and overtaking them three miles on the hither side of Hardilo sands, they valiantlie gaue the charge, and thrusting in betwixt the two French battels, ouerthrew their carriages, toke their ordinance and munitions, slue and bare downe manie of them that pzeased forth to defend the same.
Monsieur de Biez being in the fore ward, brought backe the strongest and best armed men he had to resist his enemies, ranging them in order so, as he ment to haue inclosed the English horsemen betwixt his battels and the sea, and so to haue distressed them. But this purpose being espied first of all by the lord admerall, the Englishmen by his valiant encouragement gaue a new charge, and breaking through their ranks by force, came backe againe vnto their hundred men of armes that kept aloof, and there staid till their footmen might come to them, who by this time were advanced within sight of them, but distant yet by the space of two English miles, or little lesse.
Monsieur de Biez, perceiuing that the English footmen began thus to approach, made forward againe with his armie, so fast as was possible for his people to march, drawing still his armed men and best soldiors to the hinder most ranks, there to be readie to withstand the Englishmen, as they should offer to assaile them: and in this order the Frenchmen made away, and rested not till they came to Hardilo sands, being a place of such strength and aduantage, by reason of the streit, that after they were once got thither, they might account themselves out of all danger, and therefore there they staid, and dispatched an herald vnto the chieffains of the English armie, to signify vnto them, that there they ment to abide and to giue them battell, if they would advance forward to fight with them: but yet they would not in anie wise come forth of their strength vnto some even ground, although they were earnestlie required there vnto. Whereupon the Englishmen, to light them a candle that they might see where they were, set all the villages & houses about on a light fire, continuing the same all that afternone, and most part of the night following, and the next morning betwixt

The comfort
table words
of the English
capteins.

The English
horsemen
charge the
French bat
tels.

The valiant
order of mon
sieur de Biez.

The lord ad
merall his re
die obseruing
the meaning
of the enemies

Hardilo
sands.

scure and fine of the clocke, they came backe againe vnto Bullongne with all their spoiles and prisoners.

They toke in this incounter seuen peces of artillerie, two of brasse and fine of iron; also the peces of aduantage of the armour of monsieur de Biez, beside apparell, plate, and furniture in great plentie, as well taken in the field, as also in their campe, where they left their tents standing, & all their provision of vittells wholie vntremoued. The same peces of armour were sent ouer into England to the king for a witnesse of the good successe that had thus happened to his people in this famous enterpryse, in the achieving wherof there were not past halfe a dozen Englishmen slaine, besides those that were hurt, which neither were manie, as vnder halfe a scope at the most.

Whilest such things were in doing about Bullongne, and other places (as before ye haue heard in this twentie and sixt yeare) the ships of the west countrie and other coasts of this realme waisted abroad on the seas, and toke to the number of thre hundred & 80 french ships, so that the Graie friers church in London was laid full of wine, the Austine friers and Blache friers full of herring, and other fish that was taken, as the same should haue bene conueied into France. About the same season the king demanded a beneuolence of his subiects spirituall and temporall, towards the maintenance of the warres against the Frenchmen and Scots. ¶ On the twelfe of Januarie, the lord chancellour, the duke of Suffolke, and other of the kings counsell, began to sit at Wainards castell, where they first called before them the maior and aldermen, &c. And because Richard Head alderman would not agree to paie as they set him; he was commanded vpon paine to serue the king in his warres of Scotland, who departed from London the thre and twentieth of Januarie.

Also sir William Roch alderman, for words of displeasure taken by the kings counsell, was by them sent to the fleet, where he remained till passion sundaie. On the six and twentieth of Januarie, there camped on the west side of Bullongne beyond the haue, an armie of french, to the number of eighty thouse, where they laie ten daies, and the first of february were put to flight by the earle of Hertford, and sir John Dobleie lord admerall, then depuie of Bullongne. On the thirtieth of february, a priest was set on the pillozie in Cheape, and burnt in both cheekes with the letters F. and A. and a paper on his head, wherein was written, For false accusing: which iudgement was giuen by the lord chancellour in the Starre chamber, a notable example of iustice. Great cause haue I to witte the like to the like accuser, who neuer yet repented, but contrariwise sweareth and forswareth that he neuer did anie such act against his brother.]

In the beginning of March sir Rafe Cuers lord warden of the marches after manie fortunate rodes and forraies made into Scotland, assembled now about foure thousand men, & entering with the same into Scotland, was encountered at Halidon rig by the earle of Arraine and other Scottishmen, which so beset the Englishmen with thre battels on ech side, that in the end they slue the said lord warden, with the lord Dgle, and a great number of other gentlemen and commons, beside prisoners, which they toke, so that few escaped the Scottishmens hands. Among other prisoners taken, Richard Head an alderman of London aforesaid was one. The death of sir Rafe Cuers was greatlie bemoaned: for he had shewed great proofe of his valiant prowesse at sundrie times before; namelie in this yeare past, as at the taking

and burning of the towne of Jedworth, which enterpryse was achieved the tenth of June, beside diuerse other exploits fortunatelie brought to passe by his high ballancie and manhood, till his hap was at this present to finish his daies: whose life though then it toke end, yet shall not his fame & good report (purchased by martiall courage, policie, and dangerous adventures) perishe or decaie; as the poet trulie saith:

*Parla labore volat et aethum bona fama per orbem,
Hec veluti Phœbus non moritura manet.*

This yeare on saint Georges daie sir Thomas Wriotheslie lord chancellour of England was made knight of the garter. Also Trinitie terme was adjourned by reason of the warres, but the elcheber and the court of the tenths were open, for those that were accomptable in either of the said courts. The thirteenth of June Robert Luken seruant to sir Humfric Broome one of the iustices of the kings Bench, Anne Askew gentlewoman, otherwile called Anne Kine, wife to one Kine, a gentleman of Lincolnshire, and Jone Sauterere, wife to John Sauterere of London, were arraigned in the Guildhall of London, for speaking against the sacrament of the altar (as they tearmed it) contrarie to the statute of the six articles: but because no witnesse appeared against the women, nor against Luken, one onelie excepted, who was thought to accuse him rather of malice, than otherwise, they were by twelue honest substantiall men of the citie (sworne to passe vpon their indictments) clerelie acquitted and discharged.

The same daie also was a pewterer named Thomas Date discharged, by the pardon granted in the last parlement, after he had remained in prison in Newgate the space of thre yeares now past, condemned long before the date of the same pardon, for the article of auricular confession compisled within the same statute. About the same time, to wit the seuenth of June a great armie of frenchmen came downe to Bullongne, and nere to the haue incamped themselves. In this armie were reckoned to be twelue thousand lanceknights, twelue thousand french footmen, six thousand Italians, foure thousand of legionarie soldours of France, & a thousand or twelue hundred men of armes, beside seuen or eight hundred light horsemen. After some skirmishes not greatlie to their aduantage, they began yet to build a fort, which at length they accomplished, as after shall appeare. ¶ About the six & twentieth of June, was a great tempest in Derbyshe, where thorough trees were ouerturned, & diuerse churches, chapels, and houses were vncouered. Also in Lancashire, there fell hallesones as big as mens fists, which had diuerse prints in them, some like mens faces, some like gun holes, &c.]

The same moneth also the lord Lisle admerall of England with the English fleet entered the mouth of Saine, and came before Newhauen, where a great manie of the frenchmen laie, to the number of a two hundred ships, and six and twentie gallees, wherof the pope (as was reported) had sent twentie well furnished with men and morie, to the aid of the french king. The Englishmen being not past an hundred and threescore saile, and all great ships, determined not to set vpon the frenchmen where they laie: but yet approaching nere vnto them, shot off certeine peces of ordnance at them, and thereby caused the gallees to come abroad, which changed shot againe with the Englishmen. The gallees at the first had great aduantage, by reason of the great calme. Twise either part assaulted other with shot of their great artillerie, but suddenly the wind rose so high, that the gallees could not indure the rage of the seas, and so the Englishmen for feare of flats were compelled to enter the maine seas, and so sailed vnto

Artillerie
gained.

1545
John Stow.

Great prizes
of french
goods taken
by the wes-
terne ships.

Abr. Fl. ex
I. S. pag. 1030.

Sir William
Roch sent to
the fleet.

Execution
for false ac-
cusation.

The discom-
fure gotten by
the Scots at
Halidon rig.

The valiant
sir Rafe Cu-
ers slaine.

Head, alder-
man of Lon-
don prisoner.

The french
fleet landed
in the Ile of
Wight.
The french
men land in
Buller.

The Span-
ish power
by negligen

Frenchmen
killed in
the Ile of
Wight.

The new fog
before Bul-
logne.
I. S. pag. 1031.

Halfpence
figured like
mens heads.

The English
fleet commeth
before New-
hauen.

The night
in the fre
naue.

Anno Domini
Rich. Quinto

Wm. Allen
and others
reigned and
acquired.

Thomas
Dare
pew-
terer.

Martin de
Wellaie.

The new foy
before Bul-
logne.
L.S. pag. 103.

Andresones
figured like
mens heads.

The English
last cometh
before New-
jauch.

The French
army
the French
army in
the field.

The Marie
the French
army in
the field.

The French
army in
the field.

The French
army in
the field.

Portsmouth where the king late, for he had know-
ledge by his espials that the Frenchmen intended
to land in the Ile of Wight, wherefore he repaired to
that coast, to see his realme defended.

After this, the eighteenth of Julie the admerall
of France in person Danebalte hoisted by sailes, and
with his whole navie came forth into the seas, and
arrived on the coast of Sussex before bright Ham-
stead, and set certeine of his soldiors on land, to burne
and spoile the countrie: but the beacons were fired,
and the inhabitants thereabouts came downe so thicke,
that the Frenchmen were driven to flie with losse of
diverse of their numbers: so that they did little hurt
there. Immediatlie hereupon they made to the point
of the Ile of Wight, called saint Helens point, and
there in good order upon their arrivall they cast an-
chors, and sent dailie firtene of their gallees to the
verie haven of Portsmouth. The English navie li-
eng there in the same haven, made them readie, and
set out toward the enimies, and still the one shot hot-
ter at the other: but the wind was so calme, that the
kings ships could beare no saile, which greatlie grie-
ved the minds of the Englishmen, and made the eni-
mies more bold to approach with their gallees, and to
assail the ships with their shot even within the ha-
ven.

The twentieth of Julie, the whole navie of the Eng-
lishmen made out, & purposed to set on the French-
men, but in setting forthward, thorough too much fol-
lowing, one of the kings ships called the Marie Rose
was drowned in the midst of the haven, by reason
that she was overladen with ordinance, and had the
ports left open, which were verie low, and the great
artillerie unbraced; so that when the ship should
turne, the water entered, and suddentlie she suncke.
In hir was sir George Carew knight and foure
hundred soldiors vnder his guiding. There escaped
not past forty persons of all the whole number. On
the morrow after about two thousand of the French-
men landed in the Ile of Wight, where one of their
chiefe capteins named le chevalier Daur, a Breuon-
cois was slaine with manie other, and the residue
with losse and shame driven backe againe to their
gallees.

The king perceiving the great Armada of the
Frenchmen to approach, caused the beacons to be fi-
red, and by letters sent into Hamptonsyre, Sum-
mersetshyre, Willeshire, and into diverse other coun-
ties adjoining, gave knowledge to such as were ap-
pointed to be readie for that purpose, to come with
all speed to encounter the enimies. Whereupon they
repaired to his presence in great numbers well fur-
nished with armor, weapon, vittels, and all other
things necessarie, so that the Ile was garnished, and
all the frontiers alongest the coasts fortified with cr-
cading great multitudes of men. The French cap-
teins having knowledge by certeine fishermen,
whom they took, that the king was present, & so huge
a power readie to resist them, they disanchored and
drew along the coast of Sussex, and a small number
of them landed againe in Sussex, of whome few re-
turned to their ships: for diverse gentlemen of the
countrie, as sir Nicholas Delham, and others, with
such power as was raised, upon the sudden, took
them by the waite and quickelie distressed them.

When they had searched everie where by the coast,
and saw men still readie to receive them with bat-
tel, they turned sterne, and so got them home againe
without anye act achieved worthy to be mentioned.
The number of the Frenchmen was great, so that
diverse of them that were taken prisoners in the Ile
of Wight, and in Sussex, did report that they were
three score thousand. The French king advertised the
emperour most vnturly by letters, that his armie

had gotten the Ile of Wight with the ports of Ham-
ton, and Portsmouth, and diverse other places. In
August following, the earle of Hertford entered a-
gaine into Scotland with twelve thousand men, and
destroyed all the towncs in the middle marches, bur-
ned Coldingham abbey, and passed to the west mar-
ches, fore annoieng and indamaging the Scots, and
yet neither they, nor the Frenchmen that were sent
into Scotland this yere to the aid of the Scots, un-
der the leading of monsieur de Logres, Montgome-
rie his father, durst once come forth into the field to
incounter with him.

Also in the beginning of this moneth the citie of
London set forth a thousand soldiors of archers, har-
quebutters, pikes, and bills, which went to Dover,
and so passed over unto Calis, to serve the king in
his wars on that side the seas. In the same moneth
that valiant capteine sir Thomas Poinings knight,
lord Poinings, and the kings lieutenant of his
towne and marches of Wallogne departed this life,
after he had to his great hono: achieved manie won-
derfull enterprises in service of his prince against the
enimies, so that his death was much lamented. A
gentleman undoubtedlie deserving to be had in per-
petuall memorie: and pittie it is, that diverse such va-
liant feats as he in his life time achieved, were not
committed to writing, to remaine for examples
sake to posteritie.

Also in the same moneth at Gullford died the noble
and valiant duke of Suffolke Charles Brandon lord
great master of the kings household, a right hardie
gentleman, and yet not so hardie, as almost of all es-
tates and degrees of men, high & low, rich and poore,
hartlie beloved, & his death of them greatlie lamen-
ted: his bodie was honorablie buried at Windsoze,
at the kings costs. This man in his daies had done
to the king and realme right agreeable services, as
well in peace, as in wars, both in England, France,
Scotland, and Ireland, he died the kings generall
lieutenant of his armie then appointed to resist the
Frenchmen, if they durst have landed.

But now, whereas in this meane time we have
spoken nothing of the doings in Scotland, where
the warre was still continued, the king of France
sent thither certeine bands of Frenchmen, vnder the
gouvernement of monsieur de Logres, to aid the
Scots against the Englishmen; and the king of En-
gland waged manie strangers, and sent them with
certeine Englishmen to the borders, for defense of
the same against the inuasions of the enimies: for
after the arrivall of the Frenchmen, a great armie
of Scots was raised, and approached nere to the bor-
ders, where for a certeine time they incamped, so
that manie thought some notable enterprife would
have bene attempted. But after they had laine in
campe a certeine time, they brake up, and departed
without attempting anye further exploit.

Shortlie after the earle of Hertford lieng on the
borders, as lieutenant of the north parts of Eng-
land, calling to him an armie of twelve thousand
men, or thereabouts, what of Englishmen and fran-
gers, entred Scotland with the same, and burnt a
great part of the pers, and Leithdale, as Kellsie ab-
bey and the towne; Melrosse abbey & Dalborne ab-
bey, also Jedworth abbey, and diverse other places,
townes, and villages, to the number of five score.
Kellsie abbey was defended a while by three hun-
dred Scots, but in the end the most part of them
were slaine, & taken by the strangers and others that
gave the assault. Thus the earle of Hertford fore in-
damaged the Scots by this inuasion, and yet neither
they, nor the Frenchmen their assistants, durst
come forth into the field once to incounter with him.

On the sixteenth of September a number of
Scots

The earle of
Hertford for-
saith the
middle mar-
ches of Scot-
land.

The London-
ners set forth
a power into
France.

The death of
the valiant
lord Poin-
ings.

The death of
the duke of
Suffolke.

His last com-
mendation.

Monsieur de
Logres sent
into Scot-
land with cer-
taine French
bands.

The earle of
Hertford in-
vaded Scot-
land.

Overthrowes
on both sides,
between the
English and
Scots.

Scots and Frenchmen attempted to enter into England on the east borders. But the Englishmen perceiving them about to passe by a certaine streit, set upon them, and slue and toke of them to the number of seven score. Among the prisoners that were taken, the lord of Humes sonne, and a French capteine were accounted chiefest. Also in another rode made into the west borders, the lord Marwels sonne, and diuerse others were taken. But at an other time about the same season also, certaine Englishmen to the number of five hundred, making their entrie by the west borders into Scotland, were discomfited by the Scots, and the more part of them either taken or slaine. Thus were they occupied as well on the borders betwixt England and Scotland, in this season, as also in the marches of Calis, Guisnes, and Bullognois, where the garrisons lying in those places, made continuall rodes & forraies into the marches of the enemies cuntry, and oftentimes chanced to encounter with some of their troops.

The capteine of Ard, monsieur de Dampiere, hauing got for a supplie from the French campe at Bullogne, the companie of the men of armes that belonged to the duke of Orleans, led by his lieutenant monsieur de Cauannes, chanced on a daie to encounter with the Englishmen guided by that valiant baron the lord Greie of Wilton, capteine of the towne of Guisnes, who being accompanied with a number of valiant gentlemen & soldiers, distressed their enemies, & slue the capteine of Ard the foresaid lord de Dampiere there in field. Diuerse other skirmishes and encounters chanced in that summer, on the further side the seas. And moreover, now after that the French naue was withdrawen (as ye haue heard) from the coasts about Portsmouth, that martiall chiefeine, sir John Dudley, lord Aisle, and high admerall of England, hauing all his ships, men, munition, & furniture readie, set forward from Portsmouth hauen, to haue fought with the Frenchmen, if they had still kept the seas, but they were withdrawen home into harborough.

Whereupon the lord admerall meaning to reuenge their brauados, and presumptuous attempts made at Portsmouth, and in the Ile of Wight, approached to the coasts of Normandie, and landed with sir thousand men at Treport, burnt the suburbs of that towne, with the abbey, and certaine villages and houses thereabouts. Also they destroyed thirtie ships, and a barke there found in the hauen: and after they had wrought their pleasures, they returned to the sea, and so home, not hauing lost past fourtēne persons in the execution of this whole enterpryse. Of this great spoile & overthrow giuen at Treport, by the kings admerall, I find these verses remembred:

T. porte oppi-
dum Gallie ma-
rimum &
Iohanne Dud-
leis prefecto re-
gie clajis diu-
pium & flam-
mis absumitur.

Treportem passibus equis
Ordine seruato (qui mos est militis) intrant:
Quibus ut quisque est, in strido sternitur ens,
At alius volucris traiectus membra sagitta,
Occidit exanguis, fœdatque cruore plateas.
Dum reclusa alius vult prospectare fenestra,
Nec conferre pedem, nec apertis prælia Martis
Commiscere aude, glandis transigitur ictu.
Omne genus telorum ad cadem immittitur atram.

In this meane while monsieur de Biez, being incamped nere to Bullogne with such a puissant armie (as before you haue heard) busied about the building of a fort, there was not such diligence used therein, as was promised on his part in accomplishing the same, to the French kings great displeasure (as some write) who had meant with that armie (if this fort had bene finished at the appointed time) to haue gone to besiege the towne and castell of Guisnes: but now the time being prolonged, and not without some suspicion least monsieur de Biez cared not how

long the warres indured in that fort, so as he might command oder so manie princes and great lords as were there under his gouernance, at length before the fort were fullie finished, he remoued to mount Lambert with the more part of the armie, pretending as though he meant to fight with the Englishmen, the which (as he said) he understood were purposed to come with a conuoy of vittells from Calis to Bullogne.

Whilest he there remained, manie princes and great lords came from the court, that late at an abbey called forrest Pontier, eleuen leagues from Bullogne beyond Guttrell, on the waie towards Abuille, in hope that battell should haue followed betwixt the English and French armies. Among other that came thither are these remembred as principall, monsieur Danguen, monsieur Daumalle, monsieur le duc de Peuers, monsieur le conte de La uall, and monsieur de la Trimoille. Monsieur Daumalle eldest sonne to the duke of Guise, being lodged in the bantgard that was gouerned by monsieur de Bissac, chanced on a daie to be present at a skirmish, where shewing himselfe verie forward, he was striken through the sight of his helmet, with a light horsemans staffe, that pearcing in betwixt his nose and his eie, entred halfe a foot into his head, as monsieur de Langeie writeth, and breaking off a two fingers beneath the iron, the same iron remained still within his head: but yet escapng out of the English mens hands, he came backe to the campe, had the truncheon and iron pulled out of his head, and being dressed was conueied in a litter to Plaquigne, where he laie for two or thre daies in such danger, that no man looked that he should haue escaped with life.

There were manie of these skirmishes, wherein the Englishmen bare themselves so valiantlie, that the Frenchmen went awaie oftentimes with losse of manie of their noble men and best soldiers. At one time they lost the lord Penaintuille brother to the lord de Lillebonne, being slaine with stroke of lance and pike. At another time they lost likewise a yong lord of Picardie called le seigneur de Fretote. At length, after their new fort or bastillon was brought in some strength, they furnished it in most defensible wise with men, munition and vittells, naming it Monpleastre. Herewith monsieur de Biez departing from mount Lambert with part of the armie, came downe towards Calis, and entring into the English pale beside Grauelin, wan certaine bulwarks, and incontring diuerse new bands of selecter shiremen and others, latelie before sent ouer, distressed them, and after burnt certaine villages, forraied the cuntry almost to Parke, and afterwards in great haile with their bowtie and pillage they turned. This enterpryse was exploited by the French men about the thirteenth daie in September.

There were with monsieur de Biez at this enterpryse the lord of Bissac, who gouerned the bantgard, and had with him his owne companie of men of armes, and the light horsemen of whome he had the generall conduct. There was also the companie of men at armes that belonged to the constable of France, led by the lord Gutch, & fiftie men of armes vnder the gouernance of the lord of Belleie, the companie also of the lord of Boisse, the companie of the lord Escars, and that of the lord de la Roch du Maine, & others. There was also monsieur de Laies generall of the French footmen, and manie yong princes and lords of high estate, as monsieur Francis de Bourbon, duc Danguen, Francis de Lorraine, duke Daumalle latelie recovered of his hurt, the duke of Peuers, and the earle de La uall that in this voiage was hurt with an harquebus shot in the arme.

Martin de
Belleie, ing-
neur Langu-
in his memo-
res.

Monsieur de
Biez forward
the English
pale about
Calis.

The kings
thanks to his
commons.

Martin de
Belleie.

The kings
promises for
the well dis-
pelling of
cheries and
salleges.

Dom. 1545.

An. Reg. 37.

The three and twentieth of November, a parlement began at Westminster, in the which was granted to the king a subsidie of the spiritualtie of six shillings the pound, to be paid in two yeares next ensuing: and of the temporaltie two shillings and eight pence of the pound in goods, and four shillings of the pound in lands, to be paid likewise within two yeares. Also in this parlement all colleges, chanteries, and hospitals were committed to the king, to order, by altering or transposing the same as to him should seeme expedient, which at the prorogation of the same parlement he promised should be done to the glorie of God, and the common profit of the realme. The foure and twentieth of December, the said parlement was proroged, on which daie the king coming into the house, to give his rofall assent vnto such acts as there passed, the speaker made vnto him an eloquent oration, to the which although the custome hath euer bene that the lord chancellor should make answer, it pleased the king at that present to make the answer himselfe, which he uttered as here ensueth.

The kings oration in the parlement house.



Although my chancellor, for the time being, hath before this time used verie eloquentlie and substantiallie, to make answer to such orations as hath bene set forth in this high court of parlement; yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secrets of my heart, in so plaine and ample manner, as I my selfe am and can doe. Wherefore I taking vpon me to answer your eloquent oration master speaker, saie, that where you in the name of our welbeloued commons, haue both praised and extolled me, for the notable qualities that you haue conceiued to be in me: I most hartlie thanke you all, that you haue put me in remembrance of my dutie, which is to indoeuour my selfe to obtaine and get such excellent qualities, and necessarie vertues, as a prince or gouernour should or ought to haue, of which gifts I recognise my selfe both bare and barren, but of such small qualities as God hath indued me withall. I render to his goodnesse my most humble thanks, intending with all my wit and diligence to get and acquire to me such notable vertues and princelie qualities, as you haue alledged to be incorporated in my person. These thanks for your louing admonition and good counsell first remembred, I esteeme thanke you. Again, because that you considering our great charge, not for our pleasure, but for your defense, not for our gaine, but to our great cost, which we haue lately sustained, aswell in defense of our and your enemies, as for the conquest of that fortreffe, which was to this realme most displeasing and noisome, and shalbe (by Gods grace) hereafter to our nation most profitable and pleasant, haue frælie of your owne minds granted to vs a certeine subsidie, here in an act specified, which verelie we take in good part, regarding more your kindnesse, than the profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your louing harts than by your substance. Beside this hartie kindnesse, I cannot a little reioise, when I consider the perfect trust and confidence, which you haue put in me, as men hauing vndoubted hope and vnfained beleefe in my good doings and iust proceedings for you, without my desire or request, haue committed to mine order and disposition all chanteries, colleges, hospitals, and other places specified in a certeine act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glorie of God, and the profit of the common wealth. Surelie if I (contrarie to your expectation) should suffer the

ministers of the church to decaye, or learning (which is so great a iewel) to be diminished, or worse and miserable to be vntelued, you might saie that I being put in so speciall a trust, as I am in this case, were no trustie friend to you, nor charitable to mine euen christian, neither a louer to the public wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whome account must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not I praie you, but your expectation shall be serued, more godlie and goodlie than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainlie perceiue.

Now sith I find such kindnesse on your part towards me, I cannot chuse but loue and fauour you, affirming that no prince in the world more fauoreth his subiects than I doe you; nor no subiects or commons more loued and obeyed their soueraigne lord, than I perceiue you doe me, for whose defense my treasure shall not be hidden, nor if necessitie require, my person shall not be vndauentured. Yet although I wish you, and you wish me, to be in this perfect loue and concord, this frændlie amitie cannot continue, except both you my lords temporal, and my lords spiritual, and you my louing subiects, study and take paine to amende one thing, which surelie is amisse, and farre out of order, to the which I most hartlie require you: which is, that charitie and concord is not among you, but discord and dissention beareth rule in euerie place. Saint Paule saith to the Corinthians, and the thirtieth chapter: Charitie is gentle, charitie is not enuious, charitie is not proud, and so forth in the said chapter. Behold then what loue and charitie is among you, when the one calleth an other heretike and anabaptist, and he calleth him againe papist, hypocrite, and pharise. Be these tokens of fraternall loue betwene you? No, no, I assure you that this lacke of charitie amongst your selues will be the hinderance and allwaging of the seruer betwene vs, as I said before, except this two. First, be salued, and cleerlie made whole. I must needs iudge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by negligence of you the fathers and preachers of the spiritualtie: for if I know a man which lieth in adulterie, I must iudge him a lecherous and a carnall person: if I see a man boast and brag himselfe, I cannot but deeme him a proud man. I see here daile that you of the cleargie preach one against another, teach one contrarie to another, inueigh one against an other without charitie or discretion: some be too stiff in their old *Mumpimus*, other be too buisie and curious in their new *sumpsimus*: thus all men almost be in varietie and discord, and few or none preacheth trulie and sincerelie the word of God, according as they ought to doe. Shall I iudge you charitable persons doing this? No, no, I cannot so doe. Alas, how can the poore soules liue in concord, when you preachers sow amongst them in your sermons debate and discord? If you they looke for light, and you bring them to darkenesse. Amend these crimes I exhort you, and set forth Gods word, both by true preaching and good example giuing: or else I, whome God hath appointed his vicar and high minister here, will see these diuisions extinct, and these enomities corrected according to my verie dutie, or else I am an vnprofitable seruant, and an vntrue officer. Although I saie the spiritual men be in some fault, that charitie is not kept amongst you; yet you of the temporaltie be not cleare and vnspotted of malice and enuie: for you raile on bishops, speake slanderouslie of preests, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both contrarie to god order and christian fraternitie. If you know suerlie that a bishop or preacher erreth, or teacheth peruerse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our counsell, or to vs, to whome is committed by God the

Charitie and concord in commonwealths be things most necessarie: both in matters of religion, charitie and concord is not enough, without heretike and true doctrine of God.

Martin de Bellare, seigneur de Lange in his memoirs.

Monsieur de Bellare, seigneur de Lange in his memoirs.

Martin de Bellare.

Things thanks to his commons.

Things committed for the will of the commons and the king.

high authoritie to refoyme and order such causes and
behaviors, and be not iudges your felues, of your
owne fantastickall opintions and vaine expostions,
for in such high causes you may lightlie erre. And al-
though you be permitted to read holie scriptures,
and to haue the word of God in your mother tong,
you must vnderstand, that it is licenced you so to do,
onlie to informe your owne consciences, and to in-
struct your children and familie, and not to dispute,
and make scripture a railing and a taunting stocke
against priests and preachers, as manie light per-
sons do. I am verie soie to know and heare, how
vntucentlie that most precious ietwell the word of
God is disputed, rined, song, and tangled in euerie
alehouse and tauerne, contrarie to the true meaning
and doctrine of the same: and yet I am euen as much
soie, that the readers of the same follow it in doing
so faintlie and coldlie. For of this I am sure, that
charitie was neuer so faint amongst you, and ver-
tuous and goble living was neuer lesse vsed, nor
God himselfe amongst christians was neuer lesse re-
uerenced, honored, or serued. Therfore (as I said be-
fore) be in charitie one with an other, like brother and
brother: loue, or ead, and serue God, to the which I as
your supream head and souereigne lord exhort and
require you, and then I doubt not, but that loue and
league that I spake of in the beginning, shall neuer
be dissolved or broken betwene vs. And to the ma-
king of laws which we haue now made and conclu-
ded, I exhort you the makers to be as diligent in
putting them in execution, as you were in making
a furthering of the same: or else your labour shall be
in vaine, & your common-wealth nothing releued.
Now to your petition, concerning our roiall assent
to be given to such acts as haue passed both houses,
they shall be read openlie that ye may heare them.

Then were they openlie read, and to manie his
grace assented, and diuerse he assented not vnto.
Thus the kings oration was to his subiects there pre-
sent such comfort, that the like soie could not be vnto
them in this world. And thus the acts read (as the
manner is) and his assent given, his grace rose and
departed. Manie proper seats of armes were ex-
ploited and done in this meane while, betwixt the
parties English and French about Bullongne. On
the morrow after the feast of the Epiphanie, there
came a conuioe of vittels towards the French fort,
garded with three or foure thousand lancequenets;
vnder their coronell the Keingtraue and certeine
French horsemen. The earle of Surreie then lieu-
tenant of Bullongne aduertised thereof, made out
with such powder as he might conuenientlie spare of
them within Bullongne and the Old man, to cut off
those vittels: but coming to encounter with the
enimies at saint Eustiens, he was put to flight: sir
Edward Poynings capteine of a band called the
kings gard of Bullongne was slaine in that conflict
with fiftene or sixtene other capteins, beside offi-
cers and common soldiors. About the same time the
Frenchmen made a voyage vnto the Isle of Wasill,
with a ship called the barke Ager, which they had ta-
ken from the Englishmen before: and in their waie
they met with a little craier, of the which one Col-
ding was master, a proper man and an hardie. The
barke perceiving the craier to be an Englishman,
shot at him and botoged him. Whereupon straightwaies
the craier drez to the great barke, and sir or seauen
of the Englishmen leapt into him. In the meane time
while the Frenchmen, without regard of perill to-
wards themselves, looked ouer hatches to behold
how the craier sunke there at hand before them, not
mistrusting anie thing that the Englishmen might
do against them, it fortunied that those Englishmen

which got by into the barke, found in the end thereof
a great number of lime pots, which they with waier
quenched, or rather (as the nature thereof is) set them
on fire, and threw them so thicke at the Frenchmen
which were there aboard, that they blinded them, in
such wise as those few Englishmen that entered the
ship vanquished the Frenchmen, and dviuing them
vnder hatches, shut the same, and brought the barke
a waie with them home into England. In the latter
end of March the bothell houses called the Stues on
the banke side in Southwoike were conuerted from
such filthy vices by the kings commandment, the
balwds and ruffians being put out, and other persons
of honest behauior placed in their rooms to inhabit
in the same houses. This was done by proclamation
and sound of trumpet by an herald of armes.

On the seuen and twentieth of Aprill being tues-
daie in Easter weeke William Forleie pot-maker
for the mint of the Towre of London fell asleepe,
and so continued sleeping, and could not be wakened
with picking, cramping, or otherwise burning what-
soener, till the first daie of the next terme, which was
full fourtene daies, and as manie nights or more,
for that Easter terme beginneth not before seauen-
tene daies after Easter. The cause of his thus sleep-
ing could not be knowen, though it were diligentlie
searched for by the kings physicians and other lear-
ned men, yea the king himselfe examining the said
William Forleie, who was in all points found at
his waking to be but as if he had slept but one night:
he was liuing in the Towre of London in the yere
of our Lord God 1579.]

This yere by meanes made by the emperors com-
missioners were appointed to meet & treat of some
accord betwene the realmes of England & France,
so that the king of England sent ouer to Calines,
Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Duresme, sir William
Paget his secretarie, and doctor Tregonell: and the
French king sent to Ard a bishop, the chiefe president
of Rouen, and a notarie, but no conclusion followed
of their trauell. Whereupon the king of England
hauing perfect knowledge how the Frenchmen in-
tended to build a fortreffe at saint Johns rode be-
twene Bullongne and Calis, to the great annoy-
ance of both those places, if they might haue compas-
sed their purpose, he meant to preuent that deuise of
his aduersaries, sending ouer the earle of Hertford
and the lord Lisle high admerall of England, with
manie valiant capteins, which got the rode but two
daies before the Frenchmen had appointed to be
there. But when they vnderstood that the English-
men had so preuented them, they staied about Harb-
low, where monsieur de Bie; their generall gaue
order to incampe, and durst not once come forward
to assaie the English forces: so that without anie
impeachment by land, the Englishmen built certeine
fortresses, to wit, two at the same place of saint
Johns rode, otherwise called Hamble Thew, and
an other about a two miles from thence at a place
called Blacke Helle. There was in the earle of
Hertfords campe beside Englishmen diuerse Fran-
gers, Almains, Spaniards and Italians. And be-
cause it is not much impertinent to the matter, we
haue thought good here to set downe the whole num-
ber of all the kings forces at that present in his paie
that were there vnder the said earle of Hertford: the
kings generall lieutenant. First the earle had two
hundred, the lord William Sturton three hundred,
the lord John Creie brother to the marques Dorset
two hundred, the lord Bzaie one hundred, sir Tho-
mas Seimer knight marshall of the host one hun-
dred, sir Henric Bneuet capteine of the horsemen
one hundred, sir John Harrington treasurer of the
armie one hundred, sir Thomas Wat master of the

The Stues
supplie.

Ab. Fil. ex. 15.
William For-
leie slept more
than four-
tene daies,
and as manie
nights with-
out waking.

Anno Reg. 34.

3 fr
galle

3 mu
the C
campe

Hamble
Thew fort-
ed by the En-
glishmen.

3 fr
mch.

1546

The Kein-
traue.

The English
men put to
flight.

The barke
Ager an En-
glish ship re-
couered.

The Shutes
supplied.Ab. Fl. ex 15.
William Fox
leic slept more
than four-
teene daies,
and as many
nights with-
out swaling.

Anno Reg. 38.

French
taken,In some in
English
page.Humble
Theo forth
ed by the Eng
lishmen.

Great fire

ordinance one hundred, sir Spauris Backleie three hundred, sir Thomas Wolcroft two hundred, sir Walter Dennis two hundred, sir George Blewet two hundred, sir Richard Cranesfield two hundred, sir George Cornwell two hundred, sir John Luttrell one hundred, sir Edmund Hulle one hundred, George Holmston two hundred, capteine Brough-ton two hundred, capteine Palmer two hundred, capteine Chancie two hundred, capteine Windam two hundred, capteine Stukeleie one hundred, capteine Sidnam one hundred, capteine Bret one hundred, capteine Dier one hundred, capteine Evans one hundred, Spaniards fifteen hundred, Italians two hundred, Clemeners three hundred, lancequenets under the government of their coronell Conrade Henning, commonlie called Courtpernie, three thousand. The summe of all the soldiors in Bullongne & Bullongnois were 93000. Here you must note, that whilst the English armie laie thus in the field till the foyts of Hamble Chew and Blacke Pesse were in building, the French gallies were on the seas, and now and then came and approached nere to the shore, where the English armie laie in campe, at the which they shot off their ordinance: and the Englishmen answered them againe with the like. They came also before Sals, and shot off at the towne. But the lord admerall being there, made out to encounter them, notwithstanding they did first much hurt, and take awaye diuerse of the English vessels laden with vittells.

The eighteenth daie of Maie there were foure of the kings ships, and foure pinases abroad on the seas afore the haven of Hamble Chew, and there came eightene of the French gallies to set vpon them, and so there was great shooting betwene them: and at length one of their gallies was taken, in the which were aboord fourteene score soldiors and seauen score rowlers: the rest of their gallies packed awaie. Moreover, whilst the campe laie thus at Hamble Chew, it chanced that on a daie a mutinie rose among the lancequenets against their capteine, so that they got themselves into order of battell, seized vpon the great artillerie, and shewed countenance as if they would haue set vpon the residue of the whole campe. Herevpon euerie soldior was commanded to repaire to his ensigne, and the Spaniards came and joined with the Englishmen, readie to take such part as they did. At length by the diligence of the chieftaines, and good countenance of the English soldiors and Spaniards the tumult was staied, and six of the principall beginners were hanged.

The one and twentieth of Maie the French armie came and incamped beyond Bullongne at the church on the hill: and the morrow after the earle of Hertford marched with his power to a place within two miles of them, and certeine footmen and horsemen went forth and skirmished with them; and in the meane time the artillerie ceased not to shot off, as well from the French campe and fortresse as from Bullongne and the Old man. This daie were slaine fouretene Frenchmen and two taken prisoners; and three of the English part were likewise taken, and so the earle of Hertford returned to his campe, and left the lancequenets vpon the hill, incamped before the enemies faces, not two miles distant from them, in which place a fort was begun to be raised, which was after called the fort of Bullongne Berg. The next daie, to wit, the three and twentieth of Maie the soldiors of Bullongne and the lancequenets skirmished with the Frenchmen, slue and toke of them seuen score and aboue, of the which there were fortie that were in cotes of beluet, and diuerse also with chaines,

Here you must vnderstand, that now in this meane while by the motion of diuerse princes, a meeting was had of sundrie commissioners, appointed to treat of some peace, to be concluded betwixt the two kings of England and France. Herevpon there came to Guisnes for the king of England the earle of Hertford, the bishop of Winchester, sir John Dupleie viscount Lille baron of Gaupas, and high admerall of England, sir William Paget the kings secretarie, and doctor Nicholas Wotton deane of Canturburie. For the French king there came to Ard monsieur Claude Danebanlt admerall of France, being also one of the foure marshals of that realme, the bishop of Curcur, monsieur Keimund chiefe president of Rone, the secretarie Bonchesteil. Diuerse times they met betwixt Ard and Guisnes, and after long debating of matters, and diuerse breakings off: yet at length the seauenth of Iune a peace was concluded, and proclaimed as well in the court as in the citie of London on Whitfundae the thirtieth of Iune, with sound of trumpet, according to the manner: and in like sort the same daie it was proclaimed at Paris and at Rone. The chiefest article of which peace was this, that the French king paing to the king of England 800000 crownes within the terme of eight peares, should haue Bullongne againe to him restored, which in the meane time should remaine in the hands and possession of the king of England, as a pledge and gage for assurance of the said moneie.

On the seuen & twentieth of Iune doctor Crome recanted at Paules crosse: which recantation was bzged vpon this occasion. When the chanteries & colleges were given by act of parlement into the kings hands (as is aboue remembred) which was about the moneth of December 1545, the next lent following doctor Crome preaching in the mercers chappell, among other reasons and persuations, to rouse the people from the vaine opinion of purgatorie, inferred this, grounding vpon the said act of parlement: that if trentals and chanterie masses could auail the soules in purgatorie, then did the parlement not well in giuing awaie monasteries, colleges, & chanteries, which serued principallie to that purpose. But if the parlement did well (as no man could denie) in dissolving them & bestowing the same vpon the king, then is it a plaine case, that such chanteries and priuat masses do nothing conferre to releue them in purgatorie. This Dilemma of doctor Crome, no doubt, was insoluble: but notwithstanding the charitable prelates (for all the kings late exhortation vnto charitie) were so charitable to him that they brought him *Coram nobis*, and so handled him that they made him recant his words. ¶ On the sixteenth of Iune were letters patents deliuered to sir Thomas Cheinie treasurer of the kings household, and lord warden of the cinque ports, whereby he was authorized to be the kings agent in chassening the Dolphins daughter of France named Elizabeth. A true copie of which letters patents is here recorded, because the said action hath bene ignozantlie transferred from the said sir Thomas Cheinie to sir Henrie Inne: as appeareth in Holinsheds chronicle published 1577, pag. 1608.

A true copie of the kings letters
patents to sir Thomas Cheinie.

Henicus octauus Dei gratia Anglia, Francia, & Hibernia rex, fidei defensor, & in terra ecclesie Anglicane & Hibernie supremum caput. Prædilecto & fideli consiliario nostro militi, domino gardiano quingue

A peace con-
cluded and
proclaimed.I. Stow, pag.
1033.John Fox in
Acts & Mon-
uments.D. Cromer
canteth at
Paules
crosse.Ab. Fl. ex
manuscripto ab
Henr. Tenant
tradito.

quinque portuum, & hospitij nostri thesaurario salutem. Cum illustrissima princeps ac consanguinea nostra charissima domina Katharina illustrissimi principis consanguinei & filij nostri charissimi Henrici Francie Delphini christianissimi principis Francisci Francorum regis fratris, amici & confederati nostri perpetui, filij primogeniti coniunx praeclarissima, nuper (diuina cooperante clementia) prolem faeminam enixa sit: nos summo-
perè cupientes pacis, amicitiae, & unionis vinculum inter praefatum christianissimum Franco-
rum regem & nos iam nuper redintegratum, fir-
mioribus quibus possumus nexibus astringi, adma-
iorem ipsius corroboracionem & firmitatem, ac ut
dicto illustrissimo filio nostro in hac parte gratifi-
cemur, etiam compaternitatis fœdus duximus adij-
ciendum. Quocirca ad leuandum de sacro fonte
vice & nomine nostro dictam prolem ex praefata
illustrissima domina Katharina dicti illustrissimi
principis coniuge, & consanguinea nostra charis-
sima natam, illique nomen Elisabethae imponen-
dum, & ipsam nomine Elisabethae in illius baptis-
mo nominandam, cateraq; omnia & singula in pra-
missis, & circa ea necessaria seu quouis modo oportuna nomine nostro faciendum & exercendum, etiam si maiora existant superius expressis, & mandatum de se exigant magis speciale quam superius est insertum: te commissarium ac ambasiatorem
& procuratorem nostrum specialem ordinamus, facimus, & constituimus per praesentes: promittentes nos ratum, gratum, & firmum habituros quicquid per te gestum & procuratum siue actum fuerit in praemissis. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Greenwich sextodecimo die Iunij anno regni nostri tricesimo octauo. Henrie Rex.

The king hauing passed ouer the foresaid letters patents to sir Thomas, and he in forwardnesse to execute his charge, to the intent that his retinue and attendants should no waies offendueltie behaue themselves against the French, with whom the king was verie carefull to continue and mainteine the peace interchangeably agreed vpon and concluded, his maiestie to preuent and cut off all occasions that might anie waie impeach, interrupt, or violate this peace, commanded the lords of his counsell to direct letters withall expedition to the said sir Thomas, then vpon his volage into France, containing a prescript forme of demeanour, which the gentlemen & yeomen attendant vpon him in France should vse, during the time of their abode in those foren parts: a copie of which letter, being a testimoniall of the king of Englands inclinable mind to peace hereafter followeth out of the verie originall, as the same was subscribed by the lords.

A copie of the said letters sent in post to sir Thomas Cheinie being vpon his voiage into France.

After our right hartie commendations to your good lordship. The kings maiestie hath willed vs to signifie vnto you, that his highnesse expresse pleasure and commandement is, ye should in his maiesties name declare to such gentlemen as accompanie you into France, that they haue in remembrance so to vse & behaue them selues among the Frenchmen as well on the waie as at the court, in such sort as they by communication vpon feats of the warre passed giue no occasion of

priuat displeasure. Wherein therefore it shall be expedient, that either they saie nothing, vnlesse they be prouoked; or in that case call the things happened fortune de la guerre, without comparison of things chanced on our part or on theirs, but turne the communication to reioise in peace. In the conditions whereof they shall pretend ignorance, without speaking of the keeping still of Bullogne, or deliuerance of it againe, but as shall please the princes for the continuance of peace, wherein by Gods grace the crueltie of warre shall be conuerted into extremitie of friendship, to the weale and commoditie of both realmes.

And forsomuch as there want not in the world naughtie men of the state of monks and friers, who for malice of the alteration of their estate here, would gladlie defame our religion towards God, as though we had with them cast out all; his highnesse expresse pleasure and commandement is, that considering at this first entrie of you, the behauiour of your companie shall be much marked and noted in matters of religion and circumstances: of the same they should therefore haue so much the more regard both to their communications and also behauiours, and not onelie in speech to forbear to dispute or intermedle with the state of their policy there, but also in their diet on the fith daie and deuout hearing of masse, follow the order of the kings maiesties relme, so as their conuersation & behauior maie be cōfution to such as would defame this realme in the contrarie. Thus fare your good lordship right hartilie well. From Greenwich the nineteenth of Iune 1546. Your lordships assured louing friends, Thomas Wriothesleye counc. W. Saint-Iohn. I. Russell. Cuth. Duresme. Steph. Winton. Anthonie Brenne. William Petres. This letter was thus indorsed. To our assured louing friend sir Thomas Cheinie knight of the order, treasuror of the kings maiesties household, and lord warden of the cinque ports, presentlie in speciall commission from the kings maiestie into France. Hast, post hast for thy life, to Douer, Calis, or where he shall chance to be: hast, hast.

Thus farre of sir Thomas Cheinie, imployed about the kings affaires in France; namelye the chrestening of the Dolphins daughter: wherein we haue bene the more copious in words, because it hath ben published, that sir Henrie Kneuet was therunto personallie deputed: which to be vntreue, both the letters patents and the letter missiue do sufficient-
ly proue: both which we receiued at the hands of an ancient seruitor, attendant vpon the same sir Thomas at his being in France to execute his charge in the kings behalfe. Of which word the knight when we come to the years and daie of his death, we will deliuer further report to his high commendation, but yet none otherwise than as by warranted intelligence we shall be directed.]

The same time was a combat fought before the French king betwixt two Spaniards, Julian Romero, and one Porro. They both serued the king of England in the last wars against France: but Porro had revolted from his seruice to the French kings, and for certaine speeches which he had vttered, was chalenged to fight the said combat by the said Julian, for whome sir Henrie Kneuet undertooke that he should stand to his chalenge, and trie it with his aduersarie, which he now did, and vanquished him in lists; the fight being appointed on horse backe. Incontinentlie after, sir Henrie Kneuet sickened and died at Coibell, and was buried in Paris within the church of S. Paule. Whereouer, for the full establishment of the peace, and to receiue the French kings oth, the vicount Aisle lord admerall, with the bishop of Duresme, and diuerse other lords, and gentlemen,

Henrie Tennant.

A combat betwixt Julian Romero and Porro.

The death of sir Henrie Kneuet.

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element, to the number of one hundred and above,
all in velvet cotes and chaines of gold, with fure and
fotte peomen right semelie appointed, went into
France, departing from Bullogne the tenth of Ju-
lie, and came to Spelune a towne beyond Paris,
where the French king then laie, by whome and the
Dolphin his sonne they were roialtie receiued, sea-
led, and banketed: and hauing done that for the
which he was sent, the said lord admerall vnderle the
first of August took his leaue of the French king,
who rewarded him with a cupbord of plate all gold,
valued at 1500 pounds. The lords also and gentle-
men had chaines of gold giuen to them, and the peo-
men had two hundred crownes bestowed amongst
them, and so the lord admerall returned into Eng-
land. This lord admerall, during the time that he
had to deale with the French, so valiantlie demean-
ed himselfe, and was such a terror and astonish-
ment to the enimie, as it is left written of him, that
they durst not quench in his presence, but were like a
fozt of timorous cattell, giuing roome to the raging
lion ranging ouer the pastures with his yonglings,
and making the berie heauens to ring with his ro-
ring, after he hath filled his selfe with bulles flesh,
and laid his selfe downe to rest being wearie with
eating: the comparisson berie aptlie followeth:

*præque iracundo cedunt armenta leoni,
Pascua cum plenus bacchante furore peragrat
Solum cum catulis, celum, & rugibus implens
Conspicitur, postquam taurorum carnibus atra
sit saturata fames, lassusque recumbit edendo:
Tantus terror erat Gallis Dupleius Heros.*

In the same moneth of August monsieur Dane-
halt high admerall of France, accompanied with
the bishop of Carreur, the earle of Mauteuil knight
of the order, the earle of Williers, the chiefe president
of Moan, secretaire Bouchetell, monsieur de Car-
ples knight of the order, monsieur de Laes knight
of the order, monsieur de Mailletie viceadmerall of
France, monsieur de Dese, the baron de la Card,
with diuerse other lords and capitaines of honoz, be-
side two hundred gentlemen well appointed, leued
from Depe with twelue gallies and a right faire
ship called the Sacre of Depe, and so making saile
he sailed not anie where to take land, till he came in-
to the Thames, where at Blacketwall he was recei-
ued into the kings barge by the earles of Warbie
and Clee, who brought him to Grenewich, where he
landed, and lodged there that night.

The next daie he came vp with all his gallies,
and landed at the Tower wharfe. Upon all the banks
by the water side were laid peeces of artillerie, which
shot off frelie, and so likewise did all the artillerie in
the ships, but spectallie from the Tower was shot a
maruellous great peale of ordinance. From whence
being landed, they rode thorough London in great
triumph (the maior and the crafts standing in the
streets in berie good order) vnto the bishops palace
by Pauls, where the French admerall lodged till
Bartholomeu euen, on which daie he was conueied
toward Hampton court, where in the waie the
prince hauing with him the archbishop of Yorke, the
earles of Hertford and Huntingdon, and about two
thousand hoise, met him and imbraced him in such
courteous and honorable wise, that all the behol-
ders greatlie reioiced, and much maruelled at the
said princes high wit and great audacitie, and so the
French admerall came to the court, giuing the
prince the hyper hand as they rode. And at the utter
gate of the court, the lord chancellor, and all the
kings counsell receiued him, and brought him to his
lodging.

On Bartholomeu daie the king admitting him
to his presence, welcomed him, and in great triumph

went to the chappell, where the king receiued his oath
to performe the articles of the league, as it was co-
uenanted. To speake of the banquettings, huntings,
and such like honorable sorts of interteinements, it
were much to bitter, and hard to beleue. But on Fri-
daie following, being the seuen and twentieth of Au-
gust, he being rewarded with a cupbord of plate, to
the value of twelue hundred pounds, returned to
London, and on the sundaie next ensuing took his
gallies and departed. Beside the kings gifts, he had
giuen to him by the citie of London two flaggons
guilt, and two other that were parcell guilt, valued
at one hundred thirtie six pounds, beside wine, war,
and torches. There were diuerse of his companie
also that went not a waie unrewarded, hauing both
plate, and also manie hoises, and greibounds giuen
them.

Although this peace pleased both the English and
French nations, yet suerlie both mistrusted the con-
tinuance thereof. And verelie the old prouerbe seemed
to be thoroughlie verified, which saith, that what the
eye seeth, the hart rueeth: for the Frenchmen still long-
ed for Bullogne, and the Englishmen meant not
willinglie to giue it ouer. For during the French
admerals being in England, monsieur de Chatillon
capitaine of Pontplaisier began to make a new ba-
tilion euen at the berie mouth of the hauen, na-
ming it Chatillons garden. Whereupon that noble
gentleman the lord Greie of Wilton, shortly after
appointed to be deputie of the towne and countie of
Bullogne, perceluing the great inconuenience that
this new building would bring to the towne if it
went forwards, did aduertise the king thereof, ear-
nestlie beseeching his grace, that the matter might
be thoroughlie considered of. Sir Thomas Palmer
was the messenger.

The king vpon the intelligence, asked his coun-
cels aduise, which onelie went wholie, that the condi-
tions of the peace were not in anie wise to be infring-
ed. This resolved, secretaire Paget then knight,
and afterwards lord, was commanded accordingly
to draw a letter to the lord Greie, the which the king
himselfe did signe, willing that the messenger should
further know of his pleasure before he departed.
Whereupon Sir Thomas Palmer, hauing his dis-
patch at the secretaries hands, did get word to be
giuen to the king, who presentlie sent for him into
his priuie chamber, and betwixt them two, bled these
wordes: Palmer, you haue there a letter from vs to
the lord Greie, that he do in no wise deale in the
matter that he hath by you aduertised vs of. Not-
withstanding, I will that you deliuer him this mes-
sage from vs.

Wid him call to mind how that his brethren and
himselfe not a short time, but euen from tender
yeares, no farre off, but still nere to our person, we
haue brought him vp, which (tell him) not vnuslie, if
that be in him that we conceiue doth breed in vs an
od trust of seruencie to serue vs of him, more than a
common seruant or subiect. By that token will him
what soeuer I haue written to the contrarie, that he
presentlie impeach the fortification of Chatillons
garden, and rafe it if it be possible: and this my mes-
sage shall be his clearing therein, & the seruice grate-
fullie accepted. Sir Thomas Palmer somewhat a-
stonied hereat, considering the weightinesse of the
cause, and the contrarietie of the letter and message,
began to put the king in mind of the small credit
that his bare errand of right was like to haue, so that
against that which his maiesties letters imposed.
But the king cutting off his tales, deliuer thou the
message (quoth he) at his cholle then be the executing
thereof.

Sir Thomas thus dispatched, with great speed ar-
riued

The admerall
of France re-
ceiued an orb.

His gifts that
he had of the
king & others.

The lord
Greie of
Wilton.

Sir Tho-
mas Palmer.

King Henries
message to the
lord Greie by
Sir Thomas
Palmer.

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infurbarie,
William
Paulet

The duke of
Norfolk
mitted to the
tower.

1547

The duke of
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mitted to the
tower.

The duke of
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mitted to the
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The duke of
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The duke of
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Paulet knight of the order, lord Saint John, & great
master of the household: sir Edward Seimer knight
of the order, earle of Hertford, and high chamber-
leine of England: sir John Russell knight of the or-
der, lord priuie seale: sir John Dudley knight of the
order, vicount Lisle, & baron of Pampas, high adme-
rall of England: Cuthbert Tunstall bishop of Dur-
ham: sir Anthony Bystone knight of the order, and
master of the horse: sir Edmund Bonfacute knight
chefe iustice of the comon pless: sir Thomas Byom-
leie knight, one of the iustices of the kings bench: sir
Edward North knight, chancellor of the augmenta-
tion: sir William Paget knight of the order: sir
Anthony Dennie knight: sir William Herbert
knight: sir Edward Wotton knight, treasurer of
Calis: Nicholas Wotton deane of Canturburie
and Dorke.

So some as the noble king had finished his last
will and testament, as afore is said, he thortite there-
upon yelded vp his spirit to almightie God, depart-
ing this world the eight and fiftenth date of Janu-
arie, in the eight and thirtieth yeare of his reigne, and
in the yeare of our Lord 1546, after the accompt of
the church of England; but after the accompt which
we follow in this booke 1547, beginning our yeare
the first of Januarie. He reigned thirtie and seuen
yeares, nine moneths and od daies. His bodie (accor-
ding to his will in that behalfe) was conueted to
Windso: with all funerall pompe, and in the college
there interred. Of this tresnoble and trespuissant
monarch, I find these few verses, which maie serue
in god stead of an epitaph or funerall inscription:

Henricus princeps prope lustra peregerat octo,
Et populum magna prudens cum laude regebat;
Ex quo magna solistractant sceptrum Britannia;
Cum Deus omnipotens, morbo obrepente, moueret
Hinc emigrandum de vita. Probo dolor ingens!
Quod pia plebs lachrymis quam tristibus ora riganit?
Quam grauius regni proceres plangere cubantem?
Anglia tota acer moriens, lugubris & anens,
Nil quis apportant medici, nil profuit herba;
Qua solent humanis membris adferre salutem;
Pharmaca nil profunt, praebetur potius fustis;
Heu nulla tristis mors est medicabilis arte.

This noble prince was right fortunate in all his
doings, so that commonlie whatsoeuer he attem-
ted, had good successe, as well in matters of peace as
of wars: Of personage he was tall and mightie, in
his latter daies somewhat grosse, or as we tearmoit,
beuillie: in wit and memorie verie perfect of such
maiestie tempered with humanitie, as best became
so noble and high an estate: a great fauourer of lear-
ning; as he that was not ignorant of good letters
himselfe: he was of great magnificence and libera-
lity, in so much that John Leland that worthy anti-
quarie, hauing tasted of his royall bountyfullnesse,
hath left the lesse testifies to the world in a proper e-
pigram, which I will not omit, least I should wil-
fullye conceale a manifest protestation of his thank-
fulnesse: which I will now transcribe into the world in writing:

Ante suos Phœbus radios, et Luna mundum
Definet, & clara Cynthia pulchra facies:
Ante suet rapidum, & iter, & sine fine sequor;
Spinifer & nullam sentio habere quæm;
Ante sacra quercus cessant spargere ramis,
Florida sollicita pingere prata manu;
Quam rex ducit tuum labatur pectore nistro
Nomen, quod studij portus & auræ meæ.

And the same John Leland, who deseruedlie had
tasted the fruits of the kings largesse, was not unac-
quainted with the same of his renowne, which had
made it selfe knowne by restles flight to nations far
and neare, some to their smart hauing felt the valor
of his forces, and others submitting themselves for

fear of utter desolation. Whereupon he became a
terro: to his enemies, and yet none more desirous of
peace than he, if by anie other meanes (besides vio-
lence) the same might haue bene obtained. Suffici-
ent cannot be said in his high & merited commendation,
considering that as his victories were singular,
so were they also manifold; and hard it is for the pen
of a cunning rhetorician to paint him out according
to his dignitie: howbeit the said John Leland hath
left in writing a proper epigram, deuised in praise of
his most excellent king, by way of comparison, to
his immortall commendation, as here followeth:

Quantum punicis nouo rosetis
Cedunt vere suis rubra spinis;
Quantum lilio amenioris hortis
Gemma omnes alia nitore cedunt:
Quantum cetera punicis decoro
Malis poma quidem rubore cedunt:
Quantum confert breues myricæ
Concedunt quog gloria cupressus;
Quantum stellæ ero repressa tellus
Cala mole sua & nigrore cedit:
Tantum omnes alij celebritate,
Fama, nomine gloriæ, vera
(Et mittam ingenij valentioris
Lumen, flumina, fulmen atq; vires
Rari iudicij tui perennes)
Concedunt tibi principes sereni;
Henrice, & patria tua columna
Talis, qualis erat celebris illa
Olim quam extulit Henrich triumphans.

Comparatio
gloriam Henrici
octauis regis
potentissimis.

Of lerned men that liued in the daies of this most
famous prince, we find manie, as first John Colet
deane of Paules, and founder of the schole there, he
was borne in London of honest parents; William
Lillie boine in the town of Widsam in Hampshyre,
and was the first schoolmaster of Paules schole af-
ter it was erected; Thomas Linacer, or rather Lin-
ker, boine in Warbie, a learned physician, and well
sene in the tongs; John Skelton a pleasant poet,
Richard Pace that succeeded John Colet in the
rome of deane of Paules, John Fisher bishop of
Roche: of whome ye haue heard befoze, Thomas
More boine in London of whome mention likewile
is made in the life of this famous king; William
Hozman boine in Salisburie viceprouost of Eaton
college, a learned man, as by his works it appeareth;
John Frith boine in London, William Tindall, of
which two persons ye haue heard likewile in the
life of this king; Robert Wakefield excellentlie
sene in tongs, John Kallall a citizen and stationer
of London, Christopher Saint German an excel-
lent lawier, Robert Barnes of whom also we haue
made mention befoze.

Sir Thomas Eliot knight, Edward Lee archbi-
shop of Dorke, John Leland a diligent searcher of
antiquities, Anne Askew wrote certeine treatises
concerning hie examinations; sir John Bourchier
knight lord Berners translated the chronicles of sir
John Froissard out of French into English, Willi-
am Chubs, Henrie Standish a srier minor and bi-
shop of saint Asaph wrote against Erasmus for his
translation of the new testament, to his small praise
as he handled the matter; Thomas furnamed Philo-
melus a Londoner an excellent poet, William
Crocine verie expert in both tongs Greke and La-
tine, Thomas Spenser a Carmelite srier boine in
Dorwich, Henrie Bullocke, William Latimer,
Pong a monke of Hamste, Arnold of London
wrote certeine collections touching historிக்கal mat-
ters, Thomas Lupset a Londoner a learned pong
man departed this life in the six and thirtieth yeare of
his age about the yeare of our Lord 1532, he wrote
handie verknous treatises; William Skelton chan-
celloz

cellof of Poike, John Solwe a Carmelite frer of London and a doctoꝝ of divinitie, John Batemanfon a Charterhouse monke & prioꝝ of his house at London, Richard Whitford.

Thomas Attourborne in Dorsetholke and fellow with Willeme in suffering persecution under cardinal Wolseye, Henrie Bradshaw borne in Chester where he was professed a blacke monke wrote the life of saint Werbourgh and a certeine chronicle, John Palsgrau a citizen of London wrote instructions for the perfect understanding of the French tong, John Skuiss a Cornishman wrote certeine abbreviations of chronicles with a treatise of the warres of Troie, Anthonie Fitzherbert a iudge wrote an abridgement of the lawe, John Aitleton wrote also of the principles of the law but he liued before this season, Willfride Holme wrote a treatise of the rebellion in Lincolnshire and in the forth after the maner of a dialog, John Constable an excellent poet and rhetorician, John Hillier, Edward for student in the kings college in Cambridge was aduanced to the bishops see of Hereford and was imploted in diuerse ambassages from king Henrie the seventh both into Germanie and Italie.

John Lambert *alias* Nichols borne in Dorsetholke, of whome ye haue heard in the historie of this king, how he suffered for the controuersie of the sacrament; George Fulberie, John Hooker, Thomas Lanquet wrote an epitome of chronicles and also of the winning of Bullongne, John Shepe, Leonard Cor wrote diuerse treatises, one in English rhetoricke whereof Bale maketh no mention; Thomas Soullmon borne in the Ile of Gernseie verie famous in histories as by his writings and notes it appeareth, John Longland bishop of Lincoln, Maurice Chancie a Charterhouse monke, Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Duresme, Richard Samson, Alban Hill a Welshman an excellent physician, Richard Croke verie expert in the Greke tong, Robert Whittington borne in Staffordshire nere to Lichfield wrote diuerse treatises for the instruction of Grammatians, John Albrige bishop of Carleill, John Russell gathered a treatise intituled *Super iure Cesaris & Papae*, he wrote also commentaries in *Cantica*; William Kote, Simon Fith a Kentishman borne wrote a booke called the supplication of beggers.

John Potwell and Edward Potwell Welshmen wrote against Luther, Edward died in Smithfield for treason in denieng the kings supremacy in the yeare 1540; John Houghton gouernour of the Charterhouse monks in London died likewise for treason in the yeare a thousand five hundred thirtie and five; John Riches being an aged man, forsaking the order of a frer Minor, which he had first professed, embraced the gospel; George Boken lord Rochford, brother to quene Anne, wrote diuerse songs and sonnets; Francis Bigod knight borne in Dorsetshire wrote a booke against the cleargie intituled *De impropriationibus*, and translated certeine booke from Latine into English, he died for rebellion in the

yeare a thousand five hundred thirtie and seauen; Richard Wille, Henrie Poole lord Poole, wrote diuerse treatises, as comedies and tragedies, the life of sectaries, and certeine rithmes; William Wote, uille *alias* Thin restored Chaucers woꝝkes by his learned and painfull corrections.

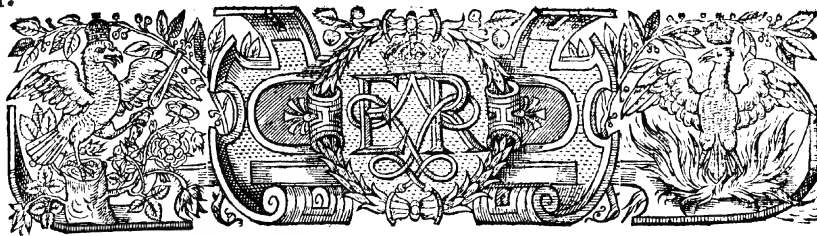
John Smith sometime scholemaster of Beiton, Richard Turpine borne of a worshipfull familie in England & seruing in the garrison of Calis wrote a chronicle of his time, he died in the yeare a thousand five hundred fortie and one, and was buried in saint Nicholas church in Calis; Sir Thomas Mait knight, in whose praise much might be said, as well for his learning as other excellent qualitties met for a man of his calling, he greatly furthered to enrich the English tong, he wrote diuerse matters in English meter, and translated the seauen penitential psalmes, and (as some write) the whole psalter, he died of the pestilence in the west countrie, being on his iourneie into Spaine, whither he was sent ambassador from the king vnto the emperor, in the yeare a thousand five hundred fortie and one; Henrie Howard earle of Surrie, sonne to the duke of Dorsetholke, delighted in the like studies with sir Thomas Mait, wrote diuerse treatises also in English meter, he suffered at Tower hill, as in the historie of this king before ye haue heard.

John Field a citizen and lawyer of London wrote sundrie treatises, as his owne answers vnto certeine articles ministred to him by sir Thomas More, the bishop of Rochester, Russell, and others; when he was in prison for religion, he wrote also a treatise of mans freewill, *De seruo hominis arbitrio*, and collections of the common lawes of the land, &c. Tristram Keuell, Henrie Binklow a merchant of London wrote a little booke, which he published vnder the name of Roderike Mors, and also a complaint vpon London, &c. Robert Shingletan borne of a good familie in Lancashire wrote a treatise of the seauen churches, and other things, as of certeine prophesies, for the which (as some write) he suffered at London, being conuict of treason in the yeare 1544; William Warreie a Welshman wrote a booke intituled *Speculum iuuenum*.

Of strangers that liued here in this kings daies, and for their woꝝkes which they wrote were had in estimation, these we find recorded by master Bale: Barnard Andreas a Frenchman borne in Colouise an Augustin frer, and an excellent poet; Adrian de Castello, an Italian of Corneto a towne in Tuscanie, he was commended vnto king Henrie the seventh by the archbishop of Dorset, and thereupon was first made bishop of Hereford, and after resigning that see, was aduanced to Bath and Wells; Andreas Ammonius an Italian of the citie of Luca, secretary to the king, wrote diuerse treatises; James Calco an Italian also of Pavia in Lombardie, by profession a Carmelite frer, an earnest defender of the diuorle betwixt the king and the ladic Katharine Dowager, disprouing the marriage betwixt them to be in any wise lawfull.

Thus farre the right high and renowned Henrie the eight, sonne and successor to Henrie the seuenth.





Edward the sixth, sonne and successor to Henrie the eight.



After it had pleased al-
mightie God to call to
his mercie that famous
prince king Henrie the
eight, the parlement as
yet continuing, and now
by his death dissolved, the
executours of the said
king, and other of the no-
bilitie, assembling them-

Edward
proclaimed.

selues together, did first by sound of trumpet in the
palace of Westminster, and so through London,
cause his sonne and heire prince Edward to be pro-
claimed king of this realme by the name of Edward
the first, king of England, France, and Ireland, de-
fender of the faith, and of the churches of England
and Ireland the supream head, he being yet but
nine yeares and od moneths of age: he was thus pro-
claimed the eight and twentieth of Januarie, in the
yeare of the world 5513, and after the birth of our
Lord 1547, according to the accompt of them that
begin the yeare at Christmalle; but after the accompt
of the church of England, in the yeare 1546, about
the nine and twentieth yeare of the emperor Charles
the first, the thre and thirtieth of Francis the first of
that name king of France, and in the first yeare of
the reigne of Marie quene of Scotland.

1547

Shortlie hereupon the earle of Hertford with o-
ther of the lords resorted to Hatfield, where the yong
king then late, from whence they conduced him with
a great and right honorable companie to the Tower
of London. During the time of his abode there, for
the god gouvernement of the realme, the honour and
suerie of his maiesties person, his uncle Edward
earle of Hertford, was by order of the counsell, and
the assent of his maiestie (as one most meetest to oc-
cupie that roome) appointed gouernour of his roiall
person, and protector of his realmes, dominions and
subiects, and so proclaimed the first of Februarie by
an herald at armes, and sound of trumpet through
the citie of London in the vsuall places thereof, as it
was thought expedient.

The earle of
Hertford cho-
sen protector.

The first daie of Februarie the earle of Hertford
lord protector, adorned king Edward with the order
of knighthood, remaining then in the Tower, and
therewith the king standing vp, called for Henrie
Hubbetheorne lord maior of the citie of London,
who coming before his presence, the king took the
sword of the lord protector, and dubbed the said Hub-
betheorne knight, he being the first that euer he
made. The seauenteenth of Februarie the lord protec-
tor was created duke of Summerset, the earle of
Essex was created marquisse of Northampton,
the lord Lisle high admerall of England was crea-
ted earle of Warwick and high chamberlaine of
England, sir Thomas Wriothesley lord chancelour
was created earle of Northampton, sir Thomas

Seimer was aduanced to the honour of lord of Sub-
leie and high admerall of England, which office the
earle of Warwick then resigned, sir Richard Rich
was made lord Rich, and sir William Willoughbie
was created lord Willoughbie of Parrham, sir
Edmund Sheffield was made lord Sheffield of But-
terwike; and as saith a late writer of this action:

*Et quisque est diuine potentior, aut eius honore,
Et noua virtutis sumens insignia fulget.*

At the same time great preparation was made for
the kings coronation, so that the foure and twentieth
of Februarie next ensuing, his maiestie came from
the Tower, and so rode through London vnto West-
minster, with as great roialtie as might be, the
streets being hong, and pageants in diuerse places e-
rected, to testifie the good willes of the citizens, reioi-
sing that it had pleased God to deale so fauourable
with the English nation to grant them such a to-
wardlie yong prince to their king and soueraigne
thus to succed in place of his noble father. ¶ Now as
he rode through London toward Westminster, and
passed on the south part of Pauls churchyard, an Ar-
goline came from the battlements of the steeple of
Pauls church vpon a cable, being made fast to an
ancho; by the deanes gate, lieng on his breast, aiding
himselfe neither with hand nor foot, and after ascen-
ded to the middelt of the cable, where he tumbled and
plaid manie pretie toies, whereat the king and the
nobles had good pastime.]

The king ri-
deth through
London to
Westminster.

Abr. Fl. ex
L.S. pag. 1036.

Pauls steeple
laie at ancho;.

The morrow after being Shrouesundae and the
five and twentieth of Februarie, his coronation was
solemnized in due forme and order, with all the roial-
tie and honour which therevnto appertained. Shortlie
after the coronation, to wit, the first of March, the erle
of Southhampton, lord chancelour of England, for
his too much repugnancie (as was reported) in mat-
ters of counsell to the residue of the counsellors a-
bout the king, was not onelie depriued of his office
of chancelor, but also remoued from his place and
authoritie in counsell, and the custodie of the great
seale was taken from him, and deliuered vnto sir
William Paulet lord Saint-John, that was lord
great master of the kings household.

Edward
crowned.

The lord
chancelor
discharged of
his roome.

Also shortlie after his coronation, the kings ma-
iestie by the aduise of his uncle the lord protector and
other of his priuie counsell, minding first of all to
seeke Gods honor and glozie, and thereupon inten-
ding a reformation, did not onelie set forth by cer-
teine commissioners, sundrie intunditions for the
remouing of images out of all churches, to the sup-
pressing and auoiding of idolatry and superstition
within his realmes and dominions, but also caused
certeine homilies or sermons to be drawne by sun-
drie godlie & learned men, that the same might be
read in churches to the people, which were afterward
by certeine of these commissioners sent forth as vi-
sitours, accompanied with certeine preachers, the

Chemises.

CCCCij. throughout

The commu-
nion in both
kinds.

IS pag. 1036.
D. Smith
recanted.

Rich. Craffton.

Chieftaines
in the armie.

roughout the realme, for the better instruction of the people, published and put in use. At Caister next following, he set out also an order thorough all the realme, that the supper of the lord should be ministered to the laic people in both kinds. ¶ On the fifteenth of Maie doctor Smith recanted at Paules crosse.]

All these things done concerning religion (as before is said) the lord protector and the rest of the council, calling to mind the evil dealing and craftie dissimulation of the Scots, concerning the matter of marriage betwixt the kings maiestie, and the queene of Scotland (which marriage as ye have heard, in the five and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, was by authoritie of parlement in Scotland fullie concluded) thought it not to stand with the kings honor to be in such maner by them deluded, and withall considering how greatlie it should turne to the quietnesse and safetie of both realmes to have these two princes contained in matrimonie, they did devise sundrie waies and meanes how the same might be brought to passe, and the rather (as some do write) for that king Henrie (before his death) had given them in speciall charge by all indentours to procure that the said marriage might take place, as whole wishing by the coniunction of those two young princes, the uniting of the two kingdoms in perpetuall amitie and faithfull league of love; as our poet saith:

Optat coniugio duo regna corae fideli,

Aeternam pacem hinc aeternaque federa iungi.

But the lords of Scotland were so inveigled and corrupted by the French king, and abused by cardinal Beton, archbishop of saint Andrews, and other of their clergie, that they not onelie shanke from that which they had promised, but also sought to destroye those that favored the king of Englands part: whereupon a great and puissant armie was now prepared to passe by land into Scotland, and likewise a nauie to passe by sea to attend upon the same: whereof the great gallie and foure and twentie tall ships were thoroughlie furnished with men and munition for the warres, besides manie merchants ships and other small vessels, which served for carriage of vittells, and other necessities.

But now to shew what noble men and other were ordeined officers, and assigned to have the conduction as well of the armie by land, as of the fleet by sea; ye shall understand, that first the duke of Summerset, lord protector, took upon him to go himselfe in person, as generall of the whole armie, and capteine also of the battell of middle-ward, wherein were foure thousand footmen. The marshall erle of Warwicke appointed lord lieutenant of the same armie, led the fore-ward containing three thousand footmen. The lord Dacres governed in the reere-ward, wherein were other three thousand footmen. The lord Greie of Wilton was ordeined high marshall of the said armie & capteine generall of all the horsemen, being in number six thousand. Sir Rafe Sadler knight treasurer of the armie. Sir Francis Blizan knight, capteine of the light horsemen, in number two thousand.

Sir Rafe Wane knight lieutenant of all the men of armes and demilances. Sir Thomas Darcie knight capteine of all the kings maiesties pensioners, and men at armes. Sir Richard Leigh knight deuiser of the fortifications. Sir Peter Helwates knight capteine of the harquebutters, which were in number six hundred. Sir Peter Camboa knight, capteine of two hundred harquebutters on horsebacke. Sir Francis Fleming knight was master of the ordinance. Sir George Blaag & sir Thomas Wolceroft commissioners of the musters. Edward Shelleie, the lord Greies lieutenant of the men of

armes of Bullongne, who was the first that gave the onset in the date of battell, and died most honorable in the same. John Wyenne capteine of the pioneers being in number a thousand foure hundred. Thomas Audeleie and Edward Chamberleine harbingers of the field.

The lord Edward Clinton admerall of the fleet: Sir William Woodhouse knight his viceadmerall. There were in the armie of great ordinance fifteen hundred pieces, and of carriages nine hundred carts, besides manie wagons, whereof the commissarie generall was George Ferrers. As soon as the armie by land was in a readinesse, and set forward to come to Berwicke at a date appointed, the nauie likewise took the sea, and by the helpe of Gods good guiding had so prosperous speed in their passage, that they arrived at Berwicke in time convenient, wither upon the thirtieth of August being tuesday, the lord protector came, and laic in the castell with sir Nicholas Strelleie knight, capteine there. The next daie commandement was given that everie man should provide himselfe for foure daies vittells to be caried forth with them in carts.

On thursdaie the first of September the lord protector, not with manie more than with his owne band of horsemen, rode to a towne standing on the sea coast, a six miles from Berwicke within Scotland called Almouth, whereat there runneth a river into the sea, which he caused to be sounded, and finding the same well able to serve for an haven, caused afterwards a foztresse to be raised there, appointing Thomas Cotter, that was marshall of Berwicke, to be capteine thereof. On fridate, all saving the councill departed the towne of Berwicke, and incamped a two flight shots off by the sea side, toward Scotland. And the same daie the lord Clinton with his fleet took the seas from Berwicke, to the end that in case the wind should not serve them to keepe course with the armie by land; yet were it but with the driving of tides, they might upon anie need of munition or vittells be still at hand, or not long from them.

The same daie the earle of Warwicke, and sir Rafe Sadler treasurer of the armie, came to Berwicke from Helwates, where they had staid till then, for the full dispatch of the rest of the armie, and the next daie the earle of Warwicke incamped in field with the armie. On which daie a proclamation with sound of trumpet was made by an herald in three severall places of the campe, signifying the cause of the coming of the kings armie at that present into Scotland, which in effect was, to advertise all the Scottish nation, that their coming was not to deprive them of their liberties, but to advance the marriage already concluded and agreed upon betwixt the kings maiestie of England and their queene, and no hostilitie ment to such as should shew themselves furtherers thereof. On the fourth of September being sundaie, the lord protector came from out of the towne, and the armie raised, and marched that daie a six miles, and camped by a village called Kossan in the baronie of Boukendall.

The order of their march was this. Sir Francis Blizan capteine of the light horsemen, with foure hundred of his band, tended to the skout a mile or two before. The carriages kept along the sea coast, and the men at armes and demilances divided into three troops, answering the three wards, rid in arraye directly against the carriages a two flight shots asunder from them. The three foot battels kept order in place betwixt them both, the fore-ward foremost, the battell in the middle, the reere-ward hindermost, each ward having his troope of horsemen and gard of ordinance, his aid of pioneers for amendment of waies,

The lord
Clinton
being
in the
navie
by sea
with
the
fleet.

The lord
protector
caused
Almouth
to be
sounded.

Sir Rafe
Sadler
treasurer
of the
English
armie.

proclamation.

The order
of the
armie
in
marching
forward.

17.

An. Reg. I.

waies, where need should be. The first of September they marched an eight miles, untill they came to the heathes, a clough or ballie, running for a six miles west freight eastward, and toward the sea a twentie score yode from banke to banke aboue, and a five score in the bottome, wherein runnes a little river. Sothe is this ballie on either side, and deepe in the bottome.

The Scots had cast trenches ouerthwart the side waies on either side, in manie places, to make the passage more cumbersome: but by the pioners the same were sone filled, and the waie made plaine, that the armie, carriage, & ordinance were quite set ouer sone after sun set, & there they pitched downe their campe. Whilest the armie was thus passing ouer this cumbersome passage, an herald was sent from the lord protectoz, to summon a castell, that stood at the end of the same ballie, a mile from the place where they passed downe towards the sea. Matthew Hume capteine thereof, a brothers sonne of the lord Humes, vpon his summons required to speake with the lord protectoz. It was granted, and he came, whome the lord protectoz handled in such sort with effectuall wordes, putting him in choise whether he would yeld, or stand to the aduenture, to haue the place twine of him by force, that he was contented to render all at his graces pleasure.

And so being commanded to go fetch his compaignie out of the house, he went and brought them, being in all one and twentie persons. The capteine and six other were staied and commanded to the keeping of the marshall, the residue were suffered to depart whither they thought good. After this surrender, the lord John Greie brother to the marques Dorset, was appointed to seise & take possession of the house, being capteine of a great number of demilances, as for his appoyued worthinesse and valiance right well he might, agreable to the deserued report remaining of him in print in foiren speech as followeth:

Grains heros
Ob summam belli cataphractis praeiit artem.

The spoile was not rich sure, but of white bread, oten cakes, and Scotish ale indifferent good store, and sone bestowed among my lordes soldiorz; for swordes, bucklers, pikers, pots, pans, yarne, linnen, hempe, and heapes of such baggage, which the countrie people there about had brought into that pile, to haue it in more suretie, the soldiorz would scarce vouchsafe to stope and take the same vp.

In the meane time the lord protectoz appointed the house to be ouerthstone, which by the capteine of the pioners was done, though with some trauell, by reason the walles were so thicke, and the foundation so deepe, and thereto set vpon so craggie a plot. Tuesdaye the first of September, the armie dislodged and marched forward. In the waie as they should go, a mile and an halfe from Dunglas northward were two piles of holds, Thoznton & Anderwiike, set both on craggie foundations, & diuided a stones cast a funder by a deepe gut, wherein ran a little river. Thoznton belonged to the lord Hume, and was kept by one Thom Trotter, who vpon summons giuen him to render the house, lockt vp a sixtene poze soules like the soldiorz of Dunglas fast within the house, toke the keyes with him, commanding them to defend the place till his returne, which should be on the morrow, with munition and releefe: and this done, he and his pickers prickt (as saith maister Patten) quite their waies.

Anderwiike pertained to the lord of Hambleton, and was kept by his son and heire, whome of custome they call the maister of Hambleton, & eight more gentlemen for the most part, as was reported. The lord protectoz at his comming nigh, sent vnto both these

places, which vpon summons refusing to render, were freight assailed; Thoznton by batterie of sone great peeces of ordinance, and certeine of sir Peter Helwas hackbutters, and Anderwiike by a sort of the same hackbutters, who so well bestirred them, that where these keepers had rammed by their oute doores, cloied and stopt their staires within, and kept themselves for defense of their house about the battlements, the hackbutters got in, and fired them vnderneath, whereby being greatlie troubled with smoke, they cried for mercie, which the lord protectoz meant to grant them; but yet the messenger came, the hackbutters were got vp to them, & killed right of them aloft: one leapt ouer the walles, and running more than a furlong, was after slaine without in a water.

All this while at Thoznton was the assault on the English part, and the defense by them within stoutlie continued: but at length when they perceived in what danger they stood, and how little able they were to helpe themselves, or to anniole the assailants, they pluckt in a banner which they had hong forth, in token of defiance, and put forth a white linnen clout tied to a stickes end, crying all with one tune for mercie: but hauing answer by the whole voices of the assailers that they were traitors, and that it was too late, they pluckt in their stickes, and set vp againe their banner of defiance, and shot off, hurled stones, & did what else they could with great courage of their side, & small hurt of the assailants. Wherefore perceiving that they could not long keepe out, being on the one side battered, and mined on the other, kept in with hackbutters on ech side, and some of the Englishmen being got into the house below, for they hauing shot vp themselves also in the highest of their house, pluckt in againe their banner, and cried estones for mercie, but being answered generallie by the assailants, that they should neuer loke for it, they fell to make this petition, that if they should needs die, they might rather suffer by hanging, and so reconcile themselves to God, than to die in malice with so great danger of their soules.

This sute was so furthered to the dukes grace by sir Miles Partridge that was nere at hand when they made this sute, that it was granted; and they comming forth, humbled themselves, and without more hurt they were but commanded to the prison of marshall, who kept them for a time, and were after released. The house was shortly after so blowen with powder, that more than the one halfe of it fell freight downe to dust and rubbish, the rest stood all to shaken with rifts and chinks. Anderwiike also was burned, and all the houses of office, and stacks of corne about them both. While this was in doing the dukes grace, in turning but about, saw the fall of Dunglas, which likewise was undermined and blowen vp with powder.

This done, about none the armie marched, and passing by Dunbar, the castell sent them diuerse shots of artillerie, but all in vaine. The Scotish pickers shewed themselves in the field with proffer of skirmish, but to no great purpose, one of them being killed with a shot of one of Barteuils men an hackbutter on horsebacke. The armie hauing marched that daie a ten miles, lodged at night nere vnto Tantallon, and had a blind alarum. Marching the next morning a two miles, they came to a river called Lin, where there is a stone brydge, named Lin-ton brydge of a towne thereby on the right hand as the armie marched, and standing eastward vpon the same river: the horsemen and carriages passed thorough the water, for it was not verie deepe, and the footmen ouer the brydge. The passage was frecht for an armie, and therefore the longer in setting ouer.

C c c c. iiij. Beyond.

The pile of
Anderwiike
is gone.

Sir Miles
Partridge.

Thoznton
was blowne.

The piles of
Thoznton
and others
defaced.

Tantallon.

Lin-ton
brydge.

Wales castle.

Beyond this bridge about a mile westward upon the same river, on the south side standeth a proper castle called Wales, pertaining to the earle of Northwell, but kept as then by the gouernours appointment, who held the earle in prison. Out of this castle as the lord protector passed forward in following the foreward, there were roundlie shot off (but without hurt) six or seven peeces, the which before that (though some of the armie had bene verie nigh) yet kept they all couert. In the meane time rose a thicke mist, which caused a great disorder in the reereward, by reason they could not see about them. The earle of Marlowe therefore doubting least the enimies, who had been picking vp and dooing noere to the armie, and offered skirmish the same morning, should now by occasion of the mist attempt some feat to the annoyance of the Englishmen in their passage, his lordship himselfe scant with firtene horses (whereof Bartenill, and John de Ribaud Frenchmen were two, seven or eight light horsemen more, and the rest being his owne seruants) returned toward the passage to see the arrate againe.

A subtle place of the Scots.

The Scottish horsemen perceiuing our horsemen to haue passed on before, and thinking (as the truth was) that some capitaine of honor did staie for the looking to the order of this reereward, they keeping the south side of the river, did call ouer to some of the armie, to know whether there were anie noble man nigh there? They were asked whie they asked? One of them answered, that he was such a one whose name the Englishmen knew to be honorable among the Scots, and would come in to the dukes grace, so that he might be sure to come in safetie. Some young soldiers nothing suspecting the craftie falshood of the Scots, told him that the earle of Marlowe was nigh there, by whose tuition, he should be safetie brought to my lord protectors presence. They had caud their lesson & fell to their practice, which was this. Hauiug come ouer the water, in the waie as the earle should passe, they had cotoched about two hundred of their pickers, and had sent forth bridle to search where my lord was, whome when they had found, part of them pickt verie nigh, whome ten or twelue of the earles small companie did boldlie incounter, and droue them well nigh home to their ambush, fleeing perchance not so much for feare as for falshood, to bring them within their danger. But hereby informed that the earle was so nigh, they sent out a bigger number, and kept the rest more secret upon this purpose, that they might either by a plaine onset distresse him, or else by fainting of sight to haue trained him within danger of their ambush. And thus instructed, they came picking toward his lordship apase. Whie (quoth he) & wilt not these knaues be ruled? Giue me my staffe. The which then with so valiant a courage he charged at one (as it was thought) Wandie Car, a capitaine among them, that he did not onelie compell Car to turne, and himselfe chased him aboue twelue score together, all the waie at the speares point, so that if Cars horse had not bene exceeding good and wight, his lordship had surely run him through in this race, but also with his little band caused all the rest to flee amaine. After whome as Henrie Lane, a gentle man of the said earles, and one of his companie did fiercelie pursue foure or fise Scots, suddenlie turned, and set vpon him, and though they did not altogether escape his hands free, yet by belwing and mangling his head, bodie, and manie places else, they did so cruelie intreat him, as if rescue had not come the sooner, they had slaine him outright. Here was Bartenill run at sideling, and hurt in the buttocke, and one of the Englishmen slaine: of Scots againe none slaine, but three taken prisoners, wherof

The manlie courage of the earle of Marlowe. Wandie Car.

Henrie Lane.

Bartenill hurt.

one was Richard Martwell, and hurt in the thigh, who had bene long in England not long before, and had receiued right manie benefits, both of the late kings liberalitie, and of the earle of Marlowe, and of manie other nobles and gentlemen in the court beside.

But to conclude, if the earle of Marlowe had not thus valiantlie incountered them, per they could haue warned their ambush how weaklie he was guarded, he had bene beset round about by them ver he could haue bin aware of them, or rescued of other. Whereas hereby his lordship vndoubtedly shewed his wanted valor, saved his companie, and discerned the enimie. As Bartenill the Frenchman that daie had right honestlie serued, so did the lords right honorable acquite it: for the earle of Marlowe did get him a furlong, and dressed he was, straight after laid and conueied in the lord protectors owne chariot. The rest that were hurt were here also dyed,

20 Scots and others.

The armie hauiug marched that same daie nine miles, incamped at night by a towne standing on the frith called Lang Raddrie. The next morning being thursdaie the eight of September, in time of the dislodging of the English, signe was made to some of the ships (whereof the most part and chieftest laie a ten or twelue miles in the forth, beyond vs, ouer against Lielh & Edenborough) that the lord admerall should come a shore, to speake with the lord protector. In the meane time, somewhat earlie as our gallie was comming toward vs, about a mile and more beyond our campe, the Scots were verie busie, wafting here on thore toward them with a banner of saint George that they had, so to traine them to come on land there: but the earle of Marlowe some disappointed the policie, for making toward that place where the lord admerall should come on thore, the Englishmen on the water by the sight of his presence, did some discern their friends from their foes.

The lord admerall hereby came to land, and riding backe with the earle vnto the lord protector, order was taken, that the great ships should remoue from before Lielh, and come to lie before Spunkelborough, and the Scottish campe which laie there in field already assembled, to resist the English power that marched thus towards them. The smaller vessels that were vittellers were appointed to lie neerer to the armie. The lord admerall hereby, being returned to the water, & the armie marching onward a mile or two, there appeared aloft on a hill, that laie longwise east and west, and on the south side of them, vpon a six hundred of their horsemen pickers, wherof some within a sight shot, streake against the Englishmen, they tooke themselves vpon the same hill, & more further off.

Toward these, ouer a small bridge that laie ouer a little riuer there, verie hardlie did ride about a dozen haquebutters on horsebacke, and held them at baie so nise to their noses, that whether it were by the goodnesse of the same haquebutters, or the badnesse of them, the Scots did not onelie not come dooing to them, but also verie courteously gaue place, and fled to their fellowes. The armie went on, but so much the slower, because the waie was somewhat narrow, by meanes of the forth on the one side, and certaine marshes on the other. The Scots kept alwaies pale with them, till there were shot off two field peeces twise, wherewith there was a man killed, and the leg of one of their horses stricken off, which caused them to withdraw, so that the Englishmen saw no more of them, till they came to the place where they meant to incampe, for there they shewed themselves againe aloft on the fore remembred hill, standing

Lang Raddrie.

Order taken for the placing of the ships.

The Scottish pickers then themselves.

Dom. 1547.

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Order taken
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standing as it were to view and take muster of the
armie; but when the lord Greie made towards them,
minding to know their commission, they wisely
went their waie, and would not once abide the rea-
soning.

Little else was done that daie, but that George
ferrers, one of the duke of Summersets gentle-
men, and one of the commissioners of the cariages
in the armie, perceiving where certaine Scots were
got into a caue vnder the earth, stopping some of the
vents, and setting fire on the other, smothered them
to death, as was thought it could be none other, by
consequence of the smoke breaking forth at some of the
other vents. The English ships also taking their
leane from before Lieth, with a scoe of shot or more,
and as they came by saluting the Scots in their
campe also, with as manie, came and laie according
to appointment. The armie hauing marched this
daie about a fine miles, incamped at Salt Preston
by the forth. On Friday the ninth of September,
the English armie lieng in sight & view of the Sco-
tish campe, that laie two miles or therabouts from
them, had the forth on the north, and the hill last re-
membered on the south, the west end whereof is called
Fandide Blate, on the which standeth a forie castell,
and halfe a scoe houses of like worthinesse by it, and
had westward before the Englishmen, the Scots li-
eng in campe. About a mile from the English
campe were the Scots horsemen verie busie, prank-
ing vp and downe, & faine would haue bene a coun-
sell with the Englishmens doings; who againe, bi-
cause the Scots seemed to sit to receiue them, did di-
ligentlie prepare that they might come go to them,
and therefore kept within their campe all that daie.

The lord protector and the counsell sitting in con-
sultation, the capteines and officers providing their
bards, store of vittels, and furniture of weapons, for
furthurance whereof our vessels of munition and
vittels were here already come to the shore. The
Scots continued their brauerie on the hill, the which
the Englishmen not being so well able to beare,
made out a band of light horsemen, and a troupe of
demilances to backe them: the Englishmen and
strangers that serued among them, got vp aloft on
the hill, and thereby of euen ground with the enimie
rode straight toward them with good speed and order,
whom at the first the Scots did boldly countenance
and abide: but after, when they perceived that our
men would needs come forward, they began to
pierce, and would faine haue bene gone, yet they
had told their errand. But the Englishmen hasted so
speedilie after, that euen straight they were at their
elbowes, and did so frontlie then besire them, that
what in the onset at the first, and after in the chase,
which lasted a thre miles welnie to as far as the fur-
thest of their campe on the south side, they had killed
of the Scots within a thre houres, aboue the num-
ber of thirtene hundred, and taken the maister of
Hume, the lords Humes sonne and heire, two priests
and six gentlemen, whereof one by sir Jaques Gra-
nado, and all vpon the highest and welniere might
of the hill toward the Scots, within the full sight of
their whole campe.

On the English part one Spanishe haquebutter
hurt, and taken sir Rafe Bulmer knight, Thomas
Sommer marshall of Berwik, and Robert Crouch,
all capteins of severall bands of the English light
horsemen, and men of right good courage and appo-
inted service, & at this time distressed by their owne
too much forwardnesse, and not by the enimies force.
To conclude, of sixtene hundred horsemen for hire
much, and five hundred footmen to lie close in am-
bush, and to be readie at need, which came that mor-
ning out of their campe, there returned not home a

bone seven hundred, and diuerse of those sore hurt,
and among other, the lord Hume himselfe, for he in
the flight, had a fall from his horse, and burst the ca-
nell bone of his necke, that he was faine to be caried
straight to Edenborough, and finallye there departed
this life of that hurt. So that it is true which C. O.
saith, that in this skirmish manie a good rider was
dismounted, their horses with emptye saddles and
loose bridles running by hill and downe dale, as if
they had bene sturke mad, and to conclude (saith he)

— equi lapsi sunt in hostia

Tergo alius summo tellurem vertice pulsum.

Then after this, the lord protector, and the earle of
Warwicke, and other of the counsell, with a small
gard, mounting by the hill where the slaughter had
bene made, about halfe a mile southward from the
Scottish campe, toke full view therof, the plot where
they laie, so chosen for strength, as in all their coun-
trie (some thought) not a better, saue on the south by a
great marish, & on the north by the forth, which side
they fenced with two field peeces, and certaine haque-
butteres a croke, lieng vnder a turffe wall, Eden-
borough on the west at their backes, and eastward
betwixt the Englishmen and them strongly defen-
ded by the course of a riuer called Esk, running
north into the forth, which as it was not verie deepe
of water, so were the bankes of it so high and steepe,
as a small sort of resistants might haue bene able
to keepe downe a great number of commers vp.
About a twelue scoe from the forth, ouer the same
riuer, is there a stone bridge, which they did keepe al-
so well garded with ordinance.

When the lord protector, and the earle of War-
wicke had viewed euerie thing, as they thought expe-
dient, they returned home towards their campe, a-
longst before the campe of the enimies, within lesse
than two slight shoots, entring into a lane of thirtie
foot broad, fenced on either side with a wall of turffe,
an ell of heighth. The Scots did often shot at them
in the waie as they passed thus homewards, without
hurt, saving the killing of an horse among thre
hundred, the rider escaping else harmlesse. And as
the dukes grace was passed welnie halfe the waie
homewards, a Scottish herald with a cote of his
princes armes vpon him (as the manner is) and with
him a trumpetter, ouertooke them.

The herald declaring this message to the lord
protector, pretended to come from the gouernour, to
inquire of prisoners taken, and therewith to proffer
honest conditions of peace. And after he had told his
tale, then began the trumpetter, and said, how he
was sent from the earle of Huntley: *My lord my
maister (saith he) hath willed me to shew you grace,
that because this matter maie be the sooner ended,
and with lesse hurt, he will fight with your grace for
the whole quarell, twentie to twentie, ten to ten, or
else himselfe alone with your grace man to man.
The lord protector hauing kept with him the lord lie-
tenant, had heard them both throughe, and then in
answering, spake somewhat with louder voice, than
they had done their messages. Wherevpon they that
were the riders by, thinking that his grace would
haue it no secret, were somewhat the bolder to come
nearer, the words whereof were vttered so expeditelie
with honour, and so honourable with expedition,
that the standers by were moued to doubt whether
they might rather note in them the promptnesse of a
singular prudence, or the boldnesse of a noble cou-
rage: and they were thus.*

Your gouernour maie know, that the speciall
cause of our coming hither was not to fight, but
for the thing that should be the waie, both of vs and
you. For God we take to record, we mind no more
hurt to the realme of Scotland, than we do to the
realme

The lord
Hume hurt
with a fall in
the chase.

A Scottish
herald deliue-
ring a message
to the duke of
Summerset.

The lord pro-
tectors an-
swer.

realme of England, and therefore our quarell being
 as for peace, he hath refused such conditions at our
 hands, as we will neuer proffer againe: and there-
 fore let him looke for none, till this waie we make it:
 and thou trumpet, saie to thy maister, he saith
 to lacke wit so to make this chalenge to me, being of
 such estate, by the sufferance of God, as to haue so
 weightie a charge of so peticious a ieiwell, the gou-
 ernance of a kings person, & then the protection of all
 his realms, whereby in this case I haue no power of
 my selfe, which if I had, as I am true gentleman, it
 should be the first bargain I would make: but there
 is a great sort amongst vs his equals, to whom hee
 might haue made this chalenge without refusal.

The earle of
 Warwikes
 request and
 message to
 the earle of
 Huntley.

Then quoth the lord lieutenant to them both, He
 sheweth his small wit to make this chalenge to my
 lords grace, and he so meane, but if his grace will
 giue me leaue, I shall receiue it: and trumpet
 bring me word thy maister will so do, and thou shalt
 haue of me an hundred crownes. Saie (quoth my
 lords grace) the earle of Huntley is not meet in e-
 state with you, my lord: but herald saie to the go-
 uernor, and him also, that we haue bene a good sea-
 son in this countrie, and are here now but with a so-
 ber companie, and they a great number, and if they
 will meet vs in field, they shall be satisfied with fight-
 ing inough: and herald bring me word if they will so
 do, and by my honour I will giue the a thousand
 crownes. He haue a proud sort among you, but I
 trust to see your pride abated shortly, and of the
 erle Huntleys too: This he is a glorious young gen-
 tleman.

The order of
 war touching
 heralds vio-
 lated.

This said, the earle of Warwike continued his
 request, that he might receiue this chalenge: but the
 lord protector would in no wise grant it. These mes-
 sengers had their answers, and therewith leave to
 depart. The Scots in midst of this message, doing
 contrarie to the order of warre, which as it granteth
 safetie to heralds and trumpeters, to passe betwixt
 armie and armie: so during the time of anie such
 message, as this was, hostilitie on both parts ought
 to cease, but it skilled not. On the morow after, they
 had their guns taken from them (as saith maister
 Patten) and put into their hands that could vse them
 with more good manner. But now concerning the
 message of the herald, it was thought that he was
 sent therewith, not for that it was beleued of them,
 that it would be accepted; but rather that whilst he
 was doing his errand, he might surueile the English
 powder: or else for that upon refusal of the offer, they
 might vse the victorie (whereof they accounted them-
 selues assured) with more crueltie.

The doubt
 of the
 Scots.

If nothing they doubted more, than least the
 Englishmen would haue bene gone backe, and gotten
 to the water, before they should haue encounte-
 red them, and therefore they had appointed to haue
 giuen the English armie a canifado in the night
 before the daie of the battell: but peradventure, un-
 derstanding that the Englishmen had warning of
 their intention, and were provided for them if they
 had come, they staied and came not at all. But in the
 morning, they were by verie timelie, and being put
 in order of battell, they marched straight towards
 the English campe, against whom then, though they
 saw the English horsemen readilie to make: yet
 could not be persuaded, but that it was for a policie
 to staie them, till the English footmen and carriages
 might fullie be bestowed a shipboard, and that for the
 same purpose the English ships were come backe
 from before Lich.

Ordinance
 plaied against
 the enimie.

In the night of this daie, the dukes grace ap-
 pointed, that earlie in the next morning part of the
 ordinance should be planted in the lane (whereof men

tion before is made) vnder the turfe of the wall, next
 to their campe, and some also to be set vpon the hill
 nie to Andzelske church afore remembred: and this
 to the intent we should with our shot cause them e-
 ther wholie to remoue their campe, or else much to
 annoie them in that place where they laie. It was
 not the least of the Englishmens meaning also to
 win from them certeine of their ordinance, that laie
 nereest vnto this church. And herewith the same mo-
 ning, being the tenth of September, and Saturday,
 somewhat before eight of the clocke, the English ar-
 mie dislodged, & marched straight toward the church
 of Andzelske, as well for intent to haue incamped
 nere the same, as for placing their ordinance, and o-
 ther considerations afore remembred.

The Scots either for feare of the Englishmens
 departing, or hope of their spolling, were out of their
 campe comming toward them, passed the riuer, ga-
 thered in arais, and well nere at this church, per the
 Englishmen were halfe waie to it, so quite dis-
 appointing the Englishmens purpose. Which at the
 first seemed verie strange in their eies, as altogether
 beside their expectation, as they that thought they
 would neuer haue forsaken their strength, to meet
 them in the field. But after it was knowen that they
 did not onelie thus purpose to do, but also to haue
 assailed them in their campe, as they laie if they had
 not bene stirring the timelier, and hauing caused all
 their tents to be let flat downe to the ground, per
 they came out, because none should lie lurking be-
 hind them in their campe, and as well the nobles
 as other, leauing their horses behind them (except
 such as were appointed to serue on horsebacke) mar-
 ched on with their souldiours on foot.

They came speedilie forwards on both sides, the
 one till then no whit aware of the others intent: but
 the Scots indeed with a rounder pale betwene two
 hillocks, betwixt the Englishmen and the church, mu-
 stered somewhat by in, at whome as they staied, the
 English galle shot off, & slue the maister of Grefme,
 with fise and twentie others nere by him, and there-
 with so skard foure thousand Irish archers, brought
 by the earle of Argile, that where (as it was said)
 they should haue bene a wing to the foreward, they
 could neuer after be made to come forward. Herby
 on did their armie hastilie remoue, & from thence be-
 clining southward, toke their direct waie toward
 Faulside braie. Of this, sir Rafe Blane, lieutenant
 of all the English horsemen, first of all, or with the
 first, noting it, quicklie aduertised the lord protector,
 who thereby did readilie conceiue their meaning,
 which was to win the hill, and thereby the wind and
 sunne, the gaine of which three things (as is thought)
 whether partie in fight of battell can hap to obtaine,
 hath his force doubled against his enimie.

In all this enterpasse, they used for haste so litte
 the helpe of horse, that they plucked forth their ordi-
 nance by draught of men, which at that present be-
 gan frelie to shot off towards the English armie,
 whereby it was perceiued they ment more than a
 skirmish. Herewith euerie man began to applie him
 selfe in his charge and dutie which he had to do. And
 herewith the lord protector, and other of the counsell
 on horsebacke as they were, fell straight in consul-
 tation. The sharpnesse of whose circumspect wis-
 doms, as it quicklie espied out the enimies intents,
 so did it among other things promptlie prouide ther-
 in remedie, to prevent them (as needfull it was) for
 the time asked no leisure.

Their deuise was, that the lord Greie of Wilton,
 marshall of the armie, with his band of Ballesters,
 and with the lord protectors band, and the earle of
 Warwikes, all to the number of eightene hundred
 horsemen, on the left hand on the east halfe, and sir
 Rafe

Saturday, the
 tenth of Sep-
 tember, the
 daie of the
 battell.

The English
 men & Scots
 march the one
 armie toward
 the other.

The galle
 shot off, &
 the Irish
 archers.

Consultation
 of the Eng-
 lish lords on
 horsebacke.

The deuise of
 the lords upon
 their coun-
 sell.

Dom. 1547.

An. Reg. 1.

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Saturday, the
tenth of Sep-
tember, the
date of the
battell.

The lord
Scots re-
sult to the
lord protector.

The Scots
were thus
the sudden,

Consultation
of the Eng-
lish lords on
the Scottish
back.

Kase Wane, with sir Thomas Darcie capteine of the
penfioners, and men of armes, and the lord Jfitz-
waters, with his band of demilances, all to the num-
ber of fiftene hundred, to be readie and euen with
the lord marshall, on the west halfe. And thus all
these together afoze to incounter the enemies afront,
whereby either to breake their arae, and that waie to
weaken their potwer by disorder, or at the least to
stop them of their gate, and force them to fraie, while
the fore-ward might wholie haue the hill side, and
the battell and rere-ward be placed in grounds next
that in order, and best for aduantage. And after this,
that the same horsemen should retire vp to the hill
side to come downe in order afresh, and inest them
on both sides, whilest the foot battels should occupie
them in fight afront.

Which enterprife, though it seemed right dange-
rous to the assailers, yet was it not more wiselie de-
nied by the counsell, than valiantlie and willinglie
executed of the lord marshall, & the others. For euen
there taking their leaues of the counsell, the said
lord marshall requiring onelie, that if it went not
well with him, the dukes grace would be good to his
wife & children, he said he would meet those Scots,
and so with their bands the foresaid capteins took
their waie, and made towards the enimie. By this
time were the fore-wards on either part aduanced
within two sight shots in lumber. The Scots came
on so fast, that it was thought of the most part of the
Englishmen, they were rather horsemen than foot-
men. The Englishmen againe were led the more
with speed, to thew that they were as willing as the
Scots to trie the battell. The master of the ordinance
to their great aduantage plucked vp the hill at that
instant certeine peeces, and some after planted two
or three canons of them welnigh upon the top there,
whereby hauing so much the helpe of the hill, he might
ouer the Englishmens heads shot niest at the eni-
mie. As the lord protector had so circumspectie taken
order for the arae and station of the armie, and for
the execution of euerie mans office beside, he being
perfectlie appointed in safre armour, accompanied
onelie with sir Thomas Chaloner knight, one of the
clerkes of the kings priuie counsell, got him to the
hight of the hill, to carrie by the ordinance, where he
might best surueie the whole field, and succour with
aid where most he saw need, and also by his presence
to be a defense to the thing that stood weakest in
place, and also most in daunger, the which how much
it stood in stead, anon ye shall heare further.

As he was halfe vp the hill, the erle of Warwicke
was ware the enimies were all at a sudden fraie, and
stood still a good while, so that it seemed to him that
they perceiving now their owne follie in leauing
their ground of aduantage, had no will to come anie
further forward, but gladlie would haue bin whence
they came. The reasons were these. First because at
that time, beside the full muster of the English foot-
men, of whome they thought there had bene none
there in field, but all to haue bene either thipt, or a
shypping; then they saw plaine that the Englishmen
were sure to haue the gaine of the hill, and they the
ground of disaduantage out of their hold, and put
from their hope: and hereto, for that their herald
gaue the lord protector no warning, the which by him
(if they had ment to fight it out) who would not haue
presumed that for the estimation of their honoz, they
would little haue trucke to haue sent; and he againe,
and it had bene but for his thousand crotons, would
right gladlie haue brought: Well yet how so euer
their meaning changed, finally considering belike
the state they stood in, that as they had left their
strength to some, so now to be to late to repent, vp-
on a change of countenance, they made hastilie for-

ward againe, and as it seemed) with no lesse stout-
nesse of courage, than stronglie in order, whose man-
ner, armour, weapon, and order in fight in those
daies and also before (though now somewhat chan-
ged as well as amongst other nations) was as in-
sueth.

Harquebutters had they few, and appointed their
fight most commonlie alwaies on foot. They used to
come to the field well furnished, with sacke and skull,
dagger, buckler, and swords, all notable brode and
thin, of exceeding good temper, and vniuersallie so
made to slice, as hard it is to denie the better: here-
to euerie man his pike, and a great hercher wrapped
twisse or thysle about his necke, not for cold but for
cutting. In their arae toward the joining with the
enimie, they thrust so nie in the fore-ranke, shoul-
der to shoul-der, together with their pikes in both hands,
streight afoze them, and their followers in that or-
der so hard at their backs, lateng their pikes ouer
their foregoers shoulders, that if they do assaile vn-
disseuered, no force can well withstand them.

Standing at defense, they thrust shoulders like,
wise so nie together, the fore-ranks well nie to knee-
ling scope low before, for their fellows behind, hold-
ing their pikes in both hands, and there with in their
left their bucklers, the one end of their pike against
their right foot, the other against the enimie breast
high, their followers crossing their pike points with
them before, and thus each with other, so nie as place
and space will suffer, through the whole rankes so
thicke, that as easilie shall a bare finger pearce
through the skin of an anerie hedgehog, as anie in-
counter the front of their pikes. Thus provided, they
(I meane the Scots) addressed themselves to incounter
inflamed with a heat of furious hatred, but not
advised whether the cause were iust or vniust, for
the which they were vp in armes: which foolish mad-
nesse the poet pointeth at, and painteth out, sayeng:

Arma Scotus poscit, valida contendere vi vult,

Is nec habet pensū sit id equum an profusū iniquum.

The lord marshall notwithstanding, whome no
danger detracted from doing his enterprife, with
the companie and order afoze appointed, came full in
their faces from the hill side towards them. Here-
with waxed it verie hot on both sides, with pittifull
cries, horrible roze, and terrible thundering of guns,
beside the daie darkened aboue head with smoke of
the artillerie, the sight and apperance of the enimie
euen at hand before, the danger of death on euerie
side else, the bullets, pellets and arrowes flieng each
where so thicke, and so uncerteinlie lighting, that
no where was there anie suretie of safetie, euerie
man stricken with a dreadfull feare, not so much per-
chance of death, as of hurt, which things though they
were but certeine to some, yet doubted of all, affe-
red cruelitie at the enimies hands, without hope of
mercie, death to sie, and danger to fight.

The whole face of the field on both sides upon this
point of joining, both to the eie and to the eare so hea-
nie, so deadlie, lamentable, furious, outragious, ter-
rible, confuse, and so quite against the quiet nature
of man, as if to the nobilitie the regard of their ho-
nor and fame, to the knights and capteines the esti-
mation of their worship and honestie, and general-
lie to them all the naturall motion of bounden du-
tie, their owne safetie, hope of victorie, and the fauour
of God, that they trusted upon for the equitie of their
quarrell, had not bene a more vehement cause of
courage, than the danger of death was cause of feare,
the verie horrour of the thing had bene able to haue
made anie man to forget both prouesse and policie.
But the lord marshall and the others, with vntrent
mind and courage warlike and quicklie continued
their course towards them. The enimies were in a
fallow

The order of
the Scots in
warres both
touching their
furniture and
disposition.

The incommen-
ter is verie
hot betwix
both sides.

The face of
the field at the
point of join-
ing.

fallow field, whereof the furrowes late sodelong toward the Englishmen, next to whome by the side of the same furrowes, & a stones cast from the Scots, was there a crosse ditch or slough, which the Englishmen must needs passe to come to them, wherein manie that could not leape ouer stucke fast, to no small danger of themselves, and some disorder of their fellows.

The order of the Scottish battels.

The enimie perceiuing the Englishmen fast to approach, disposed themselves to abide the hurt, and in this order stood still to receiue them. The earle of Angus next to the Englishmen in the Scottish foreward as capteine of the same, with an eight thousand men, and foure or fve peces of ordinance on his right hand, and a foure hundred horsemen on his left. Behind him westward, the gouernour with ten thousand Inland men (as they call them) the choicest soldiers counted of their countrie. And the earle of Huntlye in the rere-ward, twelue even with the battell on the left side with eight thousand. The foure thousand Irish archers as a wing to them both, last indeed in order, & first (as they said) that ran awaie. The battell and also the rere-ward were garded likewise with their ordinance according.

The Irish archers on a wing.

Edward Shelleie.

The lord John Greie.

Edward Shelleie lieutenant vnder the lord Greie of his band of Bulleyners, was the first that passed ouer the slough. The lord Greie himselfe next, with the lord John Greie and others in the foremost ranke, and so then after two or thre rankes of their former bands. But badlie yet could they make their race, by reason the furrowes late trauctie to their course. That notwithstanding, and though also they were nothing likelie well to be able thus afront to come within them to do them hurt, as well because the Scottishmens pikes were as long or longer than their staves, as also for that their horses were all naked without bardes, whereof though there were right manie among them, yet not one put on, for as much as at their comming forth in the morning, they looked for nothing lesse than for battell that daie: yet did those worthy gentlemen, the lord Greie of Wiltton, the lord John Greie, and maister Shelleie with the residue, so valiantlie & stronglie giue the charge vpon them, that whether it were by their prowesse or power, the left side of the enimies that his lordship did set vpon (though their order remained vnbroken) was yet compelled to swate a good waie backe, and giue ground largelie, and all the residue of them beside to stand much amazed.

The English horsemen repelled.

Beside this, as the Englishmen were twelue at their enimies, they stood verie bzaue and bzagging, shaking their pike points, & crieng: Come lounds, come here likes, come here likes; and such like rhytlike they used. But though (saith maister Patten) they meant but small humanitie, yet shewed they thereby much ciuilitie, both of faire plaie, to warne per they stroke, and of formall order, to chide per they fought. The English capteines that were behind, perceluing at eie, that both by the vneuenesse of the ground, by the sturdie order of the enimie, and for that their fellows were so nie and streight beside them, they were not able to anie aduantage to mainteine this onfet, did therefore according to the denise in that point appointed, turne themselves, and made a lost retire vp toward the hill againe. Howbeit, to confesse the truth, some of the number that knew not the prepened policie of the counsell in this case, made of a sober aduised retire, an hastie, rash, and vnaduised flight: howbeit, without capteine or standard, & vpon no cause of need, but of a mere vndiscretion and madnesse. A madnesse indeed, for first the Scots were not able to pursue, because they were fowmen; and then if they could, what hope by flight to farre from home in their enimies land, where was

no place of refuge?

The valiant lord Greie, Edward Shelleie, little Dreston, Bampton, and Ferringham, Bulleyners, Katcliffe, the lord Fitzwaters brother, sir John Cleres sonne and heire, Kableie a gentleman of right commendable prowesse, Digs of Kent, Ellerker a pensioner, Segraue: of the duke of Summersets band, Standlie, Wodhouse, Constable, Hogill, Pozis, Denis, Arthur, and Atkinson, with other in the fore-ranke, not being able in this earnest assault, both to tend to their fight afoze, and to the re-
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tative behind: the Scots againe well considering hereby how weake they remained, caught courage a-
fresh, ran sharplie forward vpon them, and without
antie mercie, slue the most part of them that abode
furthest in pzeale a fir more of Bulleyners, and o-
ther than before are named, in all to the number of
twentie fir, and most part gentlemen. My lord
Greie yet and my lord John Greie, and likewise my
lord Edward Scimer (as some grace was) returned
again; but neither all in safetie, nor without eui-
dent markes they had bin there: for the lord Greie
with a pike through the mouth was rased a long
from the tip of the tong, and thrust that waie verie
dangerouslie more than two inches in the necke;
and the other two had their horses vnder them with
swozds soze wounded. Like as also a little before his
onfet, sir Thomas Darcie vpon his approach to the
enimies, was striken glansing wise on the right
side, with a bullet of one of their field peces, and
thereby his bodie bzused with the bowing in of his
armour, his sword hilts broken, and the forefinger of
his right hand beaten flat. Euen so vpon the parting
of this fraie, was sir Arthur Darcie slayt at with
swozds, and so hurt vpon the wedding finger of his
right hand also, as it was counted for the first part
of curing to haue it quite cut awaie.

Gentlemen slain.

The lord Greie hurt.

About the same time, certeine of the Scots ran on hastily to the kings standard of the horsemen
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(the which sir Andrew Flammoche bare) and lateng
fast hold vpon the stasse therof, cried, A king, a king,
that if both his strength, his hart, and his horse had
not bene good, and here with some what aided at this
pinch by sir Rafe Coppinger a pensioner, both he had
bene slaine, and the standard lost, which the Scots
neuertheless held so fast, that they brake and bare a-
waie the nether end of the stasse to the burrell, and in-
tended so much to the gaine of the standard, that sir
Andrew (as hap was) scaped home all safe, and else
without hurt. At this businesse also the lord Fitz-
waters, both earle of Suller and lord chamberleine
to the queenes maiestie, capteine there of a number
of demilances was vnhorst, but some mounted a-
gaine, scaped yet in gre at danger, and his horse all
beaten. Hereat further were Caluerleie the stan-
dard-bearer of the men at armes, and Clement Pa-
ston a pensioner, thrust each of them into the leg with
pikes, and Don Philip a Spaniard into the knee, o-
uerse others maimed and hurt, and manie horses
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soze wounded beside.

The lord Fitzwaters slain.

Caluerleie & Clement Paston.

Don Philip & Spaniard.

By this time had the English foreward accord-
dinglie gotten the full vantage of the hilles side, and
in respect of their march stood sodelong toward the en-
mie: who neuertheless were not able in all parts to
stand full square in arrate: by reason that at the
west end of them vpon their right hand, and toward
the enimie, there was a square plot inclosed with
turfes (as their maner of fensling in those parts, as
well as in diuerse other is) one corner whereof did
let the square of the same arrate. The battell in good
order next them, but so as in continuance of arrate,
the former part thereof stood vpon the hils side, the
taile vpon the plaine, and the rere-ward wholie vpon
the plaine. So that the placing and countenance of
The placing of the English vanguard.

The battell.

The rere-ward.

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of the English armie in this wise, they shewed them-
selves in maner to compasse in the Scots battells,
that they should no waie escape them: but how little
able they were to do it with powre and number, you
may easilie coniecture.

Those horsemen that were so repelled, and in
their coming backe disorderly brake their arraie
from the residue, ran so hastily through the ranks of
the English fore-ward as it stood, that it did both dis-
order manie, feared manie, and was a great incon-
venience to the enimie. The worthy earle of Mar-
wick, who had the guiding of this fore-ward, right
valiantlie had conducted the same to their standing,
and there did verie noblely encourage and comfort
them with such cherefull words, offering to live and
die among them, that doubtlesse his presence, de-
monstrating himselfe in such manlike sort, stood the whole
company in great stead. Neither wanted there the
chearefull diligence of those capitaines, with whome
his honor was furnished in that fore-ward likewise
to encourage their bandes, nor the worthy behaviour
of other in the battell and reere-ward, everie one ac-
cording to his calling, shewing such proofe of his du-
tie, as the most part certeinlie desired to have their
names registred in the kalender of fame, where no
rust of cankered oblivion might fret out the remem-
brance of their commendable demeanours: and
therefore if anie among them should haue shewed
anie lacke of courage, their dyspalle had bene the
more, with by others they saw such worthy example
giuen, and were to stand upon this resolution, to
haue harts hardened against all hazards in a iust
cause, whereof they hoped almightie God had under-
taken the managing and direction, unto whome they
had committed the same; as the poet truelie saith:

*Iusta Deo commissa Anglorum causa tonanti,
Audaces animos fecit impavidosque pericli.*

But sith there were so manie that did well, & ther-
fore deserving a longer processe to be made of their
high valiances shewed in that dangerous seruice,
than this volume may permit, I will proceed to the
battell. The Scots were somewhat disordered with
their coming out about the slaughter of the Eng-
lishmen, the which they did so earnestlie follow, that
they toke not one to mercie. The dukes grace plac-
ing himselfe (as ye haue heard) on the hill of Faur-
side baie, and therewith perceiuing the great disor-
der of the stragling horsemen, that had in the retire
broken arraie, hemmed them in from further strai-
eng, whome sir Rafe Wane, and others of the cap-
tains sone after with great determitie brought into
good order and arraie againe, and with all the rest of
the strengths of the whole armie, by the policie of the
lords, and diligence of everie capitaine and officer be-
side, were so fittlie and apillie applied in their feat,
that where this repulse giuen by the enimie to the
horsemen was doubted of manie, to turne to the
whole losse of the field, the same was wrought and
advanced according as it was deuised, to the great
certeintrie of gaine and victorie. For first at this
slough, where most of the horsemen had stood, sir Pe-
ter Hewtas capitaine of all the harquebutters a foot
did verie valiantlie conduct & place a good number of
his men in maner hard at the faces of the enimies,
whereunto sir Peter Gamboa a Spaniard, capitaine
of two hundred harquebutters, Spaniards, and Ita-
lians on horsebacke did readie bring his men also,
who with the hot continuance of their shot in both
parts, did so frontlie fraie the enimies, that they could
not well come further forward: then the archers that
marched in arraie on the right hand of the footmen,
and next to the enimies, pricked them sharpelie with
arrows as they stood. Therewith the master of the
ordinance, to their great annoiance, did gall them

with halfe shot and other out of the great ordinance,
directlie from the hill top, and certein other gun-
ners with their peeces a flanke from the reere-ward,
most of the artillerie and mistue engines then who-
lie thus at once, with great puissance and behemen-
cie occupied about them, herewith the full sight of the
Englishmen, all shadowed from them before by the
horsemen, and dust raised, whome then they were
ware in such order to be so nere upon them, and to
this the perfect arraie of the horsemen againe com-
ming couragiously to set on them afresh, miserable
men, perceiuing themselves then all to late, how
much to much they had ouerhot themselves, began
suddenlie to thinke.

Their gouernour and other the principall capitaines
that had brought them to the bargaine, toke their
horses and fled amaine, which other perceiuing did
quicklie follow, and with the foremost of that crue
their Irishmen, and therewith turned all the whole
rout, cast downe their weapons, ran out of their
wards, off with their iackes, and with all that euer
they might, betoke them to the race that their gover-
nour began. The Englishmen at the first had found
them (as that could scape so manie eles) and sharpe-
lie and quicklie with an vnuerfall outcrie, they fled,
they fled, pursued after in chase so egerlie, and with
such fiercenesse, that they ouertooke manie, and spar-
red indeed but few, that when they were once turned,
it was a wonder to see how sore, and in how sun-
drye sorts they were scattered. The place they stood on
like a wood of stauces strewed on the ground, as run-
thes in a chamber, unpasseable (they laie so thicke) for
either horse or man. Here at the first had they let
fall all their pikes, and after that, euerie where scat-
tered swords, bucklers, daggers, iackes, and all
things else that was of anie weight, or might be any
let to their course: which course among them, three
waies speciallie they made, some along the sands by
the ffrith towards Litch, some straight towards Ed-
denburgh, whereof part through the parke there (in
the walles whereof, though they be round about of
sint stone, yet were there manie holes already
made) and part of them by the high waie that leadeth
along by the abbaye of Holierood house; and the res-
idue and most part of them towards Wakest, which
waie by means of the marish our horsemen were
worst able to follow.

Sundrye shifts, some they shod, some soie, made
they in their running: diuerse of them in their cour-
ses, as they were ware they were pursued but of
one, would suddenlie start backe, and lath at the legs
of the horse, or soine him in the bellie, and sometime
did they reach at the rider also, whereby Clement
Passon in the arme, and diuerse in other parts of
their bodies otherwise in this chase were hurt. Some
other laie flat in a furrow as they were dead, there-
by past by of the Englishmen untouched, and (as
was reported) the earle of Angus confessed he cou-
ched in that sort till his horse hap to be brought him.
Other some were found to skate in the ruer, courting
downe his bodie under the root of some willow tree,
with scant his nose above water for breath. Some
for lightnesse cast a waie shoes and doublets, and ran
in their shirts, and some were seene in this race all
breathlesse to fall flat downe, and haue run them-
selues to death.

Before this, at the time of the onset, which the
English horsemen gaue, there came eastward five
hundred of the Scottish horsemen by along this Faur-
side baie, straight upon the English ordinance and
carriage. The lord protector (as ye haue heard) most
speciallie for doubt hereof, placing himselfe by the
same, caused a pece or two to be turned toward
them, with a few shots whereof they were some tar-
ned

The Scots
flee and are
sharpe pur-
sued.

The enimies
cast a waie
their manni-
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ner to flee and
be gone.

The earle of
Angus.

Parson Heble
one of the 1072
protectors
chapleins.

ned alld and fled to Wakef. But had they kept on their purpose, they were prouided for accordingly. For one parson Heble a chapleine of his graces, and two or three other, by and by discharged foure or five of the carts of munition, and therewith bestowed pikes, billes, bowes and arrowes, to as manie as came; so that of carters and other, there were some weaponed about a thousand, whome parson Heble and the other did verie hant somlie dispoise in arraie, and made a pretie muster.

The manner of
the slaughter.

To retorne now after this notable stretuing of their footmens weapons, began a pittifull sight of the dead coxples, lieng disperfed abrode, some their legs off, some but hough, and lest lieng halfe dead, some thrust quite through the bodie, others their necks halfe a funder, manie their heads clouen, with other thousand kinds of killing. After that, and further in chase all for the most part killed, either in the head, or in the necke, for the horsemen could not well reach them lower with their swords. And thus with blood and slaughter of the enimie, this chase was continued five miles in length, westward from the place of their standing, which was in the fallow fields of Winderke, untill Edenburgh parke, and well nigh to the gates of the towne it selfe, and unto Liff, and in breadth nre foure miles, from the Forth sands by toward Wakef southwards: in all which space, the dead bodie laie as thicke as a man may note cattell grasing in a full replenished pasture. The riuer ran all red with blood (a signe of great slaughter) so that in the same chase were slaine to the number of ten thousand men, some saie about foure tene thousand, as I doe find by this report concerning the battell:

The number
of Scots
slaine.

*Milia bis septem sunt morte absumpsa Scotorum,
Cetera pars certam querit fugiendo salutem.*

The causes
why so few
Scots were
taken.
The Scottish
mens vow.

To conclude, considering the smallnesse of the Englishmens number, and shortnesse of the time (which was scant five houres, from one till well nigh six) the mortalitie was so great (as it was thought) the like afore time had not bene scene. One great cause why the Englishmen spared so few of them, was thought to be their tyrannous vow by them made (which the Englishmen certainly heard of) that whensoever they fought and ouercame, they would kill so manie, and spare so few: a sure proofe whereof they plainelie had shewed at the first onset given, where they killed all, and saved not a man that came within their danger. An other respect was, to revenge their great and cruell tyrannie shewed at Danlar hough, where they slue the lord Cuers, whome otherwise they might haue taken prisoner and saved, and cruellie killed as manie else of our men as came into their hands. An other occasion also was their armor among them so little differing, all clad alike in iacks covered with white leather, doublets of the same, or of fustian, and most comithonlie all white hosen, not one with either chaine, bryoch, ring, or garment of silke, unleffe chains of latten or rawne foure or five times along the upper stocks, or to the master Pattens words, the thighs of their hosen and doublet sleeves for cutting.

Danlar
hough.

The apparell
of the Scots.

This lacke for difference in apparell was the chiefest cause that so manie of their great men and gentlemen were killed, and so few saved. The outward shew, the resemblance or signe, whereby a stranger might discerne a poxe man from a gentleman, was not among them to be scene: as for words and godlie profers of great ransoms, were as rise in the mouths of the one as the other. And it came here to passe, that after at the examination and counting of the prisoners, there were found taken about twentie of their common countrie people, to one of their gentlemen, whome no man need to doubt the Englishmen had rather haue spared than the other, if they

could haue scene anie difference betwene them in taking. And yet verelie considering the case as it shod, the Englishmen shewed more grace, and were more to mercie, than the respects before mentioned might seeme to haue required. For beside the earle of Huntlee, who in god armor appointed like a gentleman of anie among them, but could not then escape because he lacked his horse, and harned to be taken by sir Rafe Glane, and beside the lord of Peter, Hobbie Hambleton capteine of Dunbar, the master of Sanpole, the lord of Wilmings taken by John Wyen, a brother of the earle of Caills, and besides one Pontrell, taken by Cornelius comptroller of the ordnance in the armie, and one Camals an Irish gentleman, and beside manie other Scottish gentlemen more, taken by diuerse others.

The prisoners reckoned in the marshals booke were numbred to aboute fiftene hundred. Touching the slaughter, sure they killed not so manie, as for the time & oportunitie they might, if they had minded crueltie. For the lord protector moued with pitie at the sight of the dead bodie, and rather glad of victorie than desirous of slaughter, some after (by gelle) five of the clocke, said the standard of his horsemen at the furthest part of their campe westward, & caused the trumpets to sound a retreat. Whereat also sir Rafe Sadler treasurer (whose great diligence at that time, and readie forwardnesse in the chieft of the fraie before, did worthilie merit no small commendation) caused all the footmen to staie; and then with much trauell & great paine made them to be brought in some order againe: which was a thing not easilie done, by reason they all as then were somewhat busie in applieng their market, the spoile of the Scottish campe, where was found god prouision of white bread, ale, otencakes, otemeale, mutton, butter in pots, chese, and in diuerse tents god wine also, and in some tents among them was found some silver plate and chalices, which with god deuotion he maie be sure were plucked out of their cold clowts, and thrust into their warme bosoms.

The plot of their campe called Edmonston edge, nigh Silberton a place of the lord of Wilmings, halfe a mile beyond Hunsfelburgh, and foure miles on this side Edenburgh, occupied in largenesse with diuerse tents and tenticles, that stood in sundrie places out of square, about a miles compasse, wherein as the Englishmen upon the sound of the retreat somewhat assembled, they all with a loud and entree outcrie and hallowing, in signe of gladnesse and victorie, made an vniuersall noise and thotot, the shynesse whereof (as after was reported) was heard unto Edenburgh. It was a wonder to see, but (as they saie) make hands make light tooke, how some the dead bodie were stripped out of their garments stark naked, even from as farre as the chafe went, unto the place of the onset, whereby the personages of the enimies might by the waie easilie be viewed and considered, the which for the talnesse of their stature, cleannesse of skin, bignesse of bone, with due proportion in all parts was such, as the beholders, if they had not scene it, would not haue beleued that there had bene so many of that sort in all their countrie. Among them laie manie priests, and kirkmen, as they call them, of whome it was huted that there was a whole band of three or foure thousand, but it was found afterwards not to be altogether so.

Among other battinets, standards, and pennons, a banner of white sarsenet was found, vnder which it was said these kirkmen came, whereupon was painted a woman with hir haire about hir shoulders, kneeling before a crucifix, on hir right hand a church, after that written in great Romaine letters,

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Afflicta sponse ne obliuiscaris. It was said that this was
the abbat of Dunfermlings banner, but whether it
was his or the bishop of Dunkels, the gouernours
brother, who (as was said) were both in the field, his
meaning was, to signifie that the church made inter-
cession to Christ hir husband, not now to forget hir
his sponse, being at that time afflicted and persecuted
by the Englishmen. But whose denisse soeuer it was,
it maie seme, that this church comitting thus to bat-
tell, full appointed with weapon, and garded with
such a sort of beacons to fight, howsoeuer in pain-
ting he had set hir out, a man might well thinke, that
in condition, he had rather framed hir like a curst
queane, that would plucke hir husband by the pate,
except he had hir will; than like a meke sponse, that
went about humbly by submission and prayer to de-
siue hir husbands helpe, for redresse of thyngs amisse.

But now to leaue this prelat with his *Afflicta spon-*
sa, and to make an end with this battell. There was
upon fawrside braie, a little castell or pile, which
was herie buile all the tyme of the battell, as anie of
the Englishmen came nigh it, to shot at them, with
such artillerie as they had; which was none other than
of handguns and harquebuts, & of them not a dozen
neither. A little hurt they did, but as they saw their fel-
lowes in the field thus dyen and beaten abate be-
fore their faces, they plucked in their peeces, and cou-
ched themselves withur all mute: but by and by the
house was set on fire, and they for their god wils
burned and smothered withur. Thus (saith master
Patten) throughe the fauour of Gods bountie, by the
ballancie and policie of the lord protectour, by the for-
ward indouour of all the nobles and counsell there
beside, and by the willing diligence of euerie cap-
taine, officer, and true subiect else, they most valiant-
lie won the victorie ouer their enemies, of whome
such slaughter was made in the field, as ye haue
heard, amongst whome (as the prisoners reported)
beside the lord Fleming, the lard of Loghestuare,
the master of Greim, the master of Arkin, the ma-
ster of Wglebie, the master of Auendale, the master
of Rouen, and manie other of noble birth amongst
them, there were of lards, lards sons, and other gen-
tlemen thaire above twentie six hundred, & among
the prisoners also there were manie gentlemen, spe-
ciallie of name these: the earle of Huntleie lord chan-
celloz of the realme, the lord of Desser, Hobbie Ha-
milton capteine of Dunbar, the master of San-
pole, the lord of Wilmnes, and a brother of the earle
of Camis. Two thousand by lurking and lying (as
they had bene dead) scaped a waie in the night all
maimed and hurt. Herewith of weapons and armor
more was found than the Englishmen did bough-
tase to giue carriage for: & yet were there conueied
thence by ship into England, of sacks specialie and
swords, aboue thirtie thousand.

This night the Englishmen with great gladnesse
and thanksgiuing to God (as god cause they had) a-
bout seauen of the clocke pitched their campe at
Codgebuckling byate, beside Winkerlongh, and a
mile beyond the place they camped at before. Now
after the battell, among other questions, one was
moued who killed the first man that daie in the field,
the glorie whereof one Jeronimo an Italian would
gladlie haue had, a gentleman sure that had serued
that daie right valiantlie: howbeit it was after well
tried, that Cutbert Musgraue, a gentleman of the
earle of Marwicks, deserued the praise of killing the
first enimie that died that daie, who right hardilie
sue a guncr at his pece in the Scots foreward, per-
euer they began anie whitt to turne. As for the oddi-
narie soldiors, it was a pleasure vnto them to make
rehearsall of their aduentures past, and to record
that dangers (in maner inenitable) they had esca-

ped, according to the poets report in that case, saying:
res est meninisse laboris.
Præteriti iucunda: grauis effugisse periculum
Summa recordari securamente voluptas.

The next daie being sundae the eleuenth of Sep-
tember, somewhat before none, the armie remoued,
& marching along the forth side toward Lieth, about
thre of the clocke in the after none pitched there
field, a picke shot on this side that towne on the
southeast halfe, somewhat shabolved from Oren-
burgh by a hill, but yet the most part of it laie with-
in the full sight and shot of the castell there, and in di-
stance somewhat aboue a quarter of a mile. The lord
marshall, and the most part of the hostmen were
bestowed and lodged in the towne of Lieth. The
dukes grace, the lord lieutenant, and the rest of the
armie in the campe. On tuesday the thirtenth of
September, the smaller vessels of the English were
burned Binkorne, and a towne of two standing on
the north thore of the forth against Lieth.

In the after none the dukes grace roloed by the
forth a six or seuen miles westward, as it runneth
into the land, and toke in his waie an island there
called saint Comins ins, which lieth foure miles be-
tweene Lieth, and a good waie nearer the north thore
than the south, yet not within a mile of the nereest. It
is but halfe a mile about, and had in it an abbey,
but the monks were gone: fresh water inough, and
sore of conies, and is so naturallie strong, that but
by one waie it can be entred; the plot whereof
the lord protectour considering, did quicklie cast to haue
it kept, whereby all traffike of merchandize, all com-
modities else comming by the forth into their land,
and vnterlie the whole yle of the forth it selfe, with
all the hauens vpon it, should quite be taken from
them.

The next daie the lord protectour riding backe a-
gaine eastward, to view diuerse thyngs and places,
toke Dakesh in his waie, where a house of George
Douglas did stand, and comming somewhat nere
it, he sent Summer set his herald with a trumpet to
know who kept it, and whether the keepers would
hold or yeld it to his grace: Answer was made, that
there were thre score persons within, whome their
maister lieng there saturday at night after the bat-
tell, did will that they, the house, and all that was in
it, should be at his graces commandement. Where-
upon the chieffest came, and in name of all the rest
humbled himselfe to the dukes will. From thence
his grace passed to the place where the battell had
bene stricken, and so by Spuskilburgh returned
backe to the campe.

On thursdaie being the fiftenth of this moneth,
the lord Clinton high admerall, taking with him the
gallie whereof Richard Boke was capteine, and
four or fve other smaller vessels besides, as well ap-
pointed with munition and men, roloed by the forth
a ten miles westward, to an haue towne standing
on the south thore called Blacke Bessie, whereat to-
ward the water side is a castell of a pretie strength;
as nigh whereunto as the depth of the water would
suffer, the Scots for safegard had laid the sparie
Willooughbie, and the Anthoine of Beruicall, two
tall ships, which with extreme iniurie they had stol-
len from the Englishmen before time, when no war
was betwixt vs: with these laie there also an other
large vessell called the Wolfe, and seauen more, wher-
of part laden with merchandize. The lord Clinton
and his companie with right hardie appoch, after a
great conflict betwixt the castell and his vessels, by
fine force won from them those thre ships of name,
and burnt all the residue before their faces.

The firtenth of September the lord of Wilmston
a Scotish gentleman came to the dukes grace from
Doddid.

The Eng-
lish armie
camped by
Lieth.

S. Comins
ins.

The castell of
Dakesh.

Blacke Bessie
an haue
towne on the
south thore of
Scotland.

Three ships
of name wonne
from the
Scots.

Sir John
Luttrell.
Sir Comins
was kept with
a garrison of
Englishmen.

their counsell for cause of communication, and returned againe to them, hauing with him Porrie an herald and king at armes of ours, who found them with the old quene at Sterling. On saturday the seauententh of September, sir John Luttrell in the after none departed toward saint Comins, hauing with him an hundred harquebatters, fiftie pioneers, & two rowe barks well furnished with munition, and thre score and ten mariners to remaine there, & keepe that from inuasion of the enimies, against whom the English were so sharplie whetted, that when they came to encounter, they gaue proofe of their manhood by wounds and bloudshed, according to the report of C.O. in these verses following:

Anglorum pectora Mauris

Belliger exacuit, crescent ad vulnera vires.

The earle of
Bothwell.

In the time whilste the armie laie thus in the campe betwene Lieth and Edenburgh, manie lords and gentlemen came in to the lord protector to requyre his protection, the which his grace to whome he thought good did grant. This daie came the earle of Bothwell to his grace, who hauing bene kept in prison by the gouernour, the night after the battell was set at libertie, and comming thus to the lord protector, was frienblie welcomed and interteined; and hauing this night supped with his grace, he departed.

Lieth burned.

Lieth was set on fire this saturday, whereas it was meant, that there should haue bene but one house onelie burnt, belonging to one Barton that had plaid a slipperie part with the lord protector. But the soldiors being set a worke to fire that house, fired all the rest. Sir great thys also that laie in the haue, which for their age and decaye were not so apt for use, were likewise set on fire and burnt. On saturday the eightenth of September, the lord protector (for considerations mouing him to pittie) hauing all this while spared Edenburgh from hurt, did so leaue it, but Lieth and the ships burning, sone after seauen of the clocke in the morning, caused the campe to dislodge, and as they were raised and on foot, the castell shot off a peale, with chambers hardie and all, of foure and twentie peces. Walling that daie seauen miles, they camped earlie for that night at Crainfon by a place of the lard of Wilmsons.

The armie
dislodged.

Crainfon.

The same morning the lord protector made master Andew Dupleie knight, brother to the earle of Marwick, dispatched my lord admerall and him by ships full fraught with men and munition toward the winning of an hold in the east side of Scotland called Broughticrag, which stood in such sort in the mouth of the riuer of Taie, as that being gotten, both Dundee, saint Johns towne, and diuerse other townes standing vpon the same riuer the best of the countrie in those parts, set vpon the Taie, should either become subiect vnto this hold, or else be compelled to forgo the whole vse of the riuer, for hauing anie thing comming in or outward. The lord admerall, and the said sir Andew sped themselves with such good successe and diligence in that enterprise, that on the wednesday following, being the one and twentieth of September, after certeine of their shot discharged against that castell, the same was yielded vnto them, the which sir Andew did then enter, and after kept, as capteine to his high please and commendation.

Broughticrag yielded
to the Englishmen.

Lawder.

But now to the armie. On mondaie the nineteenth of September, they marched ten miles, and incamped a little on this side a market towne called Lawder. Here as they were settled in their lodging, the herald Porrie returned from the Scottish counsell, with the lard of Wilmson, and Rose their herald, who vpon their sute to the lord protector, obtained that sue of their counsell should haue his graces

safe conduct, that at anie time and place within fiftene daies, during his abode in their countrie, or at Berwick, the same sue might come and commune with sue of the English counsell, touching matters in controuersie betwene them. Rose the herald departed earlie with his safe conduct, the campe raised, and that daie they went seauen miles till as far as Hume castell, where they camped on the west side of a rockie hill that they call Hare crag, standing about a mile westward from the castell.

Here they did so much by shewing that they ment indeed to win the castell by force, if otherwise they might not haue it, causing a certeine number of harquebatters vpon appointment before to beset the castell, and to watch that none should passe in or out, that in the end, the ladie of the house, and other that were within in charge with it, yielded it vp to the lord protector's hands: for the ladie doubting the losse of hir son that was prisoner with the Englishmen, hauing the first daie bene with the lord protector, and got respite till the next daie at none, in the meane time consulted with hir sonne, and other hir friends the keepers of the castell, returned at the time appointed the next daie, being the one and twentieth of that moneth, and made sute for a longer respite till eight of the clocke at night, and therewith safe conduct for Andew Hume hir second son, and John Hume lard of Colban Annots, a kinsman of hir husbands, capteins of this castell, to come and speake with his grace in the meane while. It was granted hir. Wherevpon these capteins about thre of the clocke came to the lord protector, and after other couenants (with long debating on both parts) agreed vpon, the said these capteins concluded to giue their assent to render the castell, so far forth as the rest of the keepers would therewith be contented, for two or thre within (said they) were also in charge with keeping it as well as they, for knowledge of whose minds the duke sent Summerfet his herald with this ladie to the castell vnto them; who as the herald had made them priuie to the articles, would faine haue had letsure for foure and twentie hours longer, to send to their lord to Edenburgh, where he laie hurt (as before you haue heard) and in danger of death, which followed of the fall that he caught at the first daies skirmish before the battell, to know his will and pleasure in this point of rendering vp the castell: but being wiselie and sharplie called vpon by the herald, they agreed to the couenants afore by their ladie and capteins concluded on: whereof part (as the sequelle shewed) were these. That they should depart thence the next daie in the morning by ten of the clocke with bag and baggage, as much as they could carie, leauing all munition and vittels behind them in the castell. Howbeit, to be assured of them, the lord protector providing ech waie to be readie for them, caused eight peces of ordinance fensed with baskets of earth to be planted on the southside toward the castell within power of batterie, and the harquebatters to continue their watch and ward.

On thursdaie morning being the two and twentieth of September, the lord Greie was appointed to receiue the rending of the castell into his hands, and sir Edward Dupleie now lord Dupleie after to be capteine there. They both departed to it, and at the time set Andew Hume, and foure other of the chiefest there with him came out, and yielding the castell, deliuered the keyes to the said lord Greie: his lordship causing the residue to come out then, sauing sir ship causing the residue to come out then, sauing sir in number seuentie and eight, entred the same with master Dupleie, and diuerse other gentlemen with him. He found there indifferent good store of vittels, and wine, & of ordinance two bassard culuerings, one

Hume castle

Hume castle besieged and yielded up to the lord protector.

Summerfet the dukes herald.

The conditions of the rending of Hume castle.

The lord Greie receiued the possession of Hume castle.

The situation of the castell.

The determination in what the castell should be kept.

The conditions of the rending of Hume castle.

Lords.

Gentlemen.

In Reg. I.

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Hume castle
besieged and
yielded up to
the lord pro-
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Summer for the dukes

herald.

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Section of
Hume castle

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The diligence
of the duke of
Somerset
to further the
fortification
to Rockel-
burgh.

A Scottish
herald.

Creation of
banerets,
knights, &c.

Edward
Seimer the
duke of Suma
merlets son.

Sir Francis
 Fleming.

Order taken
for defense of
the fort gain-
ed and built
in this voyage.

Do do do do, (j)

The armie re-
turneth home-
wards.

The danger
of the soldiers
in passing the
river of
Tweed.

Knights
made.

An invasion
made into
Scotland.

Annan
church burnt.

The castell of
Dunblane.

The homilies
& paraphrase
of Erasmus.

The lord pro-
tector's re-
turne.

fortie horsemen, and a hundred psoners: sir Rafe Sulmyr capteine of Rokeburgh thre hundred soldiers of bargubutters and others, and two hundred psoners. As things were thus concluded, and warning giuen ouer night on this wednesdaie being Michaelmasse euen, on the next morrow being Michaelmasse daie euerie man fell to packing apase and got them homewards, passing ouer the Tward there with some trouble and danger also, by reason of raine that latelic fell before, & had raised the streame, which being swift of it selfe, and the chanel vneuen in the bottome with great stoncs made the passage cumbersome, so that manie as well horsemen as footmen were in no small perill as they passed thorough, and one or two drowned, and manie carriages ouerthrowne, and in great hazzard of losing.

The duke of Summerset rode freight to Peter-castell, and thence homewards. The earle of War-wike, my lord Greie, and sir Rafe Sadler, with diuerse other rode to Berwike, to abide the comming of the Scottish commissioners. In the meane time of their tarieng there, the earle of Warwike made sir knights; sir Thomas Penill the lord Speills brother, sir Andzew Cobbet, sir Anthonie Strelleie, sir Arthur Panering, sir Richard Nerneie, sir John Bertheuille. After that the earle of Warwike had taried for the comming of the Scots the full terme of the appointment, which was untill the fourth of October, and perceiued they came not, the next daie he departed homewards.

Here ye haue to vnderstand also, that in part of the meane time whilst the duke of Summerlet was in doing of these exploits in Scotland (as ye haue heard rehearsed) the earle of Lenor, and the lord Wharton warden of the west marches, with an armie of fise thousand men, entred Scotland on that side, and first passing two miles after a dale and a nights defense, they wan the church of Annan, toke seuentie & two psoners keepers of the same, burnt the spoile for lumber of cariage, and caused the church to be blowne up with powder, passing thence a fiftene miles within the land, they wan the castell of Dilke, the which they left furnished with munition and men, and so returned. But of this ye shall find more in the historie of Scotland, by the sufferance of God, where we intreat of the doings there in this yeare.

Thus much haue I collected out of master Pattens booke, or rather exemplified the same, not much digressing from his owne words, except where I haue bin forced to abridge his worke in some places, withing to haue inserted the whole, if the purpose of this volume would haue so permitted, as well for the full vnderstanding of euerie particular point, by him remembred, as also for his pleasant and apt manner of penning the same. Whilst the lord protector was abroad thus in wars against the Scots, the lords of the councell that remained at home, chieselic by the god and diligent calling on and furtherance of the archbishop of Cantuarburie, and others of the cleargie, toke order for the aduancement of religion, causing the booke of homilies and the paraphrase of Erasmus to be set forth and had in churches.

At the comming backe of the lord protector from his iourneie into Scotland, the citizens of London determined to haue receiued him with great triumph: but he hearing thereof, forbade them in anie wise so to do: for (said he) if anie thing hath bene done to the honour of the realme, it was Gods doing, and therefore willed them to giue him the praise. Neuertheless the mayo and aldermen, with certeine of the commoners in their kueries and their hoods, hearing of his approach to the citie, the eight daie of October met him in Finnesburie field, where

he toke each of them by the hand, and thanked them for their good wils. The lord mayo did ride with him till they came to the pound in Smithfield, where his grace left them, and rode to his house of Shene that night, and the next daie to the king to Hampton court. The fourth daie of Nouember began a parlement, called and holden at Westminster, which continued till the foure and twentieth of December next following, & was then proroged. In this parlement, all colleges, chanteries, and free chappels were giuen to the king, and the statute of the six articles was repealed, with diuerse others tending to the like end. Moreover, during this parlement visitors being appointed to visit in London, the firste of Nouember began to take downe the images in Pauls church: and shortly after all the images in euerie church, not onelic through London, but also throughout the whole realme, were pulled downe and defaced.

The lord protector and others of the councell, considering now in what sort they had got forthold in Scotland, by reason of such peeces as they had taken and fortified within the realme, did denie for the more suertie of those places, which they had already got, and the better to bying the rest of the countrie vnto reason, to haue some holds also more within the land, and therefore first they caused a fort to be builded at Lowder, where sir Hugh Willoughbie was appointed capteine with a convenient garri- son of soldiers to keepe it. Beside this, it was thought expedient to fortifie the towne of Haddington, where- upon the lord Greie lieutenant of the north parts, with sir Thomas Palmer, and sir Thomas Pol- croft, were appointed to go thither with a convenient number of men of warre & psoners to see that towne fenced with trenches, rampiers, and bulwarks, as should seeme to his lordship necessarie and behoue- full; who therefore entring into Scotland the eigh- teenth of Aprill, passed forth to Haddington, where he began to fortifie, and there remained to see the worke brought to some perfection. During his abode there, diuerse exploits were both valiantlie attempted and luckilie achieved by his martiall conduct and politike direction, as occasions offered might moue him, which I would gladly haue set downe at large, if I could haue come to the true vnderstanding thereof; but sith I cannot get the same, in such full manner as I haue wished, that yet which I haue learned by true report (as I take it) I haue thought good to impart to the reader.

The eight and twentieth of Maie, his lordship wan the castell of Pester, after he had beaten it right sore with terrible batterie of canon shot for the time it lasted, and therewith hauing made a reasonable breach for the soldiers to enter, they within yielded with condition to haue their liues saued: which the lord Greie was contented to grant to them all, one onelic excepted, who during the siege uttered vn- seemelic words of the king, abusing his maiesties name with vile and most opprobrious termes. They all comming forth of the castell in their shirts, hum- bled themselves to my lord Greie (as became them) and vpon strait examination who should be the rai- ler that was excepted out of the pardon, it was knowne to be one Petwton a Scot: but he to saue himselfe, put it to one Hamilton, and so these two gentlemen accusing one an other, the truth could not be decided otherwise than by a combat, which they required, and my lord Greie therevnto assented, and pronounced iudgement so to haue it tried: which he did the rather, because all men doe seeme resolute in the triall of truth (as in a verie good cause) by losse of life to gaine an endlesse name; as one saith:

Mors perennanda vitis ut fama perennius alatur.

A combat
ought be-
tweene them.

Hamilton
vanquished
and lame.

Petwton re-
warded by
lord Greie.
Petwton
dame by hi
daughters

Haddington
fortified by
the lord Greie.

Dunblane
burnt by
him

Pester castell
wonne.

Vilpian Fel-
well in the
flower of
fame.

The fir-
ling pre-
sent an
in aid of
Scots.

Petwton and
Hamilton re-
ceiued
gentlemen accuse
each other.

Thoug-
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Dom. 1548

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Peterson and
Hamilton two
Scottish gen-
tlemen accus-
each other.

At

At the appointed time they entered the lists, let

by for that purpose in the market place of Hading-
ton, without other apparell saving their doublets
and hosen, weaponed with sword, buckler and dag-
ger. At the first entrie into the lists, Hamilton
kneeling downe, made his hartie prayer to God, that
it might please him to giue victorie vnto the truth,
with solemne protestation that he neuer vttered anie
such words of king Edward of England, as his ad-
uersarie charged him with. On the other side Pel-
ton being troubled (as it seemed) with his false accu-
sation, argued vnto the beholders his guiltie con-
science. How were the sticklers in a readinesse, and
the combattores with their weapons drawne fell to
it, so that betwixt them were stricken fir or seven
blowes right lustilie. But Hamilton being verie
fiere and egre, vpon trust of his innocencie, con-
strained Pelton to giue ground almost to the end
of the lists; and if he had giuen him to the end in deed,
then by the law of armes he had wonne the victorie.
Pelton perceiving himselfe to be almost at point
to be thus overcome, kept forwarde againe, and
gaue Hamilton such a gash on the leg, that he was
not able longer to stand, but fell therewith downe to
the ground, and then Pelton falling on him, incon-
tinentlie slue him with a dagger.

There were gentlemen present that knowing
as they tolke it for certeine, how Pelton was the
offender (although fortune had fauoured him in the
combat) would gladlie haue ventured their liues a-
gainst him man for man, if it might haue bene
granted; but he chalenging the law of armes, had it
granted by my lord Greie, who gaue him also his
owne golwe beside his owne backe, and a chaine of
gold which he then wore. Thus was he well rewar-
ded how so euer he deserued: but he escaped not so,
for afterwards as he was riding betwixt the borders
of both the realms, he was slaine and cut in peces.
On the fourth of June, the towne of Waboth was
burnt, and the castell wonne by force, where fourtene
Scots were slaine, and thre hundred taken pris-
oners, amongst whome were these men of name; the
maister of Hoxton, son in law to sir George Doto-
glasse, the lord of Blengarnie, the lord of Medder-
burne, and one Alexander Hume, a man of god re-
putation among them. The same daie the English
hoisemen burnt all the mils round about Eber-
burgh, within the compasse of six miles on each side
the towne. The seventh of June they burnt Haskel-
burgh. How after that my lord Greie had fortified
Haddington, and furnished it with vittells, and mu-
nitions sufficient, the twelue of June he departed
from thence homewards, leauing there in garrison
about two thousand footmen, and five hundred hois-
emen.

In this meane time, Henrie the French king
succeeding his father Francis the first (who departed
this life the last of March in the yere last past, to wit,
1547) made prouision of an armie, with a nauie of
ships and gallies, to passe into Scotland to the aid of
the quene and other of his faction. And first he had
sent thither monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, a gen-
tleman of god account, to assist the gouernour with
his aduise and counsell, which gouernour desirous to
reouer the castell of Broughticrag, and loth to see it
possessed by the Englishmen, raised a power of eight
thousand men, and with eight peces of artillerie
came before that fortreffe, meaning to win it by
siege; but by the valiant prowes of sir Andrew Dud-
leie, and the hardie manhood of such English solda-
ers as serued there vnder him, the Scots were re-
pelled, and driuen to leaue their siege with dishon-
or.

Yet not thus contented, the earle of Argile with
an armie of his Irish Scots, of Hieland men (if I

maie so call them) after this likewise came and belie-
ged the place, but glad to take truce for a time with
sir Andrew. Before the tearme of the same truce
was expired, there came new succours to him, and
thereupon the earle in the end was constrained to
leaue his siege, and suffer the Englishmen to become
maisters of a little hill not farre off from the castell,
where afterwards they builded a fortreffe. But to re-
turne to the French armie which was prepared to
passe into Scotland, ye shall vnderstand that when
their ships and prouisions were once readie, and the
captains with their hands come downe to Brest in
Britaine, where the nauie was rigged to receiue
them, monsieur de Delle generall of all the armie,
rehearsed to containe seven or eight thousand men,
imbarked himselfe with all his people, and sailed
forth on his iourne, till they arrived in the Forth,
and there toke land at Lich the sixteenth of June.

Shortlie after, hauing got their great artillerie
on land, and taken aduise with the lord gouernour
and other of the Scottish nobilitie, whome they found at
Edenburgh, how to proceed in prosecuting the war
against the Englishmen, it was resolved that with-
out delaye they shuld trie their forces about the re-
uerie of Haddington, and go to besiege that towne,
before they attempted anie further exploit. The go-
uernour and other of the Scottish lords, hauing with
them seven or eight hundred light hoisemen, offered
to go with them, to the better aduancing forward of
that enterprisse. Here vpon setting forward, and com-
ming to Haskelburgh, the captains with a cer-
teine number of hoisemen and footmen, as well of
Scots as Frenchmen, were appointed to go before
to view the said towne of Haddington. Upon their
approch nere to the towne, there issued forth certeine
Englishmen and Italians, that were of Tiberios
band, which skirmished with them right stoutlie, till
at length the Frenchmen and Scots retired backe
to Lauret a little from Haskelburgh (where their
armie incamped for that night) and the Englishmen
and Italians returned backe to their fortreffe.

The next daie the Frenchmen and Scots with
their whole power came before Haddington, where
they were welcomed with a right sharpe and hot
skirmish, in which was slaine with an harquebuse
shot, one of the French captains called Willenuesue.
In the meane time whilst this skirmish continued,
the Reinegrau with his Almans incamped him-
selfe on the one side of the towne, where the maister
of the ordinance in the French armie, named mon-
sieur Duno, caused trenches to be cast for the safe
placing of the artillerie: the Englishmen still kept
them occupied on each side the towne with skirmi-
shing, to the annoiance of the aduersaries. So con-
clade, they incamped before the towne, cast trenches,
lodged their ordinance, & laid their siege to the most
advantage, so far as they might be suffered. Shortlie
after that this siege was planted, there came to the
aid of the French, the earle of Argile, with a great
number of Irish Scots, and monsieur de la Cha-
pelle brought an eight or nine hundred Scottish pio-
ners, which began a trench on the left hand of the ab-
beie gate, and likewise a tranerle to couer their sol-
diers that should watch and ward, from danger of
the shot out of the towne on that side.

The Englishmen with often issues gaue their
aduersaries small rest, procuring manie hot skir-
mishes, as occasion serued. At one of the which skir-
mishes, Hiero Strozzi, colonell of thre ensignes of Ita-
lians, was stricken with a musket shot. Yet monsieur
de Delle enforcing the siege to the bittermost of his
power, caused one night with helpe of baskets
filled with earth, six peces of artillerie to be planted
in batterie fast at the towne side, which at the breake
of

Monsieur de
Delle general
of the French
armie.
Helandeth
at Lich.

The French
men resolve to
besiege Haa-
dington.

The French
armie com-
meth before
Haddington.

The Reine-
grau
their artillerie

The earle of
Argile.
Monsieur de
la Chapelle.

Hiero Stroz-
zi hurt.

Haddington
battered.

of

of daie began to shot off, and discharged that present daie three hundred and fortie shots. But after they perceived that they did little hurt to the fortifications of the towne in that place where this batterie was laid: the next night, the baskets & peeces of artillerie were removed lower, and not past three score paces from the ditches of the towne, where the next daie two hundred shots were discharged against the rampire. To conclude, they made such breaches in sundrie places for easie entrie into the towne, that it was greatlie marvelled wbie they durst not assaile to give a generall assault.

They lodged so neare within the verie ditches, that there were devised certeine plummetts of lead, tied with cords to a truncheon of a staffe, like to an handstaffe of a baile; wherewith the soldiers that watched and warded within the towne on the rampire, sue diuerse of the Frenchmen being their lodged within their ditches. Thus notwithstanding that the Frenchmen with their artillerie had broken downe the fortifications, so as the breaches were made verie reasonable and easie for them to enter; yet durst they not presume once to give the assault: for the Englishmen although their powder was spent, and that for want of matches they were constrained to teare their shirts, and use the same in stead of matches; yet they shewed themselves so valiant in defending the towne thus beaten & made weake on each hand, that there was no hope left to their aduersaries to win it of them by force. Although the French power on the one side, and eight thousand Scots on an other had so inuironed it, that the Englishmen within were dzien to most hard shifts, for want of things necessarie & requisite for their maintenance and defense of that towne.

But yet whilcst they remained thus in such distress and necessitie of things, two hundred Englishmen under the conduct of capteine Windham, Warham Seintleger, and John Car of Marke, found means one night to passe through all the watches on that side where the Scots laie, and entering the towne, and bringing with them great plenty of powder, and other necessities, greatlie relieved them within, & so encouraged them, that they seemed to make small account of their enemies forces. Whereupon within few daies after, the Scots (sue or six hundred light horsemen onelie excepted) brake vp their campe and returned home. After this, my lord Greie remaining at Berwike, ment to make a voyage himselfe in person for the reliefe of them that were thus besieged in Haddington. Now when all things were so farre in a readinesse as the next daie he ment to haue set forward, letters were brought that night from the court, willing him to perforce that seruice by a deputie, and to staie himselfe till the coming of the earle of Shrewesburie, who was appointed with an armie to come verie shortly as generall into those parties.

My lord Greie hereupon appointed in his stead sir Robert Bowes, and sir Thomas Palmer, to go thither, who coming to Dungalas, left there certeine bands of footmen, and with the horsemen being in number thirtene hundred (whereof seuen hundred lances were appointed under the charge of sir Thomas Palmer) they rode forward to accomplish their enterpryse: but the French capteins hauing knowledge of their coming, they provided the best they could to repell them, appointing foure ventins or ensignes of lanceknights to keepe a standing watch that night in the trenches, and the like number of French ensignes to watch about their campe. All the other of their bands were commanded to take rest, but yet with their armour on their backs.

Their generall monsieur de Delle himselfe, monsieur de Pailleraie admerall of their fleet, monsieur Dandelot cozenell of the French footmen, Piero Strozzi cozenell of the Italians, the Reinsgrau cozenell of the lanceknights, and all other the noble men and capteins of honour among them were all night long in armour, traueilling vp and downe, some on horsebacke, and some on foot, to visit the watches and scouts, set in places and waies by the which they suspected that the Englishmen ment to come. The lord Hume riding abroad to learne what he might of the Englishmens demeanour, earlie in the morning returned to the campe, and certified monsieur de Delle, that they were at hand. Where with were the Scottish and French horsemen that kept the scout called in, and monsieur Dandelot with great expedition ranged his battell of footmen in order, and so likewise did the Reinsgrau his Almans.

The Englishmen diuided into two bands came and shewed themselves in the sight of the towne, and charging such Scots and Frenchmen as came forth to encounter them, gave them the overthrow at two severall charges: but finallie presuming to farre vp on their good lucke thus chancing to them in the beginning, followed in chase those that fled before them, untill at length they were inclosed and shut up betwixt the French footmen on the one side, and the Almans on the other. And herewith the Scottish horsemen under the conduct of the lords Humes & Dune, & the French horsemen led by monsieur de Ctauges their generall, being assembled together effronces, after they had bene so repelled, were now ready to come forward againe: and perceiving their footmen so to haue inuironed the Englishmen, that they were not able to recover themselves, nor to get out of danger, but by disordering their ranks to take them to flight, followed amaine, so that those which escaped the Frenchmens hands were taken by the Scots that pursued them in chase, so that few were saved that were not either slaine or taken. My lord Greie lost threescore and twelue great horses, and an hundred geldings, with all the men upon them, armed with his lordships owne furniture, onelie foure or five of his men came home, of the which Thomas Cornwallis now growne porter to the quenes maiestie was one, and Robert Car elquier an other then page to my said lord Greie.

The vnadvised rashnesse of sir Thomas Palmer was thought to be the chiefe occasion of this distresse of those horsemen, who after they had done sufficientlie for that time, would needs haue them to give a new charge, and so were discomfited. After this overthrow and chase of our horsemen, the armie that was leuied to passe into Scotland was halfed forward with all speed possible: for although before the coming of the English horsemen, the French, by an aduertisement giuen that they meant to come, had plucked backe their great artillerie, and sent the same vnto Edinburgh, keeping onelie with them six field-pieces, and herewith removed their campe further off from the towne: yet by foresailing bitels and all other necessarie things from them within, they were dzien to such distresse, that they must of force haue left the towne to the enemies, if some power had not come within a while to remove the siege that laie thus to annoie them.

When therefore the armie was come to Newcastell, & the earle of Shrewesburie generall lieutenant of the same was there arrived, they passed forward to Berwike, and from thence marched straight towards Haddington. The number of the Englishmen and strangers was reported at the point of fiftene thousand, whereof three thousand were Almans brought

The valiantie
of the Eng-
lishmen.

Success
entering the
towne.

Sir Robert
Bowes sent
to succour
Haddington.

The lord
Hume.

Dandelot.

Monsieur C.
tauges.

The English
horsemen in-
censed.

* Quenes
Elizabeth.

The French-
men remove
their campe.

The earle of
Shrewesburie
generall of
the armie.
The number
of soldiers in
the same ar-
mie.

der

An. R.
Conrad
phenning
captaine of
the Almans.

The French
men lodged
in the ditches
of Haddington.

The French
men came
up at the
ditch.
The earle of
Shrewesburie
came to the
ditch.

The patient
of the Engl-
ishmen in
the castle
of Hadding-
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The earle of
Shrewsburie
generall of
the armie.
The number
of soldours in
the same ar
mie.

der the conduct of a right worthy and expert chief
taine, namede Conrad Hemming, commonlie cal-
led Costpenie. Beside this armie by land, there was
also furnished forth a fleet by sea, under the conduct
of the lord Clinton high admirall of England, and
other capitaine of great experience in affaires and
service by sea. This fleet was appointed to keepe
course with the armie by land, that the one might be
cuer in sight of the other. Monsieur de Delle aduer-
tised of the cominge forward of this armie, durst
not abide their cominge; but raised his field, and
retired with his armie toward Edinburgh: howbeit
they were no sooner dislodged, but that a great troupe
of the English horsemen were got within sight of
them, and coasted them all the waie as they marched
for the space of seven or eight miles, in maner to as
farre as Appleburgh, where the Frenchmen staid,
and encamped in a place chosen forth to their most
advantage.

The earle of Shrewsburie, and the lord Greie
with the armie cominge unto Haddington, were
instantly received of the capitaine and soldours with-
in: where it might appeare how valiantlie they had
defended that towne during the siege, being so desti-
tute of all things necessarie for their reliefe; and the
fortifications so weak, that if the noble provost of
their worthy generall sir James Willford, and the
incomparable manhood of the rest of the capitaine
and soldours had not supplied all other wants, it
was thought impossible that they should haue defen-
ded the place so long a time against such forces as had
bene there imploied against them. But such was the
bravado valour of that noble crue and garrison,
that even the verie enemies themselves could not
but praise high commendations to the capitaine and
soldours for the hardie forwardnesse and manhood,
which at all times they had found and tried in them
at all points of service, when they came to deale with
them. And verelie their same deserveth to be had in
memorie for ever, not onelie for their worthy achie-
ved exploits, done by force of hand, to the beating
backe and repelling of the enemies, but also for their
patient sustaining of hunger, thirst, continuall wat-
ching, nakednesse, sickness, and all other such ca-
lamities and miseries, as want of things necessarie
for the reliefe and maintenance of mans life is wont
to bring, to those that are inclosed in such wise by the
enemie. All which extremities they were well content
to susteine, so that it might turne to the benefit and
renowne of their countrie, in comparison whereof
they esteemed all things else verie vile and contemp-
tible, were the same never so good, as the poet saith:

*Tantus amor patrie mortalia pectora tangit.
Natisque soli, pra quo bona cetera ferunt.*

The noble earle of Shrewsburie could not for-
beare to see the teares, to understand and perceiue that
such worthy soldours should suffer such great di-
stresse, whose valiant hearts could not be quailed
with any afflictions. Thus with mournfull imbra-
cings intermixed with pittifull regards they met. The
earle entering the towne, furnished it with new
bands of men, good store of vittels, munition, and all
other things convenient, and as then thought requi-
sited. Thus having refreshed the towne, within
two daies after he passed forth towards the enemies,
appointing by the aduise of that noble chieftaine the
lord Greie, certaine bands of horsemen to keepe
themselves close together in ambush, and to send a
sola to the French campe, to trie if they might
traile the Frenchmen out of their strength. And as
they wished, it partlie came to passe: for diuerse
of their horsemen issued forth of their campe, and pro-
fessed the skirmish. The Englishmen suffered them-
selves to be chased, untill they had got their enemies

within danger of their ambush, and then whirling a-
bout, gave them the charge, inforcing them to make
their carrie backe, with more than an easie gallop; so
that having the Frenchmen thus in chase, they slue
and toke diuerse, and among the prisoners were
two capitaine, Pierre Longue, and one Lucinet.
The others that escaped, returned with this losse to
their campe.

In the meane time, whilst these things were thus
in doing, there came to the aid of the Frenchmen
fourteen or fifteen thousand Scots, accounting
herewith the Irish Scots which came with the earle
of Argile. These Scots were scarce lodged, when
suddenlie the earle of Shrewsburie and the lord Greie
came with their armie divided into three battels of
footmen, garded with two troops of horsemen, pre-
sented themselves before the faces of their enemies
in the same place, where their anant curours the daie
before had shewed themselves to draw forth the
Frenchmen. Here the armie thus ranged in arraie
of battell, staid above the space of an houre, looking
if the enemies durst haue come forth to haue given
battell: but when they perceived that by no means
the Frenchmen meant to forsake their strength, they
returned backe to their campe. The English naue
being entered now into the fozth, was not idle: for
cominge to Bzent Island they set fire on foure ships,
which they found there, and after passing by Airth
saluted them within the towne with cannon shot,
and after intending to burne saint Spinet, were re-
pelled from thence by the lord of Dune, and after re-
turned to attend on the armie. The earle of Shrews-
burie, and my lord Greie having executed so much
as their commission would beare, and refreshed Ha-
dington with all things needfull, departed home-
wards; and cominge to Dunglas, began there to
build a fortreffe. The English Almans as the armie
passed by Dunbar, burned the towne. These Almans
also, and certaine bands of Englishmen, as well
horsemen as footmen, were left at Dunglas, untill
the fozth there begun was in some strength. The
earle of Shrewsburie with the rest of the armie came
backe into England. My lord Greie remaining on
the borders lieutenant of the north parts, after the
earle of Shrewsburie was returned home, assen-
bled all the horsemen then lieng on the borders, and
being backed with the Almane footmen, entered a-
gaine with the same horsemen into Scotland, bur-
ning and wasting in the countie of Tindall, and
Aldredall, for the space of twentie miles, both
house, coigne, haie, and all other things that came
within their reach, and after returned without in-
counter.

The ninth of October being tuesday, monsieur de
Delle, with his Frenchmen and Almans, came in
the morning long before daie to Haddington, mean-
ing to haue toome the towne by stealth. And verelie
the enterprize was governed in such secret maner,
that the Frenchmen had killed the English scouts,
and were entered the bafe court, per anie alarm
was raised: and having slaine the watch, some of
them ran to a place behind a church, where the Eng-
lishmen had their vittels and munitions, and some
thrust vp to the towne gate, inforcing with great vio-
lence to breake it open, crying with noise and shouts,
Victorie, victorie, whereof in deed they accounted
themselves then assured. And questionles the Eng-
lishmen being thus awakened out of their sleps on
the sudden, were in some great disorder; so that ma-
nie of them came running forth without either ar-
mour or apparell, their shirts excepted; & others ran
they wist not well whither, nor where to take heed.
But yet as the Frenchmen were thronged together
at the gate to breake it open, a Frenchman (as the
writers

The French-
men chased.

The armie of
the Scots
come to ioune
with the
Frenchmen.

The earle of
Shrewsbu-
rie profereth
the enemies
battell.

The French-
men durst not
come forth of
their campe.

Ships burn-
ed.

A fortreffe
built at Dun-
glas.

The lord
Greie enter-
eth againe
into Scot-
land.

A cambrado
given to Ha-
dington.

The French-
men repelled.

writers do report that serued within the towne, but as other saie either to captaine of the Italians, with his match light gave fier to a double canon, that laie readie bent against the gate, so that the same shooting off, made such a lane among the Frenchmen, that they were glad to giue place, and with such a fearefull crye, that those which were behind, not understanding what losse their fellows before had sustained, brake their arraie and fled amaine.

Parliament.

The Englishmen herewith passed through a priuie posterne into the bafe court, and comming vpon them with their halberds, and blacke bills, slue of them great plentie, and drove the rest that escaped ouer the wall in such hast, that happie was he that could tumble ouer first. Monsieur de Wesse yet gathering them together againe, gaue that morning three sharpe assaults to the towne, but was repelled with great losse, for they caried awaie with them sixtene carts and wagons laden with hurt persons and dead carcasses, besides three hundred that were found in the bafe court, which they could not come to, after they were beaten out, to take awaie with them. And thus was monsieur de Wesse constrained to retorne, repenting himselfe of that his bold attempted enterpryse, hauing lost no small number of his Frenchmen and Almans, being slaine in the place. In this meane time, the kings maiestie summoned his high court of parlement, to be holden vpon prorogation at Westminster the fourth of Nouember, where it continued till the fourteenth of March next ensuing.

Dundee spoiled.

In the meane time, the proceedings for the Scottish wars was not forgotten, wherby in the deepe of the winter, there were conueied certeine bands of the English lancequenets, and some number of Englishmen, both horsemen and footmen by sea vnto Broughtierag; and passing from thence vnto Dundee, a two miles from thence, entered the towne, and began to fortifie it: but shortly after by the comming of the French armie with monsieur de Wesse, they left it, first spoiling the houses, and after set them on fire at their departure. The Keinsgraue colonell of the Almans, and monsieur de Etanges, being sent by monsieur de Wesse before, entered Dundee, and lodged within it. Within two daies after their comming thither, they toke certeine of their bands, and going forth did view and surueie the new fort, which the Englishmen had begun to make on the hill, a small distance from the castell. But the Englishmen and their Almans issuing forth against them, were at their elbowes yer they were halfe well aduised that they were got so neare them, whereby being diuven basillie to retire, they hardlie escaped out of danger, being so hotlie pursued, that if the Keinsgraue had not shewed his approued ballancie, guided with no lesse policie than manhood, the whole troope had bene (as was thought) vtterlie distressed.

The Keins-
graue con-
strained to
retire.

In Christmasse this yere the castell of Hume was recovered out of the Englishmens hands, through treason of certeine assured Scots, that vsing to bring bittels to the Englishmen that kept it, had marked all the manner of the scouts and watches, with the places of the wall where the clime was most easie. Wherby in the night season, certeine of the Scots secretlie comming into the ditches, got by to the height of the wals, and entring the place, slue and toke vpon the sudden all that were within it. The firste of Januarie, sir Thomas Seimer baron of Sudleie, lord admerall, and brother to the duke of Summerfet lord protector, was arrested and sent to the towler, and after by authoritie of parlement he was attainted, and the twentieth of March next ensuing, in the third yere of this kings reigne beheaded

1549
Sir Thomas
Seimer sent
to the towler.

Anno Reg. 3.

at towler hill. Moreover in this parlement, the vse of the masse was cleerlie prohibited, and a booke for the vniformitie of diuine seruice, and right administration of the sacraments, was set forth and established.

As haue heard how the Frenchmen fortified the towne of Dundee, where monsieur de Etanges, with his companie of horsemen lieng in garrison chanced in a skirmish to be taken by the Englishmen that laie in Broughtierag, to the great relieving of them that toke him, and no lesse griefe of the French and Scots, for the tried ballancie that was throughlie knowne to rest in him. Moreover, the Englishmen that kept the towne of Haddington all this while against the enimies, could not come by anye bittels, but onelie by a conuioie of some contentment powre to gard the cariages that brought the same from the borders. And as it fortuned at one time when the conuioie came and passed by Dunbar, a skirmish was proffered by the French which laie within that castell in garrison. And as sir James Wellisford that was there amongst other vpon this occasion (according to his wonted ballancie) betwixt himselfe verie forward and egre against the enimie, he was inclosed by an ambush, which the Frenchmen had laid on each side the street within the towne, that he could by no means escape out of their hands, but hauing his horse there slaine vnder him, was taken prisoner euen by a Calceigne of the countrie of Balque named Bellique, that woone no small commendation for that his good hap, in taking such a prisoner, whose name for his often approued prowesse was verie famous euen among the enimies, who saw well inough a resolutenesse in the man rather by perillous aduentures to purchase the perpetuallitie of renowne, than by defect of courage or negligent seruice to lose both life and fame. Which persuasion should enter into the hart of euerie seruitor in the field, if they will be counted right balliant indeed, considering that he which in his life time doth performe nothing worthe memorie, is like a plaier entring vpon the stage, but shewing nothing either in spech or in action, as the poet verie fittlie saith:

*Qui nullum facinus tota memorabile vita
Ediderint, obscuri homines migrare videntur
Hinc, ut qui frustra nil dixerint histrio scena.*

Some haue written that he was taken through default of those that were appointed to follow him, sith he undertooke to charge the enimie, in hope that by them he should haue bene assisted. But suerlie those that had the charge of this conuioie, doubting by aduenturing too far, to put all in hazard, thought it wisdome rather to suffer the losse of one, than to ieopard the whole; not perceiving which waie to remedie the matter at that present. Now after that the generall of Haddington was thus taken prisoner, to the great griefe vndoubtedlie, not onelie of all the garrison there, but also of all such as tendered the aduancement of the kings maiesties seruice, sir James Crofts was thought a man most meet to supplie the place, and therefore by the lord protector, and others of the counsell was ordeined generall of that towne of Haddington, and the garrison there, in which rowe he bare himselfe so worthilie, as if he should not be suspected of flatterie, for that he liued yet, and in such credit (as the world knoweth) might moue my selfe matter to saie rather much than sufficientlie inough in his due and right deserved commendation.

The king by the aduise of his counsell meaning to prosecute the wars in Scotland, with great forces retained a new power of lancequenets, and other strangers, vnder the conduct of diuers sundrie capitaines: but in the meane time the French king mean-

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1. Reg. 3.

ring to breake with the king of England, thought
to have stolen the fortreffe of Bullognberg, so that a
chosen power of men of warre, to the number of se-
uen thousand, vnder the conduct of monsieur de Cha-
tillon, being sent downe about that exploit on Paie-
daie at night, came forward with their ladders, and
all other furniture meet for the purpose, approaching
about the houre of midnight nere to the fort, with-
in the which were not at that time manie about thre
hundred and fiftie soldiers, vnder the gouernement
of sir Nicholas Arnalt knight generall of that
piece, a capitaine of great courage, and no lesse bil-
lance in his charge.

And as it chanced, there were among the Frenchmen three or foure Englishmen, which hauing matched themselves in marriage with women of that countrey, after the peace was concluded betwixt France and England, were discharged out of the king of Englands wages; and remaining with their wiues, got interteinement among the Frenchmen, and were with monsieur de Chatillon, now committing towards this enterpryse. Whereupon one of the same Englishmen named Carter, that had a foretelling giuen intelligence to the said sir Nicholas of the Frenchmens doings, so farre as he might learne and vnderstand the same, would gladiie haue aduertised sir Nicholas Arnall of the Frenchmens purpose at this time: but monsieur de Chatillon kept the matter so secret, that Carter nor any of the other Englishmen had knowledge thereof, till they were now marching forward, so that Carter could not get a waie from them, till they were appoched within lesse than a quarter of a mile of Bullognberg, and then dipping aside from among them, came running so fast as he might towards the fort, crying; Bolwes, bolwes, as loud as his voice would serue, & so gaue the alarm to them within the fort.

One of the soldiers called *Sporgaine* Deaton, that chanced to be there at hand in scout with three or foure other, straight knew him, and brought him to the draw-bridge, where sir *Nicholas Arnalt* caused him to be drawn up betwixt two pikes, into whome he declared how the Frenchmen were at hand, meaning to assault his fort now upon the sudden, in hope to surprize it. Wherewith, it needed not to will sir *Nicholas* to bestirre him, to cause euerie man to make readie, and place themselves as was thought most expedient. And vndoubtedly the noble courage of that worthy gentleman, furthered much, to cause euerie capitaine and soldier vnder him, to put awaie all feare, and to haue a regard to do his dutie, for the relieuing of the entrenches: so as they seemed glad of the occasion, whereby they might shew proofe of their accustomed manhood against the enimie, that thus came to seale on them without warning, in purpose to kill euerie man that fell into their hands, if their intencion had taken place, making now such hast forward, that before the Englishmen could be well ready with their armour and weapons in their appointed places, the Frenchmen were got to the ditch, and appointing three thousand of their numbers, the most part gentlemen and double paies, with targets, battell ares, and pissols, to haue the first scale, saluted them within upon their verie approach, with seven hundred harquebuts shot at the first volie.

The Englishmen by order giuen by sir Nicholas, kept themselves close, till the Frenchmen by their scaling ladders, which they brought with them, and had quicklie raised against the walles, began to mount vp, and enter vpon them: at which instant, off went the flankers. Those of sir Nicholas Arnalts moneths discharged verie well at the first, but at the second voloe the morters burst. Albeit there were two balle pices that were planted aloft on the same

mont, of the which the one discharged five & twentie
shot by the maulier, and the other seven and twentie
by his maiestie. Sir Nicholas Arnalt here being ac-
companied with his captains and soldiers about
him, stood at defense so stoutlie as was possible, do-
ing so valiantlie, that their fame doerueeth to lue for
euer. Where were burd upon the faces of the enimies
(ouer and beside the shot that was bestowed among
them) to the number of fiftene hundred pikes and
blacke bills. The Frenchmen becliee stucke to it to
the bittermost, and did what late in the vertie last point
of their powers to enter upon the Englishmen, sup-
plyng still the places of their dead and wearie men
with fresh succors.

Carer that came to bring word of their coming, with a pike in his hand, stood at the place of the bulworne where they thus gaue the assault, & fought right ballantine, giuing manie wounds, and receiving some againe: for he was hurt both in the thigh and arme, who furtleie of a priuat soldier (if he were priuat and ordinarie) seemed verie seruiciable at all assaies, considering into what desperat adventures and hazards he did as it were cast himselfe, esteeming lesse the losse of life and lim, than the reproch and dishonoz of his countrie, the glozie & renowne wherof (about all wooldie things which are but temporaryall) all men are naturallie bound with might & maine both to seeke and saue: as one berie well saith;

Nascimur ut patriam vitæque operâque iuvenimus.
Sir Nicholas Arnalt himselfe was hurt with a pike in the nose. Capteyne Warren standing on the same bulwourke with sir Nicholas, received two shots in his coscelet, and one of them broue two or three links of his chaine into his necke. Capteyne Broughton had there fiftene of his armed men, euerie of them hauing their coscelets perled through. The number of the Englishmen that were slaine, was reckoned to be fise and twentie, and hurt eight and fiftie. Of Frenchmen there were slaine a great number, beside those that were hurt, and at length through shot, casting dolone of stoncs and timber vpon their heads, scalding water and handbottes they were repelled, retiring out of the trenches shortly after the breake of the daie, hauing continued the assault from midnight till that time, killiueing their forces, in hope to atchieue their wisherpretie: but being thus beaten off, they gathered togither their dead men, and lading fiftene waggons with their carcasses, they returned backe, without making anye further attempt at that time.

And so by the high balliance of sir Nicholas Arnalt, and the other capitaines that serued in that fort vnder him, and chieflie by the assistance of almightie God, the giuer of all victories, the enemies were repelled, to their great dishonour, and the péece referred to the immortall renowne of the defendants. Within a daie or two after, the generall of the Frenchmen sent to know of prisoners taken; but sir Nicholas Arnalt answered the messenger, that he knew of no warre: and therefore if anie had attempted to make a surpris of his péece by stealth, they were serued accordingly to their malicious meanings. Indeed (said he) we haue taken none of your men, but we haue got some of your braue guilt armour & weapons. Well (said the messenger) it is not the cowle that maketh the monk, and no more is it the braue armour or weapon that maketh the man of warre: but the fortune of warre is such, sometime to gaine, and sometime to lose. Sir Nicholas receiuing him into the fort, made him good here, and gaue him fittie crownes in-reward, and so he departed.

But concerning the liberalitie of sir Nicholas, I might here speake further thereof, how bountifullie he

The number
of pikes and
bills broken
upon the
Frenchmen.

**Carter an
hardie soldier
and a good ser-
vitor.**

The Frenchmen repelled.

Fifteen wag-
gons laden
with French
carcasses.

The lord
Cobham with
a new supplie
of soldiers.

he rewarded the souldiers for their great manhood shewed at that time, in defending so sharpe an assault, to their great honour, and no lesse confusion of the aduersaries. The daie after the said assault, there came to Bullognberg from Guines, a supplie of three or foure hundred men, vnder the leading of sir William Cobham, now lord Cobham and others. Within a while after, sir Nicholas Arnalt sent forth three hundred footmen, and five and twentie horsemen, conducted by the said sir William Cobham, capteine Hutton of the Old man, & capteine Hore of Bullognberg, with certeine cariages, to go by to a wood not farre off, called the Forth wood, to fetch sagots and hush, to repaire and mainteine the rampires.

These capteins with their bands being passed forward, about two miles in distance from the fort, met with certeine of their scouts that were sent forth that morning, who told them that they had discovered the tract of a great number of horsemen. Whereupon the Englishmen now being almost come to the wood side, retired with all speed: and here with the French horsemen brake out of the wood, and following them, fell in skirmish with them. The Englishmen casting themselves in a ring, kept them off with their pikes, where with they impaled themselves, and having their small troope lined with shot, they also galled the Frenchmen right sore therewith, as they still approached them. Nevertheless, those horsemen gaue three maine onsets vpon the Englishmen, with the number of a thousand horse at two of the first onsets, and the third they gaue with all their whole power, being esteemed a sixtene hundred horsemen in all.

The great
distraite of the
Englishmen
vnder the con-
duct of their
noble capteins

But such was the valiant prowesse of the English souldiers, encouraged with the comfortable presence of sir William Cobham, and other their capteins, that conducted them in such order as stood most for their safeguard, exhorting them with such effectual words as serued best to purpose, that the enimie to conclude was repelled with losse of senentie of their great horses that laie dead there in the field, within the space of halfe a mille. There were also foure thousand French footmen that came forward, but could not reach, and so marching about the fort, returned in vaine; after they once perceived that the Englishmen were safely retired within their fort. The council thus perceiuing the French kings purpose, which he had conceived to worke some notable damage to this realme, as well in support of his friends in Scotland, as in hope to recouer those peeces which the English held at Bullongne, and in those marches, doubted also of some inuasion meant by him to be attempted into this realme, because of such great preparation as he had made, for leuieng of his forces both by sea and land.

The prepara-
tion for warre
as well in
England as
France.

The council therefore made likewise provision to be ready to resist all such attempts, as anie waie forth might be made, to the annoiunce of the realme. But as things fell out, the same stood in good stead, not against the forren enimie, but against a number of rebellious subiects at home, the which forgetting their dutie and allegiance, did as much as in them laie (what soeuer their pretense was) to bring this noble realme and their naturall countrie into destruction. But first, for that it maie appeare, that the duke of Summerfet then protector, and other of the council, did not without good ground and cause mainteine the warres against the Scots, I haue thought good to set downe an epistle exhortatorie, as we finde the same in the great chronicle of Richard Grafton, sent from the said protector and council vnto the Scots, to moue them to haue consideration of themselves, and of the estate of their countrie, by

Rich. Grafton
in fol. 1294.

joining in that friendlie bond and unitie with England, as had bene of the kings part and his fathers continuallie sought, for the benefit of both realmes, the copie of which exhortation here insueth.

Edward by the grace of God, duke of Summerfet, earle of Hertford, vicount Beauchampe, lord Scimer, vncle to the kings highnesse of England, gouernor of his most roiall person, and protector of all his realmes, dominions, & subiects, lieutenant generall of all his maiesties armies, both by land and sea, treasurer and earle marshall of England, gouernor of the Iles of Gernesey and Iersey, and knight of the most noble order of the garter, with others of the counsell of the said most high and noble prince Edward, by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, and in earth vnder Christ the supreme head of the churches of England and Ireland. To the nobilitie and counsellors, gentlemen and commons, and all other the inhabitants of the realme of Scotland, greeting and peace.



Considering with our selues the present state of things, and weeing more deepe-ly the maner and tearmes wherein you and we do stand, it maketh vs to marvel, what euill & fatall chance doth so disceur your hearts, and maketh them so blind and vnmindfull of your profit, and so still conciliate and heape to your selues most extreme mischiefs, the which we whome ye will needs haue your enimies, go about to take awaie from you, and perpetuallie to ease you thereof. And also by all reason & order of necessitie, it should be rather more conuenient for you to seeke and require moderate agtgements of vs, whome God hath hitherto according to our most iust, true, and godlie meanings and intents, prospered and set forward, with your affliction and miserie, than that we being superiours in the field, maisters of a great part of your realme, should seeke vpon you. Yet to the intent that our charitable minds and brotherlie loue should not cease, by all means possible to prouoke and call you to your owne commoditie and profit, even as the father to the son, or the elder brother to the younger; and as the louing physician would do to the mistrustfull and ignorant patient: we are content to call and crie vpon you to looke on your estate, to auoid the great calamitie that your countrie is in, to haue vs rather brothers than enimies, and rather countremen than conquerors. And if your gouernors or capteins shall reteine and keepe from you this our exhortation, as heretofore they haue done our prauat wealth & commoditie; not regarding though you be still in miserie, so they haue profit and gouernance ouer you, and shall still abuse you with feined and forged tales: yet this shall be a witnesse before God, and all christian people, betwene you and vs, that we professing the gospel of Iesus Christ, according to the doctrine thereof, do not cease to call and prouoke you from the effusion of your owne blood, from the destruction of the realme of Scotland, from perpetuall enimitie and hatred, from the snail destruction of your nation, and from seruitude to forren nations, to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with vs, to that which your writers haue alwaies wished might once come to passe.

Who that hath read the stories in times past, and doth marke & note the great battels past fought betwixt England & Scotland, the incursions, robes, & spilles, which haue bene done on both parties: the realme of Scotland five times wone by one king of England,

The lord
Cobham with
a new supplie
of soldiers.

The epistle
exhortatorie
sent to the
Scots.

Herein apper-
eth the lord
protectors
care for that
good estate.

set, The lord p^ro-
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sent The epistle
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Scots.

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The lord
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Edward the sixt.

England, the Scottish kings some taken prisoners, some slaine in battell, some for verie sorrow and discomfort upon losse, dieng and departing the world: and shall perceive againe, that all nations in the world, that nation onelie beside England, speaketh the same language: and as you and we be annured and joined in one Island, so no people are so like in manners, forme, language, and all conditions as we are: shall not he thinke it a thing verie unmet, unnatural, and unchristian, that there should be betwixt us so mortall war, who in respect of all other nations, be and should be like as two brethren of one Island of great Britaine? And though he were a stranger to both, what should he thinke more meet, than if it were possible one kingdome to be made in rule, which is one in language, and to be divided in rulers, which is all one in countrie?

And for so much as two successors cannot con-
carre and fall into one, by no other manner of meanes
than by marriage, whereby one blood, one lineage, one
parentage is made of two, and an indefensible right
giuen of both to one, without the destruction and abo-
lishing of either. If God should giue that what so-
ever you would wish, other than that which now not
by fortune hath chanced, but by his infinit mercie
and most inscrutable prouidence, as carefull for you
he hath giuen unto you. The which thing that you
should also thinke to come of his disposition, and not
by blind fortune, how unlike hath it bene, and how
suddenlie hath it turned, that the power of God
might be thewed: your last king being a prince of
much excellencie and yong, whom you know after a
promise broken contrarie to his honor, & misfortune
by Gods iust iudgement following upon it, God ei-
ther by sorrow or by some meanes otherwise at his
inscrutable pleasure, did take awaie from you, had
those children, did not almightie God (as it were) to
shew his will and pleasure to be, that the long conti-
nued warre and enimitie of both the nations should
be taken awaie, and knit in perpetual loue and ami-
tie, take the two men-children of those babes being
distant the one from the other, and in diuerse places,
both as it were at one time, and within the space of
four and twentieth houres, leauing but one maiden-
child and prince.

When the most wise and victorious prince late
our king and maister, king Henrie the eight, in o-
ther of his marriages not most fortunate, had by his
most lawfull and most vertuous wife, queene Jane,
his other two wives before that marriage departed
this world, and neuer surmise nor question made of
that marriage, since that time to this daie, nor so
much as all his life time, name or motion to or of a-
nie other wife, one prince of so high expectation, of
so great gifts of God, the right and vndoubted
heire of the realme of England and his maiestie
onlie of male issue left behind him to succed the
imperiall crowne. If nothing else had bene done,
what can anie wise or anie christian man that
thinke the world to be gouerned by Gods prou-
idence and not by fortune, thinke otherwise, but that
it was Gods pleasure it should be so, that these two
realmes should ioine in marriage, and by a goodlie sa-
crament, make a goodlie, perpetuall and most friend-
lie unitie & concord, whereby such benefits as of uni-
tie and concord commeth, may through his infinit
grace come vnto these realmes. And if anie man
of you or of anie nation doubteth hereof, except you
looked for miracles to be done herein, and yet if ye
marke all the possibilities of the natures of the two
princes, the children already had, the doubtfull
chance, least each of them should haue a sonne, or
both daughters, or not of meet ages, with other cir-
cumstances both of the partie of this realme of

England, and that of Scotland, which hath not chan-
ged in eight hundred yeares, it must needs be rec-
koned a great maruell and a miracle.

But let it be no miracle, seeing that God doth
not now speake in oracles, as amongst the Iewes
he did: and present prophesies now abates be but ei-
ther not certaine, or else not plaine: what more cer-
teine can be had of Gods will in this case, than the
before rehearsed doth bring? But if God himselfe
should speake, what could he speake more, than he
speake in these? Call you them prouidences or
chances, if you be still afflicted and punished? What
he not saie: I of mine infinite mercie and loue to
your nation, had prouided a right heire and a prince
to the one, and a right heire and prince to the o-
ther, to be ioined in my holie lawes, and by the
lawe of nature and the world to haue made an uni-
tie, concord and peace, in the which I see of both the
realmes you refused it; you loved better dissention
than unitie, discord than agreement, warre than
peace, hatred than loue and charitie. If you do then
therefore smart for it, whome can you blame but
your owne election?

But because some of those, who make thereon
to impediments, cannot but confesse, that there ap-
peareth Gods prouidence herein, and oportunitie
and occasion giuen to unitie of both the realmes,
yet may hereafter say, and heretofore haue said, that
the fault herein is, that we seeke not equalitie, nor
the marriage, but a conquest: we would not be
friends but the lords. Although our proclamation
at the last warres doth inough declare the contra-
rie, yet here we protest and declare vnto you and all
christian people, to be the kings maiesties mind
our matters, by our aduise and counsell not to con-
quer, but to haue in amitie; not to win by force,
but to conciliate by loue; not to spoile and kill, but to
saue and keepe; not to disseuer and diuorfe, but to
ioine in marriage, from high to low both the realms,
to make of one Isle one realme, in loue, amitie,
concord, peace and charitie, which if you refuse, and
daine vs to conquer, who is guiltie of the bloodshed?
Who is the occasion of the warre? Who maketh
the battels, the burning of houses, and the deuasta-
tion which shall follow?

Can it be denied but that we haue the great scale
of Scotland granted by the parlement of Scotland,
for the marriage which should be made, with assur-
ces and pledges, vntill the performance? And thus
in the time that the late king of most famous me-
moire our soueraigne lord king Henrie the eight
did reigne, and in the time of the same your gouer-
nour, who now is the earle of Arrane, who then be-
ing a chiefe ower and laborer therein, for the high and
inestimable benefit of that realme, so soon as he
was by the late cardinall of saint Andrews and o-
thers, with certeine vaine feares and hopes & gré-
dineffe of dignitie peruerter, resolued from his first
agreement, and put all the realme to the losse of such
holds and fortresses as are now taken from you,
and to the losse of a foughten field, for the which we
are loie, if otherwise peace might haue bin conclu-
ded, for his owne priuat lucre and retchlesnesse of
that noble realme. And what end can you loke for
of these manner of proceedings, but such successe as
heretofore hath bene experimented & assayed: We
offer loue, we offer equalitie and amitie, we over-
come in warre, and offer peace: we win holds, and
offer no conquest: we get in your land, and offer
England.

What can be more offered and more proffered,
than intercourse of merchandizes, and interchange
of marriages, the abolishing of all such our lawes,
as prohibitteth the same, or might be impediment to
the

The lord p^ro-
vⁱdeat
the

The Scots
by the consent
of a parlement
granted their
great scale for
the confirma-
tion of a mar-
riage to be had
betweene the
heire of
Scotland, &
prince Ed-
ward heire of
England.

what offers
are made to
the Scots.

Britaine was
the first name
of England
and Scot-
land.

the mutuall amitie. We haue offered not onlie to leaue the authoritie name, title, right or challenge of conquerour, but to receiue that which is the shame of men ouercommen, to leaue the name of the nation, and the gloie of anie victorie (if anie we haue had, or should haue of you) and to take the indifferent old name of Britains againe, because nothing should be left on our part to be offered, nothing on your part vnrefused, whereby ye might be inexcusable. And all the world might testifie all other meanes, not being able to do anie thing, after manie other waies and remedies attempted, battell of vs to be taken as an extreame refuge, to attaine right and reason among christian men: if anie man may rightfullie make battell for his spouse and wife. The daughter of Scotland was by the great scale of Scotland promised to the sonne & heire of England.

If it be lawfull by Gods laue to fight in a godd quarrell, and for to make peace, this is to make an end of all warres, and to conclude an eternall and perpetuall peace; which to confirme, we shall fight, and you to breake, is it not easie to discerne who hath the better part: God and the sword hath already, and shall hereafter (if there be no remedie) trie it. Who so willet the marriage to go forward; who so mindeth the peace and tranquillitie of both the realmes; who willet no conquest to be had, but a unitie and loue to go forward, we refuse no man: let him bring his name and his pledge of god seruice in this quarrell, he shall not onlie be receiued to the amitie; but shall haue sufficient defense against the aduersaries, and recompense of his liuing, if he susteine anie losse. We neither do nor intend to put anie man from his lands, taxes, or offices, vnlesse he will needs resist, and so compell vs thereinto.

It beie good,
lawfull, and
bountifull of-
fer.

The case of
the foresaid
marriage still
bigged.

What face hath this of conquest: We intend not to disherit your queene, but to make hir heires inheritors also to England. What greater honour can ye seeke vnto your queene, than the marriage offered: What more meeter marriage than this with the kings highnes of England: What more sure defense in the nonage of your queene for the realme of Scotland, than to haue England your patrone and garison: We seeke not to take from you your lawes nor customes; but we seeke to redresse your oppressions, which of diuerse ye do susteine. In the realme of England, diuerse lawes and customes be according to the ancient vsage thereof. And likewise, France, Normandie, and Gascoigne haue sundrie kind of orders. Haue all the realmes and dominions that the emperor now hath, one custome and one sort of lawes: These baue feares and fantasies of expulsion of your nation, of changing the lawes, of making a conquest, be diuen into your heads, of those, who in deed had rather you were all conquered, spoiled, and slaine, than they would lose anie point of their will, of their desire of rule, of their estimation, which they know in quietnesse would be seene what it were, as it were in a caline water.

The lord pro-
tector telleth
the Scots
who they be
that put
doubts into
their heads,
&c.

How in this tumult of disorder, when the realme is tossed vp and downe with waues and surges of battell, famine, and other mischieses which the warre bringeth, they thinke they cannot be espied; but loke on them you that haue wit and prudence, and consider the state of your queene and realme, you will not keepe hir sole and unmarried, the which were to you great dishonour. If you married hir within the realme, that cannot ertinguish the title which we haue to the crowne of Scotland. And what dissention, enuie, grudge, and malice that shall breed among you, is easie to perceiue. You will marrie hir out of the realme, our title remaineth, you be subjects to a forren prince of another countrie, and of another language, and vs ye haue your enemies, euen at your

elbow, your succours farre off from you: and be we not in the bowels now of the realme: Haue we not a great part thereof, either in subiection or in amitie and loue: Who shall come into your realme, but he shall be met with, and fought with, if neede be, euen of your owne nation, who be faithfull and true to the realme of England in the waie of this most godlie vniou by marriage.

And if anie forren power, prince, or potentate, or whosoener be your aid to nourish still discord, send you an armie also; how shall they oppresse you, fill your houses, waste your groundes, spend and consume your vittells, hold you in subiection, & regard you as slaues, which without them could not liue, & will take your queene to bestow as they lust, & speciallie if their ruler or king (as perchance he may be) in other warres be otherwise occupied, to be a prey to vs, & a true conquest, then it should be too late to saie: We will haue a marriage and no conquest. We will with peace & amitie, we are wearie of battell and miserie. The stubborne ouercommen must suffer the victors pleasure, and pertinacitie will make the victorie more insolent, whereof you your selfe haue giuen the cause, if they send monie and capteines, but no souldiers. If it if they be capteines, who ruleth and whosoeth obeie: Who shall haue the honoy of the enterpryse, and if it be well atchined: But whether it be well atchined or no, which number is that which shall be slaine: Whose blood shall be shed: Their monie peradventure shall be consumed, & their commandements obeyed. But whose bodies shall smart for it: Whose lands shall be wasted: Whose houses burned: What realme made desolate: Remember what it is to haue a forren power within you, a strong power of your enemies vpon you, you (as it were) the campe & plaine betwixt them to fight on, & to be troden vpon, both of the victor, and of the ouercommen. And imagine you be before your eyes your wiues & daughters in danger of wantonnesse & insolencie of the soldiors, the proud looks of the capteines & soldiors, whom you call to helpe you, the contempt you shall bring your nation in, then take heed least indeed that follow which you feare, that is, that you shall be by them conquered, that ye shall be by them put from your holds, lands, taxes & offices, that your lawes by them shall be altered, that your nation shall be by them destroyed. Consider in this realme, did not the Britons call in the Saxons for helpe, & by them were put out: Where be the Britons, once a great nation betwixt you and vs: How did the nation of France put out the Galles out of all France: How got the Turk first all Grecia, & now of late all Hungarie, but being called in for to aid & helpe: And did not the Goths by like meanes get all Italie, and the Lombards one part thereof now called Lombardie: What loke you for more: See the soldiors, & haueing their weapons in their hands, and knowing that you cannot liue without them, what will not they command you to do: What will they not inuade vpon you: What will they not thinke they may do: And what will they thinke that you dare do: This forren helpe is your confusion, that succour is your detriment, the victorie so had is your scrattube: What is then to be thought of losse taken with them: The strangers and forren soldiors shall oppresse you with in, our power and strength without; and of your owne nation, so manie as loue quietnesse, godlines, and wealth of your realme, shall helpe also to scourge and afflict you. Is it not better to compose and acquiesce all this calamitie and trouble by marriage, to end all forrolous and battells by such and so honorable a peace: Hath not the emperor Spaine & Burgundie by title of marriage: How holdest the French king Britaine now latelie annexed to that crowne, but

Further documents
make the
Scots for-
ward in this
marriage.

True saying.

The lord pro-
tector pome-
th as it were
the incommu-
nities which
he would haue
the Scots to
perpetuate.

Examples
confirming
the former
sermon.

Insolencie of
soldiors and
insolencie
of the
nobles.

The chief
of the lord pro-
tectors
sermon.

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the lord pro-
the, teozoz pomech
sthyin, (as it were)
you, the inconuen-
fight, ences which
if the he would have
reies the Scots to
meffe present.

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Examples
confirming
the former de-
fection.

Insolence
soldiers and
lawless licen-
tiousness.

The fhou of
the lord pro-
rears exho-
tation.

the lord pro-
rears exho-
tation.

The manner
of making one
reynard of
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The lord pro-
rears exho-
tation.

the lord pro-
rears exho-
tation.

the lord pro-
rears exho-
tation.

the lord pro-
rears exho-
tation.

but by title of marriage? How have all the great
princes of the world happie and with quiet
of two kingdoms one, of diuerse lordships one, of
nations alwaies at warre with themselves, or else
in doubtful peace, one well governed kingdom,
rule, and dominion, but by that gospie, most quiet,
and most amiable composition of marriage? Two
means there be of making one rule, wherto title is
pretended, and perfect agreement betwixt two na-
tions, either by force or superiortie, which is conquest;
or by equalitie and loue, which is by parentage & ma-
riage: you hate the one, that is, conquest; and by refu-
sing the other, you enforce upon you hatred & malice.

You will not have peace, you will not have ali-
ance, you will not have concord; and conquest com-
meth upon you whether you will or no. And yet if all
things were considered, we feare it will appere that
it were better for you to be conquered of vs, than
succoured of strangers, lesse losse to your goods, lesse
hurt to your lands, lesse dishonor to your realme;
this nation which is one in tongue, one in countrie and
birth, hauing so little diuersitie to occupie the whole,
than other powers come in to you, neither like in
language, nor yet like in behauior, who should rule
ouer you, and take you to be but their slaues. But
we esteeme and finally declare and protest vnto you,

that although for the better furtherance of this god-
lie purpose of uniting the realmes, and for the sure
defense of them which fauour the marriage, we are
compelled for the time to keepe holds, and to make
fortifications in your realme: yet the kings mai-
esties mind and determinat pleasure is, with our ad-
uise and counsell to be as before is declared, that
where fauour may be shewed, not to vse rigor, if
by conditions you will receiue this amitie offered,
not to follow conquest: for we desire loue, unitie,
concord, peace and equalitie. Let neither your gou-
ernors nor your hirkemen, nor those, who so often
haue falsified their faith and promise, and by treache-
rie and falshood be accustomed to prozoge the time,

sed you forth with faire words, and bring you into
the snare from whence they cannot deliuer you. They
will peraduenture prouide for themselves with pen-
sions in some other realme, and set soldiors stran-
gers in your holds to keepe you in subiection, vnder
the pretense to defend them against vs. But who
promiseth pensions for you? How are you defended
when they are fled away? Who conquereth you when
the strange captiues haue your holds, when your
land is wasted, and the realme destroyed, and the more
part kept from you? Who will set by the marriage of
the queene to giue a title with the war of England, to
marrie the name, an other rightie king holding the
land? If we two being made one by amitie, be most
able to defend vs against all nations, and hauing the
sea for wall, the mutuell loue for garrison, & God for
defense, should make so noble and well agreeing mo-
narchie, that neither in peace we may be ashamed,

nor in war afraid of anie worldlie or forren power:
why should not you be as desirous of the same, and
haue as much cause to reioice at it as we? If this ho-
nor of so noble a monarchie do not moue you to take
and accept amitie, let the griefe and the danger of the
aforenamed losses feare you to attempt that thing
which shall displease God, increase warre, danger
your realme, destroy your land, vnder your children,
wast your grounds, desolate your countries, and
bring all Scotland either to famine & miserie, or to
subiection and seruitude of an other nation. We re-
quire but your promised queene, your offered agree-
ment of unitie, the iointing of both the nations, which
God of his infinite clemencie and tender loue that he
hath declared to beare to both the nations, hath offer-
red vnto vs both, and in manner called vs both vnto

it, whose calling and prouocation we haue, and will
follow to the best of our powers, and in his name, and
with his aid, admonition, exhortation, request, and
ambassages, not being able to do it, and to find sta-
bleness in promises, we shall not willing, but com-
pelled pursue the battell, chastise the wicked & ma-
licious by the angrie angels of God, fire and sword.

Therefore we require and exhort you all, who
haue loue to the countrie, pittie of that realme, a true
hart to your queene and miserie, regard of your
honors and promises made by the great scale of
Scotland, and who fauour the peace, loue, unitie,
and concord, and that most profitable marriage to en-
ter and come to vs, and declaring your true and god-
lie harts therunto, to aid vs in this most godlie pur-
pose and enterprize. To be witness of our doings
we refuse no man, temporall nor spirituall, lord ne-
lard, gentleman nor other, who will aid this our pur-
pose, and minish the occasion of slaughter and de-
struction, to whom we shall keepe the promises here-
tofore declared, and further see reward and recom-
pense made according to the desert.

And for a more sure proue and plainer token of
the good mind and will which we beare vnto you, that
which neuer yet was granted to Scotland in anie
league, truce, or peace betwixt England and Scot-
land, because ye shall haue proue of the beginning of
loue and amitie of both the realmes: the kings
highnes considering the multitude of them which are
come to his maiesties deuotion, and of them that be
well-willers and aiders of this godlie enterprize,
hath by our aduise and counsell granted, and by these
presents doth grant, that from henceforth all manner
of merchants and other Scottishmen, who will enter
their names with one of the wardens of the mar-
ches, there profess to take part with vs in this be-
fore named godly purpose, to his owne commoditie,
& to serue all such as be of the same agreement, may
lawfullie and without anie trouble and vexation en-
ter into anie port, crake, or haven of England, and
there vse their traffikes of merchandize, buie and sell,
bring in the commodities of Scotland, and take and
carrie forth the commodities of England, as libe-
rallie and as frelie, and with the same and none o-
ther custome or payments therefore, than English-
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the furtherers of this most godlie enterprize and vni-
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zeale and loue which his highnes doth beare toward
you and your nation. And all this the kings high-
nesse, by our aduise and counsell, hath willed to be
declared vnto you; and giuen in commandement
vnto vs, and all his lieutenants, wardens, rulers,
and other head officers, ministers, and subiects, to
see executed and done, according to the true purport,
effect, and meaning thereof. Fare you well.

Although this admonition and wholesome exhor-
tation might haue moued the Scots to haue regar-
ded their owne state, yet it little auailed, as by the se-
quel it appeared. For hauing both great promises
made by the French, and now considering therewith
the hurle barlies and tumults that sprong vp in
England, they continued in their obstinat purposes,
not to yeld vnto such reasonable motions as had
bene offered, if they would haue shewed themselves
conformable thereto, and not haue so stubborne de-
nied to submit themselves to that which of right they
were bound vnto. So that herein they shewed them-
selves verie peruerse and willfull, reiecting not one-
lie the god aduise that the duke gaue them, but also
not so much as once thinking what might insue to
their great mischance vpon their refusal, and what be-
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nefit

Fire & sword
Gods angrie
angels.

An argument
of bright me-
ning that res-
fuleth no wra-
neste.

The kings
grant as a
proue of the
beginning of
loue betwixt
England and
Scotland.

The Scots
reiekt the be-
nefit of this
exhortation.

ness rebound to them by admitting the offer: naie, they were of opinion and belae, that if so haue a bottie might befall England, it would be an occasion of great ruth and tozchednesse to Scotland: as one of late hath affirmed in his poetickall supposal:

*shae preda Britannia
Cederet, omifera Scotia misirabile regnum,
Genti infelici nihil est misirabile relium.*

But now to let the Scots alone for a time, we will returne to the rebellion which followed in this yeare, to the whole disappointing of the plot laid by the counsell, for the present subduing of the Scots, as it was verie like that it should haue to come to passe, if none other let had come. So it was, that the kings maiestie, by the aduise of his uncle the lord protector, and other of the counsell, thought good to let forth a proclamation against inclosures, and taking in of fields and commons that were accustomed to lie open, for the behoofe of the inhabitants dwelling nere to the same, who had greivously complained of gentlemen and others for taking from them the vse of those fields and commons, and had inclosed them into parks and severall pastures for their priuat commodities and pleasures, to the great hinderance and vndoing of manie a poore man.

The meaning of the foresaid proclamation.

This proclamation tending to the benefit and reliefe of the poore, appointed that such as had inclosed those commons, should upon a paine by a date assigned late them open againe. But how well souer the setters forth of this proclamation meant, thinking thereby peradventure to appease the grudge of the people that found themselves greiued with such inclosures; yet verelie it turned not to the wished effect, but rather ministered occasion of a foule and dangerous disorder. For whereas there were set that obeyed the commandement, the vnruly people presuming vpon their proclamation, thinking they should be borne out by them that had set it forth rashly without order, toke vpon them to redresse the matter: and assembling themselves in vnlawfull wise, chose to them captians and leaders, brake open the inclosures, cast downe ditches, killed by the deare which they found in parkes, spoiled and made hauocke, after the manner of an open rebellion. First they began to plaie these parts in Summerfetshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Kent, Essex, and Lincolneshire.

Commotions in Summerfetshire, and other places.

Rebellion in Deuonshire. John Fox in Acts & Monuments.

The names of the captians of the rebels.

In Summerfetshire they brake by certeine parks of sir William Herbert, and the lord Starcon: but sir William Herbert assembling a power together by the kings commission, slue and executed manie of those rebellious people. In other places also, by the good diligence and policie vsed by the counsell, the rebels were appeased and quieted. But shortly after, the commons of Deuonshire and Cornewall rose by waie of rebellion, demanding not onelie to haue inclosures laied open, and parkes disparted: but also thorough the instigation and pricking forward of certeine poppish priests, ceased not by all sinister and subtil meanes, first vnder Gods name & the kings, and vnder the colour of religion, to perswade the people to assemble in routs, to chose captians to guide them, and finally to burst out into open rebellion. Their chiefe captians were these, Humfrie Arundell esquier, gouernour of the Mount, James Kologan, John Kologan, John Paine, Thomas Underhill, John Soleman, and William Segar. Moreover, of priests which were principall stirrers, and some of them chiefe gouernors of the camps, and after executed, there were to the number of eight, whose names we find to be as follow: Robert Bocham, John Thompson, Roger Barret, John Wolcocke, William Alfa, James Bourton, John Barrow, Richard Benet, besides a multitude of other priests

which joined with them.

The whole companies of these rebels amounted little lesse than to the number of ten thousand stout and ballant personages, able indeed (if their cause had bene good and favoured of the Lord and giuer of victories) to haue wrought great feats. But being (as they were) ranke and malicious traitors, the almighty God confounded their deuises, and brought them to their deserued confusion. A strange case, that those mischacions and wicked traitors could not be warned by the crill successe of their diuillishly attempted outrage, in the yeare last past; at what time certeine seditious persons in Cornewall fell vpon one of the kings commissioners named master Bobie, sent thither with others for the reformation of matters in religion, in like manner as other were sent at the same time into other shires of the realme, for the which murder a priest being apprehended, arraigned, and condemned, was hanged into Smithfield, and there hanged and quartered the seauenth daie of Iulie, in the said last yeare before mentioned, to wit, 1548. Other of his complices and associates were executed and put to death in diuerse other parts of the realme.

But now touching these other that rose in this present summer. At the first they were in great hope that the other disordered persons, which stirred in other parts of the realme, would haue joined with them, by force to haue disappointed and vndone that which the prince by law and act of parlement, in reformation of religion, had ordeined and established. But afterwards perceiuing how in most places such mischacions mutinies and diuillish attempts, as the commons had begun, partly by force and partly by policie were appeased, or that their cause being but onelie about plucking downe of inclosures, and enlarging of commons, was distanced from theirs; so that either they would not, or could not ioine with them in aid of their religious quarrell: they began somewhat to doubt of their wicked begun enterprise. Notwithstanding now, sith they had gone so farre in the matter, they thought there was no thinking backe: and therefore determining to proceed, they fell to new deuises, as first before all things to bring into their hands all such places of force, wealth, and defense, as might in any respect serue for their aid and furtherance. Here vpon the second of Iulie, they came before the citie of Excester, incamping about the same in great numbers, and used all waies and meanes they could deuise how to win it by force, sometimes assailing it right sharplie, sometimes firing the gates, otherwhiles undermining the wals, and at other times (as occasions serued) procuring skirmishes.

Finally, nothing was left vndone which the enimie could imagine to serue his purpose for the winning of that citie. And albeit there wanted not lads & romachs among the citizens to withstand this outward force of the enimie: yet in proceesse of time, such scarcitie of bread and vittels increased, that the people wared wearie & loth to abide such extremities of famine. Notbeit the magistrats (though it greiued them to see the multitude of the citizens in such distress) yet hauing a speciall regard of their dutie toward the prince, and loue to the common wealth, left no waies vnbrought to quiet the people, & stalle them in their dutifull obedience to resist the enimies: so that comforteing the people with faire promises, and relieuing their necessities verie liberallie, so farre as their power might extend, did in such sort vse the matter, that euerie of them within resolved with one generall consent to abide the end, in hope of some speedie reliefe. And in the meane while, when their corne and meale was consumed, the gouernors

The number of the rebels in Deuonshire.

Their hope others join them.

Excester besieged.

The great loue of the citizens of Excester.

of the citie caused brian and meale to be moulde by in cloth, for otherwise it would not sticke together. Also they caused some excursions to be made out of the citie, to take and fetch into the citie such cattell as were found pasturing abroad nere to the walls, which being brought in, were distributed among the poore. To conclude, into such extremitie were the miserable citizens brought, that albeit mans nature can scarce abide to feed vpon anie vnaccustomed food; yet these filie men were glad to eat horse flesh, and to hold themselves well content therewith. Whilke the siege thus remained before Excester, the rebels spoiled and robbed the countrie abroad, and laieing their traitorous heads together, they consulted vpon certaine articles to be sent vnto the king. Wherin such diuersitie of heads and wits was among them, that for euery kind of bzaine there was one manner of article: so that neither appeared anie consent in their diuersitie, nor yet anie constancie in their agreement. Some seemed more tollerable, others altogether vnreasonable, some would haue no iustices, some no state of gentlemen. The priests euer harped vpon one string, to ring the bishop of Rome into England againe, and to halloie home cardinall Pole their countreiman. After much a do, at length a few articles were agreed vpon, to be directed vnto the king, with the names of certaine of their heads set therevnto, the copie whereof here in such.

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the ent- the win- not lastie this out- time, such t the pro- mitte of t greued i such di- dntie to- ealth, left aie them nies: so lles, and farre as t vse the ued with i hope of ile, when our noz of

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The articles of the commons of Deuonshire and Cornewall, sent to the king, with answers afterward following vnto the same.

Ist, forsomuch as man, except he be borne of water, and the holie-ghost, can not enter into the kingdome of God, and forsomuch as the gates of heauen be not open without this blessed sacrament of baptism; therefore we will that our curats shall minister this sacrament at all times of need, as well on the weke daies, as on the holie daies.

2 Item, we will haue our children confirmed of the bishop, whensoever we shall within the diocesse resort vnto him.

3 Item, forsomuch as we constantlie beleue, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration being at masse, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is verie realitie the bodie and blond of our sauour Iesus Christ God and man, and that no substance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the verie selfe same bodie that was borne of the virgin Marie, and was giuen vpon the crosse for our redemption: therefore we will haue masse celebraed as it hath bene in times past, without anie man communicating with the priests, forsomuch as manie ruelie presuming vnworthilie to receiue the same, put no difference betwene the Lords bodie & other kind of meat; some saieing that it is bread before and after, some saieing that it is profitable to no man except he receiue it: with manie other abused termes.

4 Item, we will haue in our churches reseruacion.

5 Item, we will haue holie bread and holie water in the remembrance of Christs precious bodie and blond.

6 Item, we will that our priests shall sing or saie with an audible voice, Gods seruice in the quier of the parish churches, and not Gods seruice to be set forth like a Chistmasse plate.

7 Item, forsomuch as priests be men dedicated

to God for ministering and celebrating the blessed sacraments, and preaching of Gods word, we will that they shall liue chaste without marriage, as saint Paule did, being the elect and chosen vessel of God, saieing vnto all honest priests; Be you followers of me.

8 Item, we will that the six articles, which our soveraigne lord king Henrie the eight set forth in his latter daies, shall be vied and so taken as they were at that time.

9 Item, we praye God saue king Edward, for we be his both bodie and gods.

For the pacifieng of these rebels, were appointed by the king and his counsell, sir John Russell knight lord priue seale, the lord Greie of Wilton, sir William Herbert after earle of Penbrooke, sir John Paulet, sir Hugh Paulet, sir Thomas Speake, and others, with a conuenient power of men of warre both on horsebacke and foot. Amongst others, there were certaine strangers that came with my lord Greie, as capteine Germane an Hennover, with a band of horsemen, most part Albanos and Italians. Also capteine Paule Baptiste Spinola an Italian boine of a noble house in Genoa, with a band of Italian footmen. But now the lord priue seals that was ordeined by the king and his counsell, generall of that armie, vpon his first approaching towards them, sent vnto them the kings maiesties proclamation: the effect whereof was, that all such persons as were vnlawfullie assembled, and did not within thre daies next after the proclaiming thereof, yield and submit themselves to the lord priue seale (the kings lieutenant) they should from thenceforth be deemed, accepted, and taken for rebels against his roiall person, and his impertall crowne and dignitie.

And further, the kings maiestie, for a more terror to the rebels, and the incouragement of such other his louing subiects, as should helpe and aid to apprehend anie of the said rebels, he by his said proclamation granted and gaue all the offices, fees, goods and possessions, which the said rebels had at and before their apprehension. This proclamation notwithstanding, the rebels continued in their wicked deuises & traitorous purposes, hastening to the hazards of their owne deaths & bindowings, as the poet saith of the foolish fish swimming to the hidden hook: *Occultum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum.*

Wherevpon yet once againe the kings maiestie, for the auoiding of the shedding of christian blood, sent vnto them a most gentle and louing message in writing, thereby to reduce them againe to their dutifull obedience: but all would not serue nor auail to moue their obstinate minds to leaue off their desperate and diuelish enterpryse. The message was as followeth.

The kings message to the rebels of Cornewall and Deuonshire.

Although knowledge hath bene giuen to vs, and our dearest uncle the duke of Summerfet gouernor of our person, and protector of all our realms, dominions, and subiects, and to the rest of our priue counsell, of diuerse assemblies made by you, which ought of dutie to be our louing subiects, against all order of law, and other wise than euer anie louing or kind subiects haue attempted against their naturall and liege soueraigne lord: yet we haue thought it met, at this verie first time, not to condemne and reiect you, as we might iustlie doe; but to vse you as our subiects, thinking that the diuell hath not that power in you, to make you of naturall

The six arti- cles to be re- newed.

The captiues appointed to go against the Deuonshire rebels.

Strangers.

Ric. Grafton. A proclama- tion.

Hor. epist. lib. 1.

The great localite of the citizens of Excester.

borne Englishmen, so suddenlie to become enemies to your owne native countrie of our subiects, to make you traitors, or vnder pretense to relieue your selues, to destroye your selues, your wiues, children, lands, possessions, and all other commodities of this your life. This we saie, that we trust, that although ye be ignorantlie seduced, ye will not be vpon knowledge, obdurate.

And though some amongst you (as euer there is some cockle amongst good corne) forget God, neglect their prince, esteeme not the state of the realme, but as carelesse & desperat men delite in sedition, tumults & wars: yet neuerthelesse the greater part of you will heare the voice of vs your naturall prince, and will by wisdom and counsell be warned, and cease your evils in the beginning. whose ends will be euen by God almighties order your owne destruction. Wherefore as to you our subiects by ignorance seduced, we speake and be content to vse our princelie authoritie like a father to his children, to admonish you of your faults, not to punish them; to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to auenge your forgetfulness. First, your disorder to rise in multitudes, to assemble your selues against our other louing subiects, to arraie your selues to the war, who amongst you all can answer for the same to almighty God, charging you to obeie vs in all things? How can anie English god hart answer vs, our lawes, and the rest of our verie louing and faithfull subiects, who in deed by their obedience make our honour, estate, and degre?

Disorder in
subiects.

Abusing of the
kings name.

We vse our name in your writings, and abuse the same against our selfe. What iniurie herein do you vs, to call those which loue vs, to your euill purposes, by the authoritie of our name? God hath made vs your king by his ordinance and prouidence, by our blood and inheritance, by lawfull succession, and our coronation: but not to this end, as you vse our name. We are your most naturall soueraine lord & king, Edward the first, to rule you, to preserve you, to saue you from all your outward enemies, to see our lawes well ministred, euerie man to haue his owne, to suppress disordered people, to correct traitors, theues, pirates, robbers, & such like, yea to keepe our realmes from other princes, from the malice of the Scots, of Frenchmen, of the bishop of Rome. Thus god subiects, our name is written, thus it is honored and obeyed, this maiestie it hath by Gods ordinance, not by mans. So that of this your offense we cannot write to much. And yet doubt not but this is enough from a prince to all reasonable people, from a roiall king to all kindhearted & louing subiects, fro the puissant k. of England, to euerie naturall Englishman.

False causes.

Your pretense, which you saie, moueth you to do thus, and wherewith you seeke to excuse this disorder, we assure you is either false, or so vaine, that we doubt not, that after that ye shall hereby vnderstand the truth thereof, ye will all with one voice acknowledge your selues ignorantlie led, and by error seduced. And if there be anie one that will not, then assure you the same be ranke traitors, enemies of our crowne, seditious people, heretikes, papists, or such as care not what cause they haue to prouoke an insurrection, so they may do it, nor in deed can war so rich with their owne labors & with peace, as they can do with spoiles, with wars, with robberies and such like, yea with the spoile of your owne gods, with the liuing of your labors, the sweat of your bodies, the food of your owne households, wiues and children: such they be, as for a time vse pleasant persuasions to you, and in the end will cut your throates for your owne gods.

Baptisme.

You be borne in hand, that your children, though necessarie chance, shall not be christened but vpon the

holie daies: how false this is, learne you of vs. Our booke which we haue set forth by free consent of our whole parlement in the English tongue teacheth you the contrarie, euen in the first lease, yea the first side of the first lease of that part which intreateth of baptism. God subiects (so) to other we speake not, looke & be not deceived. They which haue put this false opinion into your eares, they meane not the christening of children, but the destruction of you our christened subiects. Be this knowne vnto you, that our honor is so much, that we may not be found faultie of one tote or word: yeaue it, if by our lawes you may not christen your children when ye be disposed vpon necessitie, euerie daie or houre in the weeke, then might you be offended: but seeing you may do it, how can you beleue them that teach you the contrarie? What thinke you they meane in the rest, which moue you to breake your obedience against vs, your king & soueraine, vpon these so false tales & persuasions in so euident a matter? Wherefore all you which will acknowledge vs your soueraine lord, and which will heare the voice of vs your king, may easilie perceiue how you be deceived, and how subtilie traitors and papists, with their falsehood seeke to achieve and bring their purpose to passe with your helpe. Euerie traitor will be glad to dissemble his treason, and see it secretlie: euerie papist his poperie, and nourish it inwardlie, and in the end make you our subiects partakers of treason and poperie, which in the beginning was pretended to be a commonweale and holiness.

And how are you seduced by them, which put in your heads the blessed sacrament of Christs bodie, should not differ from other common bread? If our lawes, proclamations, and statutes be all to the contrarie, why shall anie priuat man persuade you against them? We do our selfe in our owne hart, our counsell in all their profession, our lawes and statutes in all purposes, our god subiects in all our doings most highlie esteeme that sacrament, and vse the communion thereof to our most comfort. We make so much difference thereof from other common bread, that we thinke no profit of other bread, but to mainteine our bodies: but this blessed bread we take to be the verie food of our soules to euermoring life. How thinke you, god subiects, shall not we being your prince, your lord, your king by Gods appointment, with truth more preuaile, than certeine euill persons with open falsehood? Shall anie seditious person persuade you that the sacrament is despised, which is by our lawes, by our selfe, by our counsell, and by all our god subiects esteemed, used, participated, and daily receiued? If euer ye were seduced, if euer deceived, if euer traitors were beleued, if euer papists poisoned god subiects, it is now. It is not the christening of children, nor the reuerence of the sacrament, nor the health of your soules that they shot at, god subiects: it is sedition, it is high treason, it is your destruction they seeke. How craftie, how pitiouslie, how cunninglie so euer they do it, with one rule iudge ye the end, which of force must come of your purposes.

Almighty God forbiddeth vpon paine of euermoring damnation, disobedience to vs your king, and in his place we rule in earth. If we should be slow, would God erre? If your offense be towards God, thinke you it is pardoned without repentance? Is Gods iudgement mutable? Your paine is damnation, your iudge is incorruptible, your fault is most euident. Likewise are ye euill informed in diuerse other articles, as for confirmation of your children, for the masse, for the maner of your seruice of mattins and euen song. Whatsoeuer is therein ordered, hath bene long debated, and consulted by manie learned bishops, doctors, and other men of great learning

Shower in
the English
tong.

Knowledge is
better than
ignorance.

Chapelle.

Confirmation
of children.

Disobedience
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disobedience
to almighty
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Confirmation
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learning in this realme concluded, in nothing so much labour and time spent of late time, nothing so faulie ended. As for seruice in the English tong hath manifested reasons for it, and yet perchance seemeth to you a new seruice, and yet in deed is none other but the old. The selfe same wordes in English which were in Latin, saving a few things taken out, so fond that it had bene a shame to haue heard them in English, as all they can iudge which list to report the truth.

The difference is, that we ment godlie, that you our subiects should vnderstand in English, being our naturall countrie tong, that which was heretofore spoken in Latine, then seruing onelie them which vnderstand Latine, & now for all you that be borne English. How can this with reason offend anie reasonable man, that he should vnderstand what anie other saith, and so to consent with the speaker? If the seruice in the church were good in Latine, it remaineth good in English: for nothing is altered, but to speake with knowledge, that before was spoken with ignorance: and to let you vnderstand what is said for you, to the intent you maie further it with your owne deuotion, an alteration to the better, except knowledge be worse than ignorance. So that whosoeuer hath moued you to mislike this order, can giue you no reason, nor answer yours, if ye vnderstand it.

Wherefore you our subiects, remember we speake to you, being ordeined your prince and king by almighty God, if anie wise we could aduance Gods honour more than we do, we would do it, and see that ye become subiects to Gods ordinance. Obieie vs your prince, and learne of them which haue authoritie to teach you, which haue power to rule you, and will create our iustice, if we be prouoked. Learne not of them whose fruits be nothing but wilfulnesse, disobedience, obstinacie, & destruction of the realme. For the masse, we assure you, no small studie & travail hath bene spent by all the learned clergie therein, and to auoid all contention thereof, it is brought enen to the verie use as Christ left it, as the apostles used it, as holie fathers deliuered it: indeed somewhat altered from that which the popes of Rome for their lucre brought to it. And although you maie heare the contrarie of some popish and euil men, yet our maiestie, which for our honoz maie not be blemished nor stained, assureth you, that they deceiue you, abuse you, and blow these opinions into your heads for to furnish their owne purposes.

And so likewise iudge you of confirmation of children, and let them answer you this one question. Thinke they that a child christened is damned, because he dieth before bishopping? Sparke god subiects, what inconuenience hereof commeth. Our doctrine therefore is founded vpon true learning, and theirs vpon thamelesse errors. To conclude, beside our gentle manner of information to you, whatsoever is contained in our booke, either for baptisme, sacrament, masse, confirmation and seruice in the church, is by parlement established, by the whole clergie agreed, yea by the bishops of the realme deuised, & further by Gods word confirmed. And how dare you trust, yea how dare you giue eare without trembling, to anie singular person to disallow a parliament; a subiect to persuaide against our maiestie, or anie man of his single arrogancie against the determination of the bishops, and all the cleergie, anie intended argument against the word of God?

But now yea our subiects, we resort to a greater matter of your unkindnesse, a great unnaturalnesse, and such an euill, that if we thought it had not bene begun of ignorance, and continued by persuation of certaine traitors amongst you, which we thinke few in number, but in their doings busie, we could not

be persuaided but to ble our sword and do iustice: and as we be ordeined of God for to redresse your errors by auengement. But loue and zeale yet our cometh our iust anger, but how long that will be, God knoweth, in whose hand our heart is; and rather for your owne causes, being our christened subiects, we would ye were persuaided than vanquished, taught than ouerthrowne, quietlie pacified than rigorously persecuted. We require to haue the statute of six articles reuinded. And know you what ye require? We know ye what ease ye haue with the losse of them: They were lawes made, but quicklie repented; to bloudie they were to be borne of our people, yet at the first in deed made of some necessitie. Wh subiects how are ye trapped by euil persons? We of pitie, because they were bloudie, toke them awaie, and you now of ignorance will aske them againe. You know full well that they helped vs to extend right, and gaue vs cause to braue our sword vertie often.

And since our mercie moued vs to write our lawes with milke and equitie, how are ye blinded to aske them in bloud? But leauing this manner of reasoning, and resorting to the truth of our authoritie, we let you wit, the same hath bene aduulled by parliament with great reioice of our subiects, and not now to be called in question. And dareth anie of you with the name of a subiect, stand against an act of parliament, a law of the realme? What is our power if lawes should be thus neglected? What is your suertie if lawes be not kept? Alasce you most foolish, that we of no earthlie thing vnder the heauen make such reputation as we do of this one, to haue our lawes obied, & this cause of God to be thoroughly maintained, from the which we will neuer remoue a heares brydth, nor giue place to anie creature liuing; but therein will spend our whole roiall person, our crowne, treasure, realme, and all our state, whereof we assure you of our high honoz. For herein resteth our honoz, herein do all kings knowledg vs a king. And shall anie one of you dare breathe or thinke against our kingdome and crowne?

In the end of this your request (as we be giuen to vnderstand) ye would haue them stand in force till our full age. To this we thinke, that if ye know what ye spake, ye would not haue vttered the motion, nor neuer giuen breath to such a thought. For that thinke you of our kingdome? We we of lesse authoritie for our age? We we not your king now as we shall be? Shall ye be subiects hereafter, and now are ye not? Haue we not the right we shall haue? If ye would suspend and hang our doings in doubt vntill our full age, ye must first know, as a king we haue no difference of yeares, but as a naturall man and creature of God we haue youth, and by his suffrance shall haue age. We are your rightfull king, your liege lord, the soveraigne prince of England, not by our age, but by Gods ordinance; not onelie when we shall be one and twentie yeares of age, but when we were of ten yeers. We possesse our crowne not by yeares, but by the blood and descent from our father king Henrie the eight. If it be considered, they which moue this matter, if they durst bitter themselves, would denie our kingdome.

But our good subiects know their prince, and will increase, not diminish his honoz, enlarge his power, not abate it, knowledg his kingdome, not deferre it to certeine yeares. All is one, to speake against our crowne, and to denie our kingdome, as to require that our lawes maie be broken vnto one and twentie yeares. We we not your crowned, anointed, and established king? Wherein be we of lesse maiestie, of lesse authoritie, or lesse state, than our progenitors kings of this realme, except your unkindnes, your unnaturalnesse will diminish our estimation?

¶ See e. lii.

Six articles.

The authoritie of a parliament.

We haue hitherto since the death of our father, by the good aduise and counsell of our deare and intirely beloved vncle the duke of Summerset, and gouernor and protectour, kept our estate, maintained our realme, preferred our honour, defended our people from all enemies. We haue hitherto bene feared and dread of our enemies, yea of princes, kings, and nations. Yea herein we be nothing inferiour to anye our progenitors, which grace we acknowledge to be giuen vs from God, and how else, but by god obedi-
10 ence, god counsell of our magistrates, and by the au- thoritie of our kingdome.

England hitherto hath gained honour during our reigne: it hath wone of the enemy, and not lost. It hath bene maruelled that we of so yong yeares haue reigned so noble, so roiallie, so quietlie. And how chanceth that you our louing subiects of that our countrie of Cornewall and Devonshire, will giue occasion to stander this our realme of England, to giue courage to the enemy, to note our realme of the euill of rebellion, to make it a piete to our old en-
20 mies, to diminish our honour which God hath giuen, our father left, our god vncle and counsell preferred vnto vs: What greater euill could ye commit, than euen now when our forren enemy in Scotland, and vpon the sea seeketh to invade vs, to do our realme dishonour, than to arise in this maner against our law, to prouoke our wrath, to aske our vengeance, and to giue vs an occasion to spend that force vpon you, which we meant to bestow vpon our enemies, to begin to haie you with that sword that we drew forth against Scots, and other enemies, to make a con-
quest of our owne people, which otherwise should haue bene of the whole realme of Scotland.

Thus farre we haue descended from our high ma-
iestie, for loue to consider you in your simple igno-
rance, and haue bene content to send you an instruc-
tion like a father, who of iustice might haue sent you
your destructions like a king to rebels. And now we
let you know, that as you see our mercie abundant-
lie, so if ye prouoke vs further, we sweare to you by
the liuing God, ye shall see the power of the same
God in our sword, which how mightie it is, no subiect
knoweth; how puissant it is, no priuat man can
iudge; how mortall, no Englishman dare thinke.
But fuerlie, fuerlie, as your lord and prince, your or-
lie king and maister, we saie to you, repent your
selues, and take our mercie without delate: or else
we will forthwith extend our princelie power, and
execute our sharpe sword against you, as against in-
fideles and Turks, and rather aduenture our owne
roiall person, state, and power, than the same should
not be executed.

And if you will proue the example of our mercie,
learne of certeine which latlie did arise, as they per-
ceiuing pretended some griefes, and yet acknowledg-
ing their offenses, haue not onelie most humble
their pardon: but seele also by our order, to whome
onelie all publike order appertineth, present redresse
of their griefes. In the end, we admonish you of
your duties to God, whome ye shall answer in the
daie of the Lord, & of your duties toward vs, whome
ye shall answer by our order, and take our mercie
whilest God so inclineth vs, least when ye shall be
constrained to aske, we shall be too much hardened
in heart to grant it you. And where ye shall heare
now of mercie, mercie, and life, ye shall then heare
of iustice, iustice, and death. Written the eight of
Julie, in the thirde yeare of our reigne.

Although the rebels receiued this princelie mes-
sage, & wholesome admonition from the kings ma-
iestie, yet would they not reforme themselves, as
dutyfull subiects ought to haue done, but stood still in

their wicked begun rebellion, offering to trie it at
the weapons point. There wanted not pikes and
other busse bodics among them, such as by all waies
and meanes possible sought to kindle the coles of
malice and hatred betwixt the king and his subiects;
which as the maner is among all the like wicked
disposed people, contriued to raise and strete abroad
false forged tales, and feined rumors, giuing it out,
that the people should be constrained to paie a ratta-
ble taske for their sheepe and cattell, and an excise for
euerie thing that they should eate or drinke. These
and such other slanderous bytutes were spread abroad
by those children of Beliall, whereby the cankered
minds of the rebels might the more be hardened
and made stiffe from plieing vnto anye reasonable per-
suasion, that might be made to moue them to re-
turne vnto their dutifull obedience, as by the lawes
both of God and man they were bounden: and so it
came to passe. For the rebellious rout were growne
to an obstinacie, seeming so far from admitting per-
suasions to submission, that they became resolute
in their pestilent actions; willfullie following the
worst, which they knew full well would redound to
their detriment; and auoiding the best, which they
doubted not might turne to their auantage, agreea-
ble in sense and meaning vnto that of the poet:

Qua nocere sequar, fugiam qua profere credam.

Herevpon when no hope was left to procure them
by any quiet meanes to laie downe armes, the lord
30 pryncie seale, and the lord Greie, with their forces,
although not comparable with the rebels in num-
ber, about the latter end of Julie set vpon them, and
by great manhood put them from their ground, not-
withstanding they fought verie stoutlie, & gaue it not
ouer for a litle: and although they were thus driuen
to giue place at this first onset, yet they got togi-
ther againe, and aboad a new charge, defending
their ground, & doing what they could to beat backe
and repell those that came to assaile them. But ne-
uertheless through the power of the almightie God
40 fauouring the rightfull cause, the rebels were distres-
sed, and followed in chase with great slaughter for
the space of two miles. This was about the begin-
ning of August.

Their chiefe captiues, to wit, Humfreie Arun-
dell, Whinsland, Holmes, and Burie, were taken
and brought by to London. There were taken also
others of their captiues, as Thomas Underhill,
John Soleman, William Segar, Cempson, and
50 Barret, which two last were priests; also Woier and
Henrie Le, two matozs, all the which were executed
in one place or other, as they had well deserved. The
said Woier being matoz of Bodmin in Cornewall,
(as Grafton reporteth) had bene a busse fellow a-
mong the rebels, to set them forward in mischief:
howbeit some that loued him sought to excuse him,
as if he had bene forced hereto against his will by
the rebels, who would haue killed him, and burnt his
house, if he had not consented to them. But how-
60 soeuer it was, sir Anthonie Kingston that was pro-
uost marshall in the kings armie vnder the lord pry-
ncie seale, wrote his letter vnto the said matoz, sig-
nifieng to him, that he and other with him should
come and dine with him such a daie. The matoz se-
eming to be glad thereof, made the best purueance
he could to receiue them, and at the time appointed,
sir Anthonie Kingston came with his companie, and
were right hartlie welcomed of the matoz. But be-
fore they sat downe to dinner, calling the matoz a-
side, he told him that there must be execution done
in that tostone, and therefore willed him that a paire
of gallowes might be framed and set by with speed,
so that they might be readie by that time that they
should make an end of dinner.

A godlie and
princelie ad-
monition.

False rumors

The matoz
Bodmin in
Corn.

Hor. in Epi-
st. l.

Millers
man hanged
for his ma-
licie.

The rebels
put from their
ground.

This was
hard proce-
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were no-
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John Fox,
The captiues
of the rebels
taken.

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Sir Antho-
Kingston pro-
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False rumour

Hor. in Epi-
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The rebels
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John Fox.
The captives
of the rebels
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Sir Antho-
Kingston pro-
uolk marshall.

The maior with all diligence caused the same to be done: so that when dinner was ended, sir Antho-
nie calling the maior to him, and asking whether the
gallies were set up accordinglie as he had willed,
the maior answered that they were readie. Where-
with sir Anthonie taking the maior by the hand, de-
sired him to bring him to the place where they stood,
and comming thither and beholding them, he said to
the maior: Thinke you maister maior that they be
strong enough? Hea sir, quoth he, that they are. Well
then said sir Anthonie, get you euen by vnto them,
for they are provided for you. The maior greatlie as-
bashed herewith, said: I trust you meane no such
thing to me. Sir said he, there is no remedie, ye
haue bene a busse rebell, and therefore this is appoin-
ted for your reward: and so without respect of state,
there was the maior hanged.

The maior of
Kingston hanged

At the same time, & nere the same place dwelled a
miller that had bene a great doer in that rebellion,
for whom also sir Anthonie Kingston sought: but the
miller being thereof warned, called a good tall fel-
low that he had to his seruant, and said vnto him: I
haue businesse to go from home, if anie therefore
come to aske for me, saie thou art the owner of the
mill and the man for whom they shall so aske, and
that thou hast kept this mill for the space of three
peares, but in no wise name me. The seruant pro-
mised his maister so to do. And shortly after came
sir Anthonie Kingston to the millers house, and
calling for the miller, the seruant came forth,
and answered that he was the miller. How long,
quoth sir Anthonie, hast thou kept this mill? He an-
swered three peares. Well then said he, come on,
thou must go with me, and caused his men to late
hands on him, and to bring him to the next tree,
saieing to him: Thou hast bene a busse knaue, and
therefore here shalt thou hang. Then cried the fel-
low out, and said that he was not the miller, but the
millers man. Well then, said sir Anthonie, thou
art a false knave to be in two tales, therefore said
he, hang him by: and so incontinentlie hanged he
was in deed. After he was dead, one that was pre-
sent, told sir Anthonie; Sorelie sir this was but the
millers man. What then said he, could he ever haue
done his maister better seruice than to hang for
him?

The miller
hanged
by the ma-
ster.This was a
bad proce-
ding, though
the maior had
bene-
fited.An. H. intro-
duction into
the next nar-
ration being a
true addition,
touching this
rebellion.

Many other were executed by order of the mar-
shall law, & a great part of the countrie abandoned
to the spoile of the souldiers, who were not shewfull
to gleane what they could find for the time their li-
bertie lasted. Thus far the report of this rebellious
boile, whereupon it first kindled, by what meanes
the same sparkled and became a flame, and what de-
uises were used to ertingniss & quench it. Where-
in we see how prone the people are to rise by routs
upon occasions of discontentments; how hastie and
readie to undertake dangerous enterprises, how
willfull and obstinate to persist in their pernicious
proceedings, how cold-hearted and hopelesse when
they see the course of their plots of perilous policie
either interrupted, undermined, or ouerthrowne; and
finally, what a reprochfull reward redoundeth both
to the ringleaders in rebellions, as also what falleth
to the shares of all such as shake hands and become
confederats to the furthering and strengthening of
riots, mutinies, insurrections, commotions, and
hurleburles. Whereby the state is disquieted, & that
more is the prince drawne into a conceipt of sus-
pecting his subjects loialties; besides a twiced pre-
sident to posterities, without feare of shame, remorse
of conscience, regard to allegiance, or foresight of
afterclaps, to attempt the like. Now it resteth, that
for the further truth and knowledge hereof, we adde
a new report (new I meane, in respect of the pub-

lication, hauing not heretofore bene printed) though
old enough, and sufficientlie warranted by the re-
porter, who upon his owne notice hath deliuered na-
lesse in writing, than himselfe upon verie good and
infallible grounds obserued, and hath left testified in
the discourse following; wherein there is not one
word either added, or inuerted: but all things (from
point to point) agreeable to the written copie.

course, was
never hereto-
fore published.

The description of the citie of Exces-
ter, and of the sundrie assaults giuen to the
same: collected and gathered by Iohn
Howell (alias Hooker) gentleman
and chamberleine of
the same.



Excester or Excester is a famous and
an ancient citie, being the metropole
and Emporium of the west parts of
England, situated and lieng in the pro-
uince sometime called Dumnonia, that
is to saie, the countrie of ballies: for whereas are
manie hilles (as that countrie is full of hilles and
mounteins) there are manie ballies. But in a cor-
ruptie it is named Denonia, or Denonshire, and not
Daneashire of the Danes, as some would haue it.
Of the first foundation thereof, by reason of the sun-
dry inuasions of foren nations, who with their hosti-
lities and cruell warres did burne and destroye the
same, there remaineth no certaine memorie, nei-
ther among the records of the said citie, ne yet in a-
nie one other writer.

Dumnonia, the
countrie of
ballies.Denonia,
Denonshire.

But most certaine it is, that it was first builded
and founded by the Britons or Brites. For the
names which they gaue and vied, are yet at this pre-
sent had in remembrance, as well among the chro-
nographers of this land, as also among the Cornish
people, who were sometimes one with this prouince;
but now in a countie of themselves, and next border-
ing to this, and in the same diocesse. And they are
the remanent of the blood of Brutus. For when Can-
wallader king of this land, by reason of a great fa-
mine and pestilence was driven to forsake the same,
& to flie into little Britaine named Armodica, which
is now vnder the dition of the French king: diuers
& the most part of his people fled, some into Wales,
and some into Cornwall, where euer since they and
after them their posteritie haue remained and conti-
nued.

50

The old chonographers, searchers, and writers
of antiquities doe find, that this citie was called Co-
rinia, and thereof the cathedrall church of the same
was (as Bale saith) named Ecclesia Corinensis: which
name, if it were first giuen by Corinus (as Leland
writeth) who after the arriual of Brutus into this
land, was made the first duke of this whole west
countrie of Denon and Cornetwall, which were both
comprised vnder the name of Corinia, and whereof this
citie euer hath bene and is the metropole, and al-
waies parcell sometime of the kingdome, then of the
duchie, and after of the earledome, and now againe
of the duchie of Cornwall: then out of doubt this
citie is of no lesse antiquitie than the said names do
import. It was also called Augusta. Of this name
there were diuerse cities, so named by the Romans;
but this onelie was named Augusta Britannorum, and
so called (as some thinke) by the Romans at the con-
clusion of the peace made at the siege of this citie be-
twene king Arutragus and Trespasian colonell of
the Romane armie vnder Claudius Augustus. The
Britons in their tong or language do call this citie
by sundrie names: the first and eldest in remem-
brance is call Denhulgoile, that is to saie, the pro-
perous

Corinia.
Bales lib. 1.
Centuriarum.
Lelandus in
Generaliaco.

Denhulgoile.

The

Pennehalte
caire.

Pen necaire
the chafe ci-
tie, Caire ruth
the red citie,
Caireiske the
citie of Exe.

Houeden.

Ptolomeus in
tabulis.

Baleus centur,
lib.

New lordes
new names.

Sponketon.

Ex viciis libro.

Polydorus his-
tib. 5. Exter.

perons this se tolvne in the wood, as doth appere by
Geffric of Monmouth, and Ponticus Viruuius. It
was also called Pennehaltecaire, that is, the chiefe
citie of tolvne upon the hill; as doth appere in a tra-
uerse betwene the bishop, deane, and chapiter of this
citie of the one partie; and the maior, bailiffe, and
communalitie of the other partie, concerning their
liberties. But the names which the Cornish people
do at these presents remember & retein, are special-
lie these, Pennecaire, Caire ruth, Caireiske. Penne-
caire signifieth, and is to saie, the chafe citie. Caire
ruth signifieth the red or reddish citie, so called and
taking the name of the ground and soile whereupon
it is situated, which is a red earth. Caireiske is the
citie of Iske, being so called of the riuer, which the
Britons name Iske, and doth fast by the same. And
of this name Houeden in his chronicle maketh men-
tion, saying thus: *Anno Domini 877 exercitus Dana-
rum ab Wareham nocte quadam, federe disrupto, ad Exan-
cestre diuerterunt, quod Britannice dicitur Caireiske.*

Ptolomeus the famous astronomer, who was a-
bout the yere of our Lord 162, Cocell being king of
this land, nameth this citie Isca; and the riuer Isca-
ca. And Bale the searcher of antiquities following
the same opinion, doth also name the citie Isca, and
the inhabitants therein Iskans. But vnder corre-
ction be it spoken, a man maie well thinke that
Ptolomeus being in Alexandria, and so farre distant
from this land, was misinformed, or the print mis-
taken. For it is most likelie that the riuer should be
named Isca according to the British speech, wherein
it was called Isca; and which name by transposing
of the two middle letters, doth at this present re-
maine being now named Isca or Exa. But what-
soever the censures and opinions of Ptolomeus and
of Bale, who wrote onelie vpon report, be herein, it
is certeine, that the names which the Brites or Bri-
tons gaue, were of longest continuance. And this
citie was called by their denominations, by the
space of fiftene hundred yeres, vntill the coming
of the Saxons, the Pias, and the Scots into this
realme, which was about the yere of our Lord foure
hundred and fiftie. For they, where, and whensoever
they preuailed in any place, did for the most part al-
ter and change the names of all places & tolvnes, ac-
counting it a great renoume, as also a perpetuall
memoiall of their chivalrie, to giue new names, ei-
ther of their owne deuises, or of their owne native
countries; for so is it written of them: *Picti, Scoti, An-
gli, Daci, & Normanni in hac insula rerum potiti, cuncta im-
mutarunt, pro trophæis habentes, loca à se deuictis noua impone-
re nomina.* The Saxons therefore as of all other cities
& tolvnes (few excepted) so of this also they changed
and altered the old names and called it Sponketon;
and by which name it was so called by the space of
three hundred and od yeres, and vntill the time of
king Athelstane: for he about the yere of our Lord
nine hundred thirtie and two, being much grieved
and vniquieted with the rebellion of the Cornish peo-
ple, because they refused and denied to acknowledge
him for their lawfull king, did bend his force, & con-
duct his armie against them. And hauing subdued
and preuailed ouer them, he returned to this citie:
and while he rested here, he repaired the same; and
the walles which before were but mightie ditches of
earth, and the banks set with great poles of timber
now destroyed, he builded all of square stone, as it
is recorded: *Hanc urbem primis Athelstanus in potesta-
tem Anglorum fugatis Britonibus reductam, turribus muni-
uit, & muræ quadratis lapidibus tandem cinxit.* And
then he altered and changed the former names; and
called it after the name of the riuer *Essetera* or *Exe-
terra*, that is to saie, Exeter. For so is it written,
Est Exonia viles Deuonie: comitatibus, sedo præcelsa ad acciden-

tem versus posita: abluuntur flumine Exi, à quo nomen habet.
Others name it of the riuer flowing by it, which they
saie is named *Excestria*, & thus they write: *Clarissima
urbium est Excestria, quæ ab anni Excestro qui eandem præ-
terfluit est sic nuncupata.* I find it also written in an old
chronicle, that it is named *Exancestria* or *Exancestrie*:
which shuld seme to be so called by the Saxons. For
the most part of the cities, tolvnes, & forts, which they
builded or reedified, did end in cestre; as *Clocestre*,
10 *Lecestre*, *Panchestre*, *Winchestre*, *Dicestre*, *Wol-
cestre*, *Colcestre*, *Cicestre*, *Icestre*, *Bicestre*, & this
citie of *Excestre* with others. For Caire in British
& Cestre in Saronish are one thing, & do signifie in
English a fort, towre, or castell. This citie (as is be-
fore said) being walled about with stone by king A-
thelstane is not altogether foure square, but decli-
neth somewhat toward a roundelle, and contain-
eth in circuit or compasse sixtenc hundred whole pa-
ses, after due fast to a pise; which accounting after
the Italian maner one thousand pases to a mile, it is
a mile and halfe about, & somewhat more. The situa-
tion of this citie is verie pleasant and delicate, be-
ing set vpon a little hill among manie hilles. For
the whole countrie round about is mounteinous and
full of hilles. It is pendent towards the south and
west parts, after and in such sort, that be the streets
neuer so foule or filthie, yet with a shoure of raine
they are cleasde and made sweet. And albeit hilles
are commonlie drie, yet nature is so beneficiall to
this litle hill, that it is in euerie quarter full of water
springs: & by that meanes the whole citie is throug-
lie furnished with welles and stirpits; the great god
benefit and commoditie whereof hath well appeared
in sundrie times of necessitie, and especiallie in the
time of the late commotion, which was in the yere
of our Lord 1549. For albeit the enimie, by breaking
and spoiling of the pipes or canales, whereby water
was conueied to the founteins of the citie, from cer-
teine springs distant not a mile from the same, did
abridge them of that water: yet most comfortable
they did inioy without impeachment the welles and
stirpits within the walles, which abundantly flowed
with waters to the satisficing of all people therein.
There are also within this citie certeine foun-
teins or conduits, whereunto, throug certeine ca-
nales or pipes of lead, the waters from certeine
springs, rising in the fields not far from the citie, are
brought and conueied. And these waters are of most
price, because by the carriage thereof they are puri-
fied, and made lighter than are the other waters
springing within the citie: and by that means more
meet for dressing of meats. Of these conduits two
are speciall, the one of them standeth and is within
the cemiterie or churchyard of the cathedrall church
of the said citie, and is called saint Peters conduit:
the other being of great antiquitie standeth in the
middle of the citie, at the meeting of foure principall
streets of the same, and thereof sometimes it toke
his name, being called the conduit at Quatrefois
60 or Carfor; but now the great conduit.
At the higher end of this citie is a verie old and
ancient castell, named Rugemont, that is to saie
the red hill, taking that name of the red soile or earth
whereupon it is situated. The site or situation of it
is eminent and aboue both the citie and countrie ad-
ioining: for they do all lie as it were vnder the lee
thereof. It hath a goodlie and pleasant prospect to-
wards the seas: for betwene that and it is no hill
at all. It is strongly ditched round about, and was
first builded (as some thinke) by Iulius Cesar; but
rather and in truth by the Romans after him when
they had their recourse to it for their defense, refuge,
and abode, manie yeres. The same was sometimes
the palace of such kings, as vnto whom the king-
dome

Boltones-
lib. m. l. a. r. s.
alter. p. a. r. s.
Excestre.
Exancestrie.

Caire, & Cestre
Caire, & Cestre

The site of
Excestre and
circuit.

The citie is
full of water
springs.

The rebels
broke and
spoile the
pipes of lead
for waters.

The conduits
for water.

Saint Pe-
ters conduit.

The great
conduit.

Castell Rugemont.
The site of
the castell.

The castell
builded by the
Romans.

The river of
Exe.

Excestre in
Saronish.

The haven
Excestre.

The doone
the haven of
Excestre.
High Court
was the first
delivered of el
hemen.

Edward
Courtelle.

2.1549.

An. Reg. 3.

Calceum
de. in hunc
descriptio.
Exceller.
Exceller.

Calce
Calce

The site of
Exceller and
arcut.

The citie is
full of water
springs.

The rebels
peache and
poule the
pipes of lead
of waters.

The contrivance
of water.

Saint the
corp conduit.

The great
conduit.

Castell Engle
mont.
The site of
the castell.

The castell
built by the
Romans.

At the lower end and part of this citie, without the wals, floweth a goodlie and a pleasant river, which the Britons called *Alis*; Ptolomeus by misinformation named it *Isaca*: but the other old writers named it *Elfe*, *Exe*, *Exa*, or *Excessum*: and these names be retained at these presents. It hath his head or spring in a certeine moze or desert distant from the citie nere about foure and twentie miles, called *Ermoze*. It floweth into the maine seas about eight miles from the citie, at a place named *Ermoze*, and by the waie it is increased with sundrie rivers, brooks & lakes, the chiefe of which are *Erredie* and *Collome*. It is well stored and is plentifull of samon, trout, peale, dace, pike, and other like freshwater fishes: which albeit they be verie good and delicate, and especiallye the samon and pike: yet they are the lesse esteemed, because the seas being so nere do furnish the citie & countrie verie abundantlie with sundrie kinds of sea fishes most delicate.

The maine seas are not distant from the citie above eight miles, out of which cometh an arme serving for the port of the same: which (as doth appeare by certeine old and ancient records) did sometimes flow up to the verie wals of the citie, where boats and vessels were wont to be laden and unladen of all kind of wares and merchandizes, at a proper place appointed for the same: which at these presents keepeth his old and ancient name, and is called the *watergate*. The decaye thereof hapned about the reare of our Lord 1312, by one *Hugh Courtneie* the third of that name, and earle of *Deuon*: who being offended and incensed against this citie, his wrathfull humors could not be satisfied, untill by some means he did impaire and annoie the state of the commonwealth of the same. And seeing that among other commodities, the use of the haven and watercourse to the citie to be one of the chiefest, he was never quiet untill he had destroyed the same: wherefore minding to performe what he had conceived, he did in the yeare of our Lord 1313, the first yeare of king *Edward the second*, enterpryse & begin his pretended devile and mischief.

And first whereas the *ladie Isabella de Fortibus*, countesse of *Armerle* and of *Deuon*, his ancestrie had builded certeine wiers upon the river of *Exe* (the propriete and seignorie whereof did appertene to the citie) the one of the west side of the river of *Exe* in *Erminster* parish, and the other of the east side of the same river in the parish of *Topesham*; leaving betwene the said two wiers a certeine aperture or open space of thirtie foot, thozough which all boats and vessels without let or hinderance might have and had their usuall passage and repassage, to and from the citie unto the seas: the said earle to abridge and destroye this great benefit and commoditie, did leaue and build a newe wiere in the said aperture or open come, stopping, filling, and quiering the same, with great trees, timber, and stones, in such sort, that no vessel nor vessels could passe or repasse.

After him *Edward Courtneie* earle of *Deuon*, and nephew to the said *Hugh*, did not onelie maintain and continue the doings of his ancestoz, by his daileie reparing and defending the same: but also to worke an utter destruction for ever, of anie passage or repassage to be had thenceforth to and from the said citie; under pretense to build and make certeine

mills, did erect two other wiers, the one at *saint James* overthwart the whole river, and the other at *Lampresford*: by means thereof not onelie the citie did susteine the whole losse of the haven, but the whole countrie also was surrounded about it, and in process of time altogether, and as it is at these presents covered with salt waters. For which griefs and injuries upon complaints made thereof, diverse sundrie writs and commissions of inquirie were awarded and granted by the king; and the said earles by sundrie inquisitions and verdicts found guiltie. And yet notwithstanding, such was their power and authority, and such was the iniquitie of those daies, as no iustice could take place, nor law have his due course against them.

Furthermoze also the foresaid *Hugh*, to increoch the gaine and commoditie of the lading & unloading of merchandizes within the port & river to himselfe, did build a keie and a crane in the river at his towne of *Topesham*, distant from the citie about thre miles; and by power did enforce and compell all manner of merchants arriving within that port to unlade & lade all their wares and merchandizes brought within that port (to be laden and unladen) there onelie. And from thence, ever since, all wares and merchandizes have bene caried and recaried to and from the citie by horse, cart, and waiane, though to the gaine of the earle and his tenants, yet to the great trouble and hinderance of the citie and merchants of the same. Nevertheless, the port hath evermoze and yet doth keepe his old and ancient name, being called the port of the citie of *Exceller*: and alwaies hath bene and presentlie is paid a tribute unto the citie, by the name of the towne custome, for all kind of wares and merchandizes, discharged within that port or river, or the members thereof.

And although the watercourse thus being destroyed can hardly be restored to his old piffinate and naturall estate; for that thozough long continuance the old course can not be discerned: yet now at length after manie attempts and with great expences, a watercourse and passage begun in the yeare 1564, is recovered, and by certeine success, boats and vessels of fiftene or sixtene tons are conveyed and brought up to the citie, and there discharged at the old and ancient place, called the *watergate*: & where is builded a verie faire large keie or wharfe, as also an engine called a crane fit for the purpose. Within the citie were somtimes but few parish churches, untill the time of *Innocentius the third*: who when in the yeare 1198 he had established the doctrine of transubstantiation, and had made it an article of the symbole, as appeareth in the decretals, *Titulo de summa trinitate, canone Firmiter*: then his next successor *Honorius the third*, in the yeare 1218 did not onelie confirme the same, but also by decree did establish reservation, candlelight, and praier for the dead, as doth appeare, *Decret. tit. de celebratione missarum, canone Sane cum, & Sane cum creatura*: by which meanes the number of sacrificing & massing priests did not onelie increase, but churches also and chapels began in all places and everie where to be builded and erected.

And among others in this citie in the yeare 1222 and the first yeare of king *Henrie the third*, the parish churches were limited, and increased to the number of ninetene churches within the citie and suburbs, and were called by the name of the christianitie even to this daie. Curie of which in times past was a sufficient and competent living to mainteine a massing sacrificer; for such and so great was the blind devotion of the people then in that Romish religion: but the same now being abolished, and the gospel preached, the livelihoods are so small, as not sufficient for

Sundrie inquisitions and verdicts taken against the earles of *Deuon* for destroying of the haven.

These first builded at *Topesham*. The merchants compelled to lade and unlade at *Topesham* keie.

The haven is recovered and renewed againe.

These and a crane builded at *Exceller*.

The parish churches first limited in *Exceller*.

the most part to mainteine a poore clerke or scholar, & by reason thereof, the most part of them doe lie void and vacant, without incumbent.

A monasterie of saint Benets order builded in Excester.

King Ethelred the first founder of the monasterie. King Edgar founder of a religious house in Excester. The cathedrall church was first a monasterie and founded by king Athelstane. Chronica ecclesie.

Besides these parish churches, there was also a monasterie, sometimes of monks of saint Benets order, but since a cathedrall church, being of a verie faire and sumptuous building of freestone and with beautifull pillars of grate marble. It standeth and is situated in the east part of the citie; and (as some report) was first founded and built by king Ethelred, the third sonne to king Ethelwolphus. Some thinke that king Edgar did it. True it is that euerie of them builded a house for religious persons within this citie, of which the one was spoiled and burned by the Danes, and the other in procelle of time was vnted to the monasterie, which is now the cathedrall church. But the cathedrall church it selfe was founded & builded by king Athelstane, the sonne to king Edward the elder: for so is it recorded in the historie of the same church, the words whereof are these: *Athelstannus subingatus Cornugualensibus, reuersus est ad ciuitatem, qua antiquitus Monkton vocabatur, nunc autem Exeter: ac ibi sedens, anno Dom. 932, non tam lacerata eiusdem ciuitatis moenia reparabat, quin et mansum quoddam dedit ad fundandum monasterium pro monachis, Deo et sancto Petro famulantibus.*

This king besides his great charges and expenses in building of this church, which at the first was but small, and that part which is now called the Ladie chapell, he placed therein monkes of S. Benets order, provided liuelihoods for them, and appointed a ruler or gouernour ouer them, and who was called by the name of an abbat, towards whose diet and liuelihood he gaue sporeshull and Tresuroys beere: and which at these presents doe remaine to the said church and are annexed to the dignitie of the treasurer-shipp of the same. The church being thus begun, kings, princes, & noble men were from time to time gladlie and willinglie verie liberall contributors to the absolving and finishing of the same. For about foure score years after king Athelstane, king Kanoght who was also named Cahutus or Canutus, at the earnest sute of one of his dukes named Athelred, did confirme and grant to Athelwood then abbat of the said church, and to his successors manie and sundrie priuileges and liberties, vnder his letters patents, dated the second yeare of his reigne, Anno Domini, 1019.

King Edward the confessor remoued the monkes into westminster, and made this a cathedrall church. Leofricus the first bishop of Excester.

After him about thirtie yeares, king Edward the confessor remoued the monkes into Westminster, and made this church a cathedrall church, and remoued the bishops see which was then at Crediton into this citie, making Leofricus bishop thereof, and whom he and his wife quene Edith did put in possession of the same, as appeareth by his letters patents dated the eight yeare of his reigne, Anno Dom. 1050. Whoboeit the monke of Wurie, Polydorus, and others doe affirme and write, that this should be done about the twelue yeare of William the conqueror, for thus they doe write: *Habitum est Londini sub Lanfranco, antistitum et sacerdotum comitum, in quo decretum est, quod aliquot sedes episcopales, que in oppidulis et pagis antea fuerant, in urbibus et locis celeberrimis collocarentur, unde factum est ut bathonia, Lincolnia, Sarisburia, Exonia, Cestrina, et Ciceria urbes, huiusmodi nouis episcoporum domicilijs sunt nobilitate.*

The charter of the church.

But the reuerence of these writers referred, this cannot be true concerning this church, because the words of the charter thereof doe witnesse the contrarie, and declare expresselie, how that king Edward and quene Edith his wife did put Leofricus the first bishop in possession, the one by the one hand and the other by the other hand, leading him betwene them vp to the high altar, and there put his hands vpon the

same: And yet it may be true, that at the first said councell, this remouing and placing of this bishop might be ratified and confirmed. Likewise William the conqueror, in the third yeare of his reigne 1069, did not onelie confirme the former charter, but also at the instance and request of William Warewest, then his chapleine, but afterwards bishop of the same see, did giue vnto it the seigniories of Plimpton, Hampton, and S. Stephens in Excester, which the said William Warewest being afterwards bishop did distribute, giuing Plimpton to the religious canons, whome he placed there: Hampton was annexed to the deanerie, but S. Stephens was reserved alwaies to the bishop, and to his successors, whereby they are barons, and so lords in the parliament house.

It was also enlarged from time to time with great possessions, reuenues, buildings, riches, priuileges, and sundrie other commodities, by kings, princes, prelates, bishops, and sundrie others. And this one thing is to be noted, that albeit there were about foure hundred yeares distant from the first foundation and building thereof, vnto the ending and finishing of the same; yet it is so vniuersellie and decentlie compact and builded in one mould, as though it had bene done at one instant. The bishop is distinct from the chanons both in house and reuenue: his liuelihoods being no part nor parcell of that which apperteineth to the deane and chapter. It was sometimes of great reuenues and large possessions, but the more part thereof hath bene consumed and exhausted by a wastfull bishop. The bishop and chanons haue verie faire houses, which are situated about the church & cimiterie, and are inclosed euerie night by shutting fast of certeine gates, by which occasion it is called a close, *A claudendo*: and which gates are to be shut euerie night (except at certeine times) and to be opened euerie morning at certeine hours appointed, as it appeareth by a composition made for the same betwene the communalitie of Excester, and the bishop and deane of the same. In the middle of the cimiterie or churchyard is a verie faire fontaine or conduit of water conueyed by certeine pipes of lead from out of the same felde, as is the cities conduit. And albeit the springs of both waters are in the same felde, and not farre distant: yet this doth excell the other. Out of this well or fontaine waters are conueyed to sundrie of the chanons houses, as also of late vnto the bishops house, and yet it serueth besides the whole close and citie. The citie it selfe is verie populous, and was sometimes chiefele inhabited with clothiers & clothworkers of broad clothes, seruing much for the Spanishe and south countries; and which in those daies were of such goodnesse & substance, that the names of them doe remaine in those countries: but now it is chiefele inhabited with merchants, kerrie-clothiers, and all sorts of artificers, among whom the merchants are the chiefe & welthiest.

The gouernement of this citie was sometimes by foure bailiffes, which before the conquest were called portgreues, that is, the chiefe lords or rulers of the towne: for porta is taken for a towne, and greue in Saronie is *Dominus* or maior: but after the conquest they were after the French tongue named *Præfides*, that is to saie *Præfides* or rulers, and now shewards. Not long after the conquest there was ordered and constituted a senate of six and thirtie persons, but of later yeares by king Henrie the seventh of foure & twentieth persons, out of which number yearelie there was and is chosen one to be the chiefe gouernour for the yeare following; and is called by the name of a maior, whome the barons called *Speregreue*, that is, *Mayor dominus*, or the chiefe ruler. This maior associated with the foure prouds

The commoners contained the charters of the church, and enlarged the possessions of it.

The commoners contained the charters of the church, and enlarged the possessions of it.

The commoners contained the charters of the church, and enlarged the possessions of it.

The cathedrall church was four hundred years in building.

The good situation: diminished the city.

S. Peters conduit.

The inhabitants of this citie.

The gouernment of this citie.

Portgreues.

Speregreues.

Claudia. Here the persons who were the first inhabitants of this citie.

Wespons. Iameth. Corde. and met. Age to 1. citie.

King. Bi. que. ref. ma. citi. re. ante. the. enu.

Arcales. called.

Arcales. called.

The conue-
roz conuinceth
the charters
of the church,
and intergeth
the possessions
of it.

The catho-
dial church
was four
hundred pears
in building.

Sh Peters
conduit.

The inhabi-
tants of this
cittie.

The govern-
ment of this
cittie.

Sh Peters
conduit.

Sh Peters
conduit.

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Sh Peters
conduit.

of bailiffes, hath the hearing, decerning, and deter-
mining in all ciuill causes betwene partie and par-
tie, and for which they keepe wexellie upon euerie
mondaye a court in the Guildhall of the said citie:
but the bailiffes retaining their old and ancient cus-
tome, do keepe the like courts, and in the like causes
distincall from the mayo: by themselves, at all time
and times (the mondayes and festiuall daies excepted)
as it shall please them to assigne, and with their
court is called by the name of the priuost court.

Thus the mayo: and bailiffes both iocallie and se-
nerallie haue iurisdiction to decerne and determine
in ciuill matters. But if the matters do touch and
concerne the prince, the irrdone, the common peace,
and criminall matters, or the publike state of the ci-
tie and common-wealth of the same, then the same
are decided by the iudges, and iudices, or by the mayo:
and common counsell, or by the mayo: himselfe, or by
some other officer or officers, according to the nature
and qualitie of the cause and offense. But because it
requireth a large and speciall course, to describe the
gouernment of this citie and common-wealth of
the same, the charge of euery officer, the diuision of
officers, their seuerall iurisdiccions, and a number of
other things incident vnto their charges: there
is a particular booke imprinted, and at large the
same is set out, in such order as is requisite, and
appertaining to the gouernment: whereby euery
man may know his office and charge, and what to
him doth appertene. And let it suffice, that partie
through good gouernment, and partie of a good in-
clination, the people of this citie haue bene alwayes
dutifull and obedient to the king and the lawes: and
haue in great awe and reuerence their gouernours
and magistrats for the time being. And this one
thing is not so strange as worthe to be noted, that
euen from the beginning, from time to time they
haue bene carefull for their common-wealth, and
vigilant for the preseruacion of the same. And as in
times of peace and quietnesse the same hath bene
well gouerned: so in times troublefome and un-
quiet, it hath bene most valiantlie defended against
the inuasions and assaults of the enimies, as by sun-
drye histories it may appeare: whereof for example
these few may serue.

First Aruragus king of this land, then named
Britaine, minding to staie the land in his ancient es-
tate, freedom and libertie, did withold and denie
to paie vnto the Romans the tribute which they did
require and demand: wherefore Claudius the empe-
rour sent Trespasian then duke of the Romane armie,
into this realme with a great host, either to recouer
the tribute, or to subdue the land. This Trespasian is
he, who in the foure and twentieth yeare after this his
iourneie, did destroye Ierusalem. Wherefore this duke
landing in Dorsetshire, then named Totonesum litus,
came to this citie, laid siege vnto it, and gaue conti-
nuall assaults therevnto, for eight daies continuallie
together. Aruragus the king, being then in the east
parts of the land, and hearing of this, with a great
armie and powere marcheth towards this citie to re-
moue the siege, and incountereth with the enimie.
The Romane after long fight, and not able to pre-
uaile, is contented to come to parley, and in the end a
composition was concluded, as if doth appeare, and
is set downe and written by sundrie historiogra-
phers. The chronicle of the cathedrall church of the
said citie hath these words: Anno Domini 49, Vespasi-
anus cum Romano exercitu ciuitatem nunc vocatam Exeter,
octo diebus obsedit, sed minime preualuit, Arurago rege ci-
uitatis auxilium prestante.

Geffreie of Monmouth hath these words: Vespasi-
anus a Claudio missus est, ut Aruragum vel pacificaret,
vel romane subiectioni restitueret. Cum igitur in portu in

Rutapi applicare voluisset Vespasianus, obuiauit ei Aruragus,
atque prohibuit ne portum ingrederetur. Retraxit itaque se
Vespasianus a portu illo, retortisque velis in litore Totonesio
applicauit. Nactus deinde tellurem Caier Penbulgoite, que
nunc Exonia vocatur obseditur; eandem adiuit, cumque octo
diebus eandem obsedisset, superuenit Aruragus cum exercitu
suo, praeliumque commisit: die illa, valde laceratus fuit vtro-
rumque exercitus, sed neuter est victor, potius, mane autem
facto, mediante Genissa regina, concordie effecti sunt. Ma-
thieu of Westminster writeth: Aruragus Britannorum
rex in tantam prolapsum est superbia, quod Romane potestatis
voluit diutius subiectionem parere. Vespasianus igitur a Clau-
dio missus cum in Rutapi portu applicare incepisset, Arura-
gus illi obuia prohibuit ne ingrederetur. At Vespasianus re-
toris velis in Totonesio litore applicauit, et ciuitatem qua
Britannice Caier Penbulgoite, nunc autem Exonia appella-
tur obsedit: elapsis inde septem diebus Aruragus super-
uenit, praeliumque commisit, et vtriusque exercitus valde
lacerato, mediante Genissa Claudi filia, duces amici
facti sunt.

Flores histo-
riarum.

In the historie intituled, Noua historia de gestis
Anglorum a Britonibus vsque ad Henricum sextum,
is written the like in effect: Vespasianus a Claudio missus
est ut Aruragum pacificaret, vel romane ditioni restitueret,
cui obuians Aruragus, prohibuit ne terram suam ingrederetur,
timens Vespasianus armorum cohortem, retraxit sese,
retortisque velis in Totonesio litore est applicatus, atque urbem
Exonia obsedit, post septem dies superuenit Aruragus, pra-
elium committitur, laceratusque vtriusque exercitus, sed
neuter potuit victoria, demum mediante Genissa regina,
reconciliati sunt. It was also in manie troubles and
great perplexities, in the vncertaine and trouble-
some states of this realme, when sometimes the Ro-
mans, sometimes the Picts, sometimes the Scots,
sometimes the Saxons, and sometimes the Danes
made their incursions and warres within this land,
by reason whereof the records and memorials in
those daies for the most part were lost and confu-
med.

And yet Matthew of Westminster writeth that it
was besieged by Penda king of Mercia, in the yeare
of our Lord 632, in the time of Cadwallin one of
the last kings of the Britons. The historie is this,
Edwin the Saxon king of the Northumbers, la-
uing wars against Cadwallin: Cadwallin, did
preuaile and had such conquests ouer him, that Cad-
wallo was driven to forsake his realme of Wales,
and to flee into Ireland, where he being, was bene
carefull and pensifull how to recouer his countrie
again. Wherefore he repareth his armie and gathereth
a new force, and gaue sundrie attempts to at-
chue to his purpose: but all was in vaine, for he
could neuer set foot on land in his countrie.
Edwin was alwayes at hand and in a readinesse to uop
and resist the same, for this Edwin had about him in
his seruice a man named Pellitus, who was a ma-
gician and verie skilfull in necromancie, and who by
his art and science did foreteth and declare vnto
Edwin what things were a doing and attempted
against him.

Pellitus a
witch doth
foretell to
king Edwin
of things to
come.

Cadwallin hauing continuallie euill successe, was
in bitter despaire and distrust to preuaile against
Edwin, and therefore as one giuing ouer all, saileth
ouer the seas into Armoica now called little Brit-
taine, vnto Salomon the king thereof, and vnto him
doth disclose his miserable estate and fortune, as also
greatlie complaineth of Pellitus and of his force-
ries. When these two kings had thoroughlie consulted
and debated the matter, it was at length concluded
and thought best, that some one man being bold and
swift should be sent ouer to the court of king Ed-
win, to giue the aduenture to kill Pellitus. Where-
vpon the matter being discovered to Pellitus ne-
phew to king Cadwallo, he taketh vpon him to en-
terpise

King Cad-
wallo saileth
into Armo-
ica.

Pellitus the
kings nephe-
w is sent to kill
Pellitus.

terpise the matter, and to coner himselfe from all suspicion, apparelleth himselfe in a poze beggers weed, and so sailleth ouer into England, and traueleth forthwith towards king Edwins court, who then laie at Poike, and there iouneth and accompanieth himselfe among the poze people, whose custome and maner was, to lie about the kings gates at dinner and super times, waiting for the almesse usuallie giuen and wont to be distributed amongst the poze.

Wilemus hili-
lith Pellitus.

Pellitus being the kings almoner, and hauing the charge to distribute the said almesse, commeth forth and setteth the poze folke in order. Wilemus being there and amongst them, watcheth his time to worke his purpose, and thrusting himselfe in the middle of the presse of the people, suddenlie with his pointado or weapon which for the purpose he had prepared, thrusteth Pellitus into the bodie, & gaue him a deadlie wound whereof he died, and forthwith (the thing in such a thrust not perceived) thrusteth himselfe auaite priuillie, and through woods, hils, thickets, and dales out of the common waie, commeth to this citie of Excester, & declareth vnto the citizens (who were then Wiltons) what he had done; whereof they were verie glad and iollull, and in good hope that their king Cadwalllo should yet againe returne; and therefore vpon good aduise doo prepare and make ready both themselves and the citie, as well for the resisting of the enemie, as for the receiuing, succouring and aiding of their king.

King Wenda
besiegeth Ex-
cester.

King Wenda aduertised of this murder, and vnderstanding the whole course of the matter and practice, taketh in grieffe the iniurie thus done to his neighbor, and countriman king Edwin. And therefore to reuenge the same mustreth his subjects and gathereth a great armie; and vnderstanding that Wilemus was come to this citie marcheth towards the same, and in the end laieth his siege round about it, minding the bitter subuersion thereof. But the citizens manfullie withstanding his force, did defend and keepe both themselves and their citie, untill that king Cadwalllo, who before was aduertised both of the fact of Wilemus and of this preparation of Wenda, did with his force and armie come to the citie, who did not onelie rescue the same; but also ioining the battell with his enemie gaue him the ouerthrow, and so deliuered his countrie, and recouered himselfe and his kingdom.

3
Polyd. lib. 5

It was also in greater troubles in the time of king Alured or Alfred the fourth sonne to king Ethelwulfus. For Polydorus and others do write, that in the fift yeare of the said kings reigne, the Danes concluded a peace with the said king, and gaue hostages for the true keeping thereof. And yet notwithstanding most perfidiously and falselie contrarie to the same, they assembled themselves, and vpon a sudden marched to this citie, and perforce entered and toke the same: *Daci etenim qui religionem & fidem pro suo commodo postponendam ducunt, Londino se mouent, & maximis itineribus Exoniam proficiscuntur, urbem per vim capiunt.* But long they inioied not the same, for after that winter passed, the king to be reuenged marcheth with a great power to this citie, which the Danes vnderstanding and thinking themselves too weake to withstand the k. as also utterlie distrusting the citizens, thistred themselves auaite, of which some fled vnto Dartmouth and there toke shipping, and who for the most part were drowned in a tempest at the seas. Some fled to Chipenham or (as some saie) to Bissolow, but the king followed and pursued these so sharplie, that he neuer left nor gaue ouer, untill he had overcome and slaine the captains Hubbert and Hungar.

The Danes
are over-
throwne and
their captiues
are slaine.

4

likewise in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of

the said king, the Danes contrarie to their faith, pledges, and promises, did againe come to this citie, and laie siege to the same: *Danorum exercitus anno nona d'octu 877 ab Wicheam nocte quadam gressu dirupto, ad Exoniam castrum, quod Britannie dicitur Caer Eborac, diuertunt, at audito regis aduentu ad puppes fugerunt, in mari praedantes manebant.*

It was also besieged by the said Danes in the nineteenth yeare of king Egfred, in the yeare of our Lord 1001. For the Danes, which were in sharmandie, being aduertised of the good lucke, successe, and great spoiles which their companions and countermen in England had, and their feet set on edge therewith, suddenlie prepared shipping, and came ouer the coasts and landed in Deuon, and forthwith marched and toke their course, towards the citie of Excester; thinking to haue found the citizens napping; & to haue taken them suddenlie and vnawares; *Sed ciuitibus uigiliter resistens non fecerunt.* The people commons of Deuon, Cornewall, Summerfet & Dorset, aduertised hereof, assembled themselves, & minding to rescue the citie, as also to encounter & aduerture the fight with the Danes, met with them at a place nere the citie called Pinncho, and ioined battell with them, betwene whome the fight was cruell and the slaughter great. And thus doth Houeden testifie, whose words be these: *Memoratus paganorum exercitus de Normannia in Angliam reuersus, ostium fluminis Exe ingreditur, & mox ad extinguendam urbem Exoniam stre egreditur, sed dum murum illius destruere moliretur, ac ciuitibus urbem uiriliter defendentibus repellitur, unde nimis exasperatus more solito villas succendendo, agros depopulando, hominesque cadendo per Domnoniam vagatur, quare Domnonenses in unum congregati, in loco qui dicitur Pinnho certamen cum eis inueniunt.*

King Sweno being in Denmarke, and aduertised hereof, as also giuen to vnderstand how king Egfred alias Ethelred or Egfred had caused all the Danes in the realme to be suddenlie slaine in one night, being much grieued therewith, did prepare and provide a great armie for the reuenge thereof. And in the yeare of our Lord 1002, he landed in sundrie and diuerse parts of this realme, being great hostilitie, and making great spoiles, and brought the whole land to an vnspokeable miserie and distresse; but at length, receiuing a tribute for a peace, he returned home into his owne countrie. Howbeit the citizens of Excester hearing of this crueltie used in the east parts, made themselves strong: and doubting of so mightie an enemie, did make themselves ready, and prepared the citie to withstand him, if he should haue attempted anie force or hostilitie against them.

But the Dane being gone and returned home, and knowing nothing of this preparation, one Hugh then earle of Deuon (as princes lacke no fauourers) sent his letters into Denmarke to king Sweno, certifieng him both of the state and wealth of this citie, as also of the great preparation which had bene made to withstand him, persuading him not to suffer such an iniurie. And as coles will be some kindled: euen so the Dane vpon this aduertisement was in a great heat, and forthwith arreareth his armie, and repareth all things in readinesse to crosse the seas aneto to worke his will against this citie. And accordinglye when time serued, in the yeare following, being the yeare of our Lord 1003, he toke the seas and landed vpon the coasts of Deuon and Cornewall, and marched forthwith to this citie, and laie his siege against the same in the beginning of the halends of September: during which time were sundrie sharpe, fierce, and cruell assaults giuen by the Dane, and as valiantlie resisted by the citizens.

But in continuance of time, when they saw them-
selves

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Flora hili-
niam.

The battell
at Pinncho.

Houeden.

Will. Malm.

Rich. Coef.

Rich. Munt.

Houeden.

King Sweno
inuaith and
spoileth the
land.

Houeden.

7
William el
Conuenero
describeth
this.

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the citizen
resist the
Queene.

Hugh earle of
Deuon as a
false ma to his
countrie, both
betraie &
cite.

6

Therecor
the citie.

King Sweno
by the trea-
son of the
citizens
siegeth the
citie.

fasth,
citic,
anno Regis Henrici
t. qu-
lantes

the
four
Hou-
eden,
Polychron. li. 7

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Hou-
eden,
Polychron. li. 7

selues dalle moze and moze to be weakened, bittels
to falle, the fire round about them, their walles bea-
ten downe, themselves slaughterd and murdered,
and the crime to increase and be strong, and in all
these distresses, their king Edward being fled into
Normandie, to haue no care of them, nor to prepare
anie rescue, aid, or helpe for them: it was not to be
marvelled, if in so heauie a distress they were ama-
zed and astonished. And yet considering with them-
selues that Sweno was a Dane, a cruell enemie, a
bloudie murderer, an vsurping tyrant, having no
other title to the crowne of England, but the sword,
did with one consent agree and conclude, neuer to
yeld nor giue ouer whilste anie were left liuing
able to withstand the same, wishing rather to die
manfullie for their common wealth, than to liue in
reproch and infamie; and by death to reape an immor-
tall fame, than by life to become ignominious & in-
famous, and in the end also to be the miserable slaues
of a cruell and vsurping tyrant.

When therefore after manie assaults, all of the
most part of the ablest men were spent and consu-
med, and none or few left alieue to withstand so might-
ie and so manie enimies: the Dane on the seuen and
twentieth daie of August, with force entered the citie,
And after that he had serued and satisfi'd his bloudie
appetits, in deflowring the women, murdering the
children, and making haucke of all the people, hee
spoiled the citie, burned the houses, rased the walles,
bet downe the temples, and left nothing to be done
which might by fire, sword, and spoiles be consumed:
and this is so witnessed by sundrie writers, Reinolph
of Chester writeth thus: *Daci cum suo rege Sweno Exce-*
striam venerunt, & urbem funditus destruxerunt, nullare in-
columi relicta, que aut ferro aut igni vastari poterat: & omnia
spolia cineribus tantum relictis secum deportauerunt. Hun-
tington hath these words: *Daci in ea exarserunt sicut ignis*
quem vellet aliquis sanguine exinguere: aduolantes igitur
quasi multitudo locustarum, quidam Excestriam venerunt, &
urbem funditus destruxerunt: & omnia spolia cineribus tan-
tum relictis secum deportauerunt.

Houeden thus saith: *Rex Danorum Sweni peritium*
& proditiem Normannici comitis, quem Emma Dommanie
profecerat, civitatem Exon infregit, spoliavit, & murum ab
orientali usq; ad occidentalem portum destruxit, & cum in-
genti preda naues repetit. It was also besieged by Wil-
liam the Conquerour in the first yeare of his reigne
Anno 1068, for when he first entered this land, and
by dint of sword sought the conquest thereof; the ci-
tizens of this citie, and the noble and gentlemen of
all the countrie about, entered into one common
league, conclusion and promise, to ioine together and
to withstand the enimie to the uttermost. And this
confederacie being confirmed by a publike oth, pre-
paration on all parts was made accordinglie, for
the accomplishing of the same. But the conquerour
having prevailed, and subdued in a manner the whole
land, was advertised that this citie stood upon their
gard, and would not yeld nor submit themselves un-
to him. Whereupon he sent his armie from London
and besieged the same: and percelling the siege to
continue, marched and came himselfe vnto the same,
but rather came no farther than Salisbury. In the
meane time the citizens were advertised how the
whole realme had yielded, and seeing also how their
confederats did dalle thinke awaite from them, and
by that meanes they to grow weaker & weaker, and
therefore the lesse able to withstand so great a force,
and to keepe out so puissant an armie as was round
about them; and considering also, that small mercie
or fauor should they find if the citie by force were ta-
ken; did by way of intreatie offer submission, and de-
sire peace; which in the end they obtained: and so pa-
cing a grieuous fine, they and the citie were restored.

But yet in token of his conquest, the king altered
and changed the gates of the castell, and took an oth
of all the citizens to be his liege and true subiects.

Houeden in his historie maketh mention, that
Githa king Harolds mother should be within this
citie, during the time that this siege and assault la-
sted: and percelling the bent of the people to submit
and yeld themselves, secretlie conuied herselfe a-
waie. For these be his words: *Hyeme minuente, rex*
Wilhelmus de Normannia in Angliam redijt, & Anglis im-
portabile tributum imposuit: deinde in Dunmoniam hostiliter
profectus est ad civitatem Excestriam, quam cines & nonnulli
Anglici ministri contrailum retinebant: & obsedit, & infre-
git. Githa vero comitissa, mater scilicet Haroldi regis Anglo-
rum, & soror Swani regis Danorum, cum multis de civitate
fugiens, evasit & Flandriam petijt, cines autem dextris accep-
tu regi se dederunt. Also in the second yeare of king
Stephen Anno 1137, the lords and peeres of the
realme, remembryng the oth which they had before
made to king Henrie the first, to whom they swore
to be true to Gadow the kings onelie daughter and
heire, and to hir heires, and yet contrarie to the same
had swozne themselves to king Stephen, began to
repent themselves, & consulted how to restore Gadow
the emperesse, and to erpell Stephen. Wherefore
they assembled themselves in armie, & divided them-
selues into sundrie cities, towne and castles.

Among whom one Balowin Ribouers then erle
of Denon, with force entered and took this citie.
But the king so Harpelie followed and pursued
him, that he drave him from hence into the Ile of
Wight, which was then his lordship. But the king
when he had receiued the citie into his faith, mar-
ched with his armie to the said Ile, & took the same,
as also the earle himselfe, whom he sought with bar-
thelied. But Gadow the emperesse afterwards remem-
bryng this citie for such their service as the well li-
ked, did enlarge the liberties of this citie, for whom
yearelie euer after was an annuallie kept at the
charges of the citie.

It was also in great troubles in the eleventh pere
of king Richard the second, Anno 1387. For a con-
trouersie being fallen betwene the king & his two
uncles, the dukes of Yorke & Gloucester, none were
then so highlie in the kings fauour, as were Robert
Cere marques of Dublin, and Michael de la Pole
earle of Suffolke, & others of their faction. So these
the king gaue in commandement, to collect and mu-
ster an armie, as it were for his defense, against his
said uncles: which when they had partlie done, whe-
ther it were because they mistrusted their owne
parts, or whether they doubted of the sequelle of their
doings, they left their iourneie towards London, as
it was first appointed, and came towards this citie.
The two dukes who stood upon their owne gard and
defense, hauing aduertisement hereof, followed and
persuaded them with all haste and speed: and hauing
oueraken them at this citie, they ioined the fight
with the marques and the earle. But they trusting
more to their feet than to their hands, secretlie gaue
the slip and fled awaie, making no staie before
they came to Scotland; and from thence into Flan-
ders, where they died.

It was moreover in troubles in the tenth pere of
king Edward the fourth Anno 1469, when the
states of this king, and of king Henrie the first were
doubtfull, and the whole realme diuided: some follo-
wing king Henrie, and some king Edward. In time
of which troubles the duchess of Clarence, the lord
Dineham, the lord Fitzwarren, and the baron of
Carew, who followed and took part with king Hen-
rie, came to this citie, being accompanied and dispa-
ted with a thousand fightingmen. The duchess was
great with child, and lodged in the bishops palace, but
f f f f f.

Houeden.
Polychron. li. 7

Githa king
Harolds mo-
ther late in the
citie during
the siege, and
secretlie fleth
awaie into
Flanders.

Balwin Ri-
bouers earle of
Denon entred
into this citie,
and resisteth
against king
Stephen.

Balwin the
earle is taken
and banished.

Polydor. li. 29.

The marques
of Dublin, and
the earle of
Suffolke,
come to Exon
and are pur-
sued by the
dukes of Yorke
and Gloucester.

The duchess of
Clarence with
others com-
meth to Exon
being great
with child & fle-
eth in the bi-
shops palace.

Sir Hugh Courtneie
laeth siege to
the citie.

The maior is
required to deli-
uer the keies
of the citie, and
refuseth so
to do.

The maior
and citizens
do fortifie the
citie.

The siege rais-
ed, and the
citie deliuered.

The duke of
Clarence and
the Earle of
Warwicke
came from
Edgecourt
field to this ci-
tie, and from
hence to
Dartmouth.

the lords were in other houses within the close among the chanons, and here staid themselves. But sir Hugh Courtneie knight, who then favoured and was on the part of king Edward, hearing of this assemblie, raiseth an armie of his friends and allies, approacheth therewith unto this citie, besiegeth it, breaketh the bridges, and stoppeth all the waies leading to the same, and by which means no vittels could be brought to the markets: and being thus incamped about this citie, sendeth to the maior, requiring him either to open the gates and to giue him entrie, or to deliuer unto him the gentlemen that were therein. On the other side, the gentlemen which were within, they either mistrusting the maior and citizens, or not willing to stand to his courtserie, and be vnder his gouernement, required the keies of the citie gates to be deliuered vnto their custodie, and that all things to be done by their order and appointment.

In these doubts and perplexities consulting what were best to be done, they did at length resolute & conclude neither to yeld to the requests of them who were without, nor yet to satisfie the demands of them which were within the citie: but pacifieng both parties with such good words, and in such good order as they might, did reserue to themselves the keeping and safe custodie of the citie, being the chamber of the king, & parcell of the reuenues of the crowne, to the onlie vse of the king and crowne, as to them in dutie and allegiance did appertene. And therefore forthwith they rampired by the citie gates, fortified the walles, appointed souldiers, and did set all things in such good order as in that case was requisite; leauing nothing vndone which might be for the preservation of the state & commonwealth of the citie.

But yet for want of forescasting, in procelle of time the provision within the citie waied short, and vittels to be scant; whereof it was doubted there would insue some famine, which the common people neither could nor would indure, if some remedie were not in due time had and prouided. The magistrats did their best indeuor euerie waie, as well by diligence in following, as by counselling, in perswading euerie man to continue firme and true to the publike state, and their owne private commonweale. And albeit the common people were impatient to abide troubles, and loth to indure the present state of want and famine; yet they had that respect to their owne truth, faith, and safetie, as euerie man yelded himselfe contented to abide and indure the time of their deliuerance: and by the good will of God it followed, and the same took god effect.

For about twelue daies after this sturre begun, by waie of intreatie and mediation of certaine chanons of the cathedrall church of this citie, the siege was remoued and raised; whereupon verie shortly after did insue the field of Edgecourt, where the duke of Clarence and the earle of Marwicke being put to the worst, did flee vnto this citie, and made their entrie into the same the thirde daie of Aprill, 1470, and laie in the bishops palace for a few daies, vntill they had caused to be prouided ships at Dartmouth for their passage ouer into Calis.

The king being aduertised which waie his enemies were gone, followed and pursued them with an armie of fortie thousand men, and came to this citie the fourteenth of Aprill 1470, hauing with him in his companie sundrie & diuerse great lords and estates, as namelie the bishop of Ely lord tresoror of England, the duke of Norfolk earle marshall of England, the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Wiltshire son to the duke of Buckingham, the earle of Shrewsburie, the earle Gloucestre, the lord Hastings, the lord Greie of Codner, the lord Audleigh, the lord Saie, the lord

Sturton, the lord Dacres, the lord Spountoie, the lord Stanleie, the lord Ferris, & the baron of Dudley, with a number of knights and gentlemen. But they all came too late, for the duke and the earle were both departed and gon to the seas before their comming.

Wherefore the king, after that he had rested and reposed himselfe here three daies, he departed and returned to London. It was also in great troubles, being besieged in the twelue yeare of king Henrie the seventh: by one Berkin Warbecke, 1470, who in the beginning of the moneth of September came to this citie, and incamped about it with his whole armie with ordinance battered the walls, fired the gates, vndermined it, and with mightie ladders scaled them, and left nothing vndone which might be to compasse their attempt: thinking and supposing that small would be the resistance against them. But such was the noble courage and valiant stomach of the citizens, that they manfully resisted and defended those forces, and indured the same to the vttermost, vntill that the king being aduertised thereof, did send the lord Edward Courtneie, earle of Denon and the lord William his sonne, with sundrie others well appointed, who came and rescued the citie: but in certeine conflicts the said earle and others were hurt; notwithstanding the enimie had the repulse, and was dyuen to raise his campe and to depart.

Finallie & last of all, it was besieged in the thirde yeare of king Edward the sixt, 1549, by the commons of Deuon and Cornewall: the historie whereof, for so much as hitherto it hath not bene fullie and at large set forth by anie man, & wher at I John Hooker the writer herof was present, and I *Iohannes* of things then done, I will somewhat at large discourse & set downe the whole course & maner of the same. It is apparant and most certeine, that this rebellion first was raised at a place in Deuon named Sampford Courtneie, which lieth westwards from the citie about sixtene miles; vpon mondaie in the Whitson weeke being the tenth daie of Iune 1549. The cause thereof (as by the sequelle it did appeare) was onelie concerning religion; which then by act of parlement was reformed, and to be put in execution on Whitsondaie the ninth of Iune. The which daie being now come, and the statute made for the same to be put in execution throughout the whole realme: it was accordingly with all obedience received in euerie place, and the common people well inough contented therewith euerie where; sauing in this west countrie, and especiallie at the said Sampford Courtneie.

For albeit at the daie appointed by statute, they had heard and were present at the diuine seruice said, and had according to the new reformed order, and could not in anie respect, find fault, or fault lie reprehend the same: yet (as old bottles which would not receiue new wine) would rather wallow in the old dreggs and puddels of old superstition, than to be fed and refreshed with the wholesome and heauenlie manna. Wherefore they confederated themselves, bitterlie to renounce, reiect, and cast off the same, not onelie to the great offense of God, whome they ought in all truth and veritie to reuerence and honor; and to the great displeasure of the king, whome in all dutifullnesse they ought to haue obeyed: but also to the raising of open rebellion, the cause of the spoile of the whole countrie, and the vndoing of themselves, their wiues, and children; as in sequelle and in the end it fell out and came to passe.

And here doth appeare what great detriments did come and insue to the church of God, and what great troubles

The want of
preaching
was the cause
of the rebel-
lion.

Underhill
and Segre
was the first
cause of the
rebellion.

The earle of
Denon first
to rescue the
citie and was
hurt.

The rebellion
first began at
Sampford
Courtneie.

The cause of
this rebellion
was for religion.

The priest
was compelli-
ed, because he
could be con-
uicted to false
walle.

The iustice
refuseth to
Sampford
and do no
good.

These gent-
lemen were a
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cause of the
troubles.

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The want of
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a tailor,
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The priest
was comp-
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willed.

The iustices
went to
Sampford
and saw no
good.

The gentle-
men were as-
sembled at
Sampford.

trouble to the publike and commonweale: when as learned preachers do want to teach and instruct the people; and well persuaded magistrats to gouerne the common state. For these people lacking the one, & not stored with the other, were left to themselves, and to their owne dispositions: and thereby partlie of ignorance, but moze of a froward and a rebellious disposition, they do now vtterlie condemne to accept, and do openlie resist to receiue the reformed religion, now put, and to be put in tye and execution. For vpon the said mondaie, the priest being come to the parish church of Sampford, & preparing himselfe to saie the seruice according to the booke & reformed order set forth, & as he had done the daie before: some of the parishioners, namelie one William Underhill a tailor, and one Segar a laboer, and others who had consulted and determined before of the matter, went to the priest, and demanded what he ment to do, and what seruice he would saie: Who answered that according to the lawes set forth, he would saie the same seruice as he had done the daie before. Then they said, that he should not so do, saing further, that they would keepe the old and ancient religion, as their forefathers before them had done; and as king Henrie the eight by his last will and testament had taken order, that no alteration of religion should be made, vntill king Edward his sonne were come vnto his full age. And therefore, for so much as he was now but a child, and could do nothing, they also would not haue any change.

In the end, all the parishioners joining and taking parts together, were all of the same mind, willing and charging the priest that he should vse and saie the like seruice as in times past he was wont to do: who in the end, whether it were with his will, or against his will, he relied to their minds, and yielded to their wills: and forthwith ranseth himselfe in his old popish attire, and faith masse, and all such seruices as in times past accustomed. These newes, as a cloud caried with a violent wind, and as a thunder clay sounding at one instant through the whole countrie, are caried and noised euen in a moment through out the whole countrie: and the common people so well allowed and liked thereof, that they clapped their hands for ioie, and agreed in one mind, to haue the same in euerie of their seuerall parishes.

The iustices of peace dwelling not far from Sampford, being aduertised how disorderlie, & contrary to the lawes, things had bene done in the church of Sampford; and how that the common people were clustered and assembled together, to continue and to mainteine their lewd & disorderd behaviour: such of them, namelie, sir Iugh Polard knight, Anthonie Barue, Alexander Wood, and Gharke Slader esquiers came & met at Sampford, minding to haue had conference with the chiefe plaiers in this enterlude, as well for the redresse of the disorder already committed, as also to persuade and pacifie the rest of the people. But they partlie understanding before hand of the iustices coming, were so addicted and wholly bent to their follies, that they fullie resolved themselves, wilfullie to mainteine what naughtilie they had begun. And therefore, when the iustices were come to the place, and requested to talke with them, they refused it; unless the said gentlemen would leaue all their men behind, and go with them into a certaine seuerall close not far off; and so they would be contented to conferre with them.

The gentlemen, albeit they and their men were the greater number, and sufficient to haue repressed the small companie of the commoners then & there

assembled: yet whether it were because they thought in such a case to vse all the best & quietest waie for the pacifying of them; or whether some of them being like affected as they were, did not like the alteration, as it was greatlie suspected: they yielded, and according to the motion made, they left their men in the towne, & went into the foresaid close, & there hauing had conference a pretty while together, did in the end depart without anie thing done at all. Whereof as there appeared some weakenesse in the said iustices which were so wholy liuered, as they would not, or durst not to repress the ragges of the people (which they might haue done) so therof also ensued such a scab as passed their cure, and such a fire as they were not able to quench. For the commons hauing now these willes, were set vpon a pin, that the game was theirs, and that they had wone the garland before they had runne the race; nothing forsaiking what might ensue, nor yet accounting what folke it is to triumph before the victorie. Wherefore they assemble & confederat themselves throughout the whole shire in great troops and companies, and do assocat and flocke vnto them the Cornish people, minding to ioine together, and foolishlie to mainteine what rashlie they had begun.

The king and counsell then occupied in the weightie causes concerning the state of Scotland, being aduertised of this towards rebellion, & respecting the speedie redresse thereof, sent forthwith for sir Peter Carew knight, who then was in Lincolnshire, and for sir Calwen Carew, who was then attendant at the court: and to them commandement was given, that forthwith, and with all speed they should hasten and depart into Deuon, and there to vse, by the aduise of the iustices, all the best means and waies that they might for the appeasing of this rebellion, quieting of the people, and pacifying of the countrie; and to cause euerie man quietlie to returne to his home, and to refer the causes of their griefs and complaints (if they had anie) vnto the king and counsell: and if they then refused so to do, they to vse such other good means and waies as might be for the suppressing of them. And the counsell being daillie moze and moze aduertised, that these begun rebellions did moze and moze increase; and doubting of the sequels thereof, by reason that in other places of the realme the like tumults were begun, though not for the like causes; do direct and giue an order to the lord Russell, then lord priuie seale, and after earle of Wiltford, that he also should follow and dispatch himselfe into Deuon; and he had a commission to deale in such order as he might best do for the pacifying of the said tumults and byzozes.

The foresaid two knights, hauing receiued their commission vnder the kings hand, came in post into the countrie, and making their repaire to this citie, do forthwith send for sir Peters Courtneis then shiriffe and the iustices of the peace of the countrie; and vnderstanding, that a great companie of the commons were assembled at Crediton, which is a towne distant about seauen miles from Excester, and that among them were the Sampford men: & who were the chiefe of them toke counsell & aduise what was best to be done, and what waie meetest to be taken. In the end it was concluded, that the said sir Peter and sir Calwen with others should ride to Crediton, & there to haue conference and speeches with the said commons, and to vse all the good waies and means they might to pacifie & appeale them, they then supposing, and being persuaded, that by good speeches and gentle conferences they should haue bene able to haue compassed and persuaded the said commons. But the people being by some secret intelligence aduertised of the coming of the gentlemen towards

Sir Peter Carew and sir Calwen Carew sent into Deuon.

The iustices ries do assemble all at Excester.

Sir Peter Carew by the aduise of the iustices rideth to Kinton.

The people at
Kirtton doe
arme them-
selues & ram-
pire by the
barnes.

them, and they fullie resolved not to yeld one iote from their determinations, but to mainteine their cause taken in hand, do arme and make themselves strong, with such armors and furnitures as they had; they intrench the high waies, and make a mightie rampire at the towne end, and fortifie the same, as also the barnes next adjoining to the said rampires with men and munition, hauing peried the wallies of the barnes with lopes and holes for their shot.

The foresaid gentlemen knowing nothing hereof, rode on their iourneie, and being come almost to the towne, they were aduertised how the waies were stopped and rampired, and that they could not ride into the towne. Whereupon they alighted from their horses, and after a little conference had, they agreed to go into the towne on foot, nothing thinking lesse that they should be stopped or denied to go in on foot. But when they came to the rampires they found the contrarie: for they not onelie were denied to come nere the rampire, but vtterlie were refused to be talked withall: no offers of persuasions nor motions of conference at all could be allowed. For the sun being in cancer, & the midsummer mone at full, their minds were imbued in such follies, and their heads caried with such vanities, that as the man of Athens they would heare no man speake but themselves, and thought nothing well said but what came out of their owne mouths.

The gentlemen vpon such checks, taking the matter in euill part, to be so vnreuerentlie and discourteouslie intreated, with one consent doe agree to make waie ouer the rampire. But in the aduerture thereof they were so galled both by them which kept the rampires, and specialtie by such as were within the barnes, that they were faine to retire and giue place, with the losse of some, and the hurt of manie. In which distresse, a certeine seruiceman named For, and retaining to sir Hugh Pollard, suddenly set one of the barnes on fire: whereupon not onelie such as were therein, but all they also which were in the rampires fled and ran awaie. And then the gentlemen having recovered the rampire went into the towne; but there they found none except a few pore and old people, the residue trusting better to their heeles than to their armes were fled to a further place: and then they returned againe to Excester without anie thing done.

The noise of this fire and burning was in poss hast, and as it were in a moment carried and blazed abroad throughout the whole countrie; and the common people vpon false reports, and of a gnat making an elephant, noised and spread it abroad, that the gentlemen were altogether bent to ouer-run, spoile, and destroye them. And in this rage, as it were a swarme of wasps they cluster themselves in great troops and multitudes, some in one place, and some in an other, fortifying and intrenching themselves as though the enimie were readie to inuade and assaile them. And among other places one was at a village belonging to the lord Russell named St. Marie Clift distant from Excester about two miles, where the commons of the countrie thereabout had begun to fortifie the towne for their defense & safetie.

The cause and pretense of their doings herein, was not onelie the burning of the barnes at Crediton aforesaid, which all the commons generallie did vse for a cloke of this their rising and rebellion: but this one thing also increased their disposition. It happened that a certeine gentleman named Walter Raleigh dwelling not far from thence, as he was vpon a sabbath daie riding from his house to Excester, ouertooke an old woman going to the parish church of saint Marie Clift, who had a paire of beads in hir hands, and asked hir what she did with those

beads? And entring into further speeches with hir concerning religion, which was reformed, & as then by order of law to be put in execution, he did persuade with hir that she should as a good christian woman and an obedient subject yeld the rebento; saying further, that there was a punishment by law appointed against hir, and all such as would not obteie and follow the same, and which would be put in execution vpon them.

This woman nothing liking, nor well digesting this matter, went forth to the parish church, where all the parishioners were then at the seruice: and being vnpatient, and in an agone with the speeches before passed betwene hir and the gentleman, began to vphraid in the open church verie hard and vnseemlie speeches concerning religion, saying that she was threatened by the gentleman, that except she would leane hir beads, and giue ouer holie bread and holie water, the gentlemen would burne them out of their houses and spoile them, with manie other speeches verie false and vnttrue, and whereof no talke at all had passed betwene the gentleman and hir. Notwithstanding she had not so soon spoken, but that she was beleued: and in all hast like a fox of wasps they sling out of the church, and get them to the towne which is not far from thence, and there began to intrench and fortifie the towne, sending abroad into the countrie round about, the news aforesaid, and of their doings in hand, flocking, and procuring as manie as they could to come and to ioine with them.

And they fearing or mistrusting, least the gentlemen which were then at Excester, would come vpon them, they first fortified the bidge, which lieth at the end of the towne towards the citie, and laid great trees ouerthwart the same, as also planted certeine peeces of ordnance vpon the same, which they had procured and fetched from Topham a towne not far from thence. But before they came into the towne, they ouertooke the gentleman maister Raleigh aforesaid, and were in such a choler, and so fell in ragies with him, that if he had not shifted himselfe into the chappell there, and had bene rescued by certeine mariners of Emouth which came with him, he had bene in great danger of his life, and like to haue bene murdered. And albeit he escaped for this time, yet it was not long before he fell into their hands, and by them imprisoned and kept in prison in the towne and church of saint Sidwelles, without the east gate of the citie of Excester, during the whole time of the commotion, being manie times threatened to be executed to death. But to the matter.

These the doings of the commons being aduertised to sir Peter Carew, who then was in Excester, assemblye all the iustices & the gentlemen, & conferreth with them what were best to be done; and in the end, concluded & agreed that he, sir Saluen Carew, sir Thomas Denis, sir Hugh Pollard, and sundrie others should ride to Clift, and there to vse all the best meanes they might, for the pacifying and quieting of them. And accordingly in the next morning being sundaie they all rode thither: and being come almost to the bidge, they perceived the same to be rampired, & no waie to be open for them to passe into the towne. Whereupon sir Peter Carew alighted from his horse, and mistrusting nothing, was going on foot toward the bidge. But such was the rancor and malice conceiued against him, partlie for religion, and partlie for the burning of the barnes at Crediton, which was laid altogether to his fault, that the gunner whose name was John Hamon an alien and a smith, and dwelling then at Woodburie, not far from Clift, by the procurement and abetting of

The barnes
at the townes
end at Kirtton
are set on fire.

An assemblye
of the people
at Clift Ma-
rie or bishops
Clift.

A cause whie
they rose at
bishops Clift.

The towne
Clift is lim-
ited, and the
bidge rampi-
red.

Walter Ra-
leigh eliques
in danger of
the rebelle.

Sir Peter
Carew and
others ride to
Clift.

Sir Peter
Carew shal
be slain.

The conse-
quence of the
gentlemen
with the com-
mons at
Clift.

Mistake
made among
the seruants
of the
gentlemen
and the
commons.

Walter Ra-
leigh eliques
in danger of
the rebelle.

The agree-
ment offered
by the com-
mons.

m. 1549

m. Reg. 3.

of some there, hauing charged his pece of ordinance there lying, leuelled the same, to haue shot and discharged it at him: which he had done, if one Hugh Whorne seruant then to sergeant Wydeor had not let him and staied his hand.

The gentlemen perceiuing they could not passe into the towne, doo send in a messenger vnto the towne, aduertising them that they were come to talke friendlie with them, as also to satisfie them if they had any cause of grieffe, or were by any bodie misused. They at this message and motion staggered a while and cast manie doubts: but in the end they sent word that they were contented, that if sir Thomas Denis, sir Hugh Pollard, and Thomas Ward esquier, would come into the towne to them and leaue their men behind them, as also would take order, and giue their faith and promise that no hurt should be done or offered to be done vnto them, whiles they were thus in conference together: that then vpon these conditions they would be contented to talke with them. Vpon which promise made and assured vnto them, the foresaid three gentlemen went into the towne about ten of the clocke in the forenoone, and there taried and spent the most part of the daie in much talke and to no purpose: as in the end it fell out.

The other knights and gentlemen, which in the meane while taried without, and waited a long time euen vntill the daie did draw toward night, began to mislike of the matter, some speaking one thing and some an other; yea and some of them in plaine speeches said they would ride ouer the water and issue into the towne. But the friends and seruants of the two knights, respecting the promise made before their entrie into the towne, but especially their masters safetie, which by breach of promise might be put in perill, did utterlie mislike and were grieved with those speeches, and thereof began a little quarrelling among themselves, but forthwith pacified and quieted. And yet some one or two of the companie rode to the waters side, & with their haues searched the depth thereof: for at that brydge the water at euerie tide (by reason that the seas are so nere) swelleth vp and reboundeth. Which thing when they in the towne did see, forthwith cried out alarm, and made much a doo; and some of them began and grew into such rages, that the gentlemen within the towne began to distrust their safetie.

Nevertheless the conference and talke heretofore ended, and they came aboate; who as soone as they were come to sir Peter Carew, they were demanded what they had done, and how they had sped: who answered, Well inough: & giuing no other answer they rode all together to Excester, deferring the disclosure of their doings vntill their coming thither. The same night they supped all together, & after supper ended, and all the seruants were auoided out of that roome, sir Peter Carew demanded of them what they had done, and what agreement they had made: who answered that the commons had promised, and were contented to keepe themselves in god & quiet order, and to proceed no further in their attempts: so that the king and the counsell would not alter the religion, but suffer it to remaine and varie in the same state as king Henrie the eight left it: & vntill the king himselfe came to his full age. Sir Peter Carew and all the residue nothing liking this answer, being farre from their expectation, were for the time in a great dumpe or studie; but in the end misliked and discommended both the matter and the manner of their dealings: inso much that sir Peter Carew, and sir Peter Courtenie, then shiriffe of Devon, openlie, harpelie, and in plaine termes trusted against them for their hendert, or rather sinister dea-

lings in so weightie a cause: wherein they all ought rather to haue vsed all meanes to haue suppressed their outrages, than to haue maintained their follies: and therefore as there was a blame in them, so was there a plaine rebellion in the other.

But though the two knights would haue excused the matter, and haue purged their sinceritie herein; yet on eche side words were so multiplied, that they brake asunder without any further dealings, and euerie man thifted for himselfe, some one waite some an other waite. The commons vnderstanding hereof stop all the high waies, casting great trenches, and lasing great trees ouerthwart the same, and doo watch & ward the same: and by that meanes sundrie gentlemen suspecting no such matter, and making waie to their appointed places, were intrapped, taken, and put in prison; and manie of them kept in durance, during the whole time of the commotion, & abode great hardnesse, and were in perill of life and limme: manie were taken because they would be taken, & found fauour; & manie forsaking their houses and home, were driuen to sequester and hide themselves in woods & secret places. In the citie none or berie few remained or taried, saving sir or seuen persons then knowne of: for by conference had before with the maior, it was knowne that the citie was vnprouided of sufficient vittels, meet for such a companie as the foresaid gentlemen were.

The gentlemen which taried and remained in the citie; namely, sir Roger Bletwet knight, John Beauchampe, Bartholomew Forsethote, John Courtneie, & John Peter customer, esquiers, and others, did berie god seruice as well in their persons, as in their good aduises and counsels, saving such as secretlie kept themselves close in certeine houses then vnknowne. Sir Peter Carew berie earlie in the next morning took his horse, and the high waies being then not stoped he escaped and rode vnto George Henton, a place of sir Hugh Daules in Summerfetshire: where was the lord Russell, being then newlie come from London, and vnto him he came to vnderstand, how all things had passed: who forthwith dispatched and sent him a waite to the king and counsell to aduertise them of the same. The king at the first hearing of the matter, was berie much grieved, & in great perplexitie in two respects: the one because at this instant the like tumults and rebellions (though for an other cause) were now raised and begun in other places; the other was because he was inforced to leaue and giue ouer the appointed attempt for the conquest of Scotland, and to imploy now those soldiors and strangers, whom he had retained for that seruice, for the quenching of this fire kindled at home.

Nevertheless minding to follow to the first, and to appease the last, he sent berie courteous letters, gracious proclamations, and manie mercifull offers vnto all the commons of those parties, to haue pacified and satisfied them, if they had had so much grace so to haue accepted it. The commons being now entered in their follies, and hauing driuen the gentlemen to the flight; doo openlie shew themselves traitors & rebels: and therefore assembling themselves doo appoint out capitaines to direct & order both themselves, and all their proceedings; and as the common plouer be, like lips like lettuce, as is their cause, so are the rulers; the one being not so bold and still, as they wicked or worse. The capitaines then are these: Underhill a tailor, Gaunder a thornaker, Seager a labourer, and Aylcredge a fishpouer, with sundrie other such like, the worst men and the refuse of all others, thought most meet in this seruice. Howbeit it was not long before, that certeine gentlemen and yeomen of good countenance and credit both in De-

The gentlemen depart asunder and euerie man thifteth for himselfe.

The high waies are stoped and intrenched.

Sundrie gentlemen taken and imprisoned.

A few gentlemen taried in the citie.

Sir Peter Carew rideth to the lord Russell being at George Henton.

Sir Peter Carew rideth to the court & aduertised the king & counsell. The king grieved to heare of the commotion. He determined conquest of Scotland was hindered by the rebellion.

The king beth all gentle persuasions to reduce the commons to conformity.

The first and chiefe captaines of the rebellion.

The towne of Exeter is fortified, and the brydge repaired.

Walter Raleigh esquier in danger of the rebellious.

Sir Peter Carew and others ride to Exeter.

Sir Peter Carew like to be slain.

don and Cornwell were contented, not onely to be associats of this rebellion: but also to carrie the crosse before this procession, and to be captains and guiders of this wicked enterpryse, as namelie in Devon Sir Thomas Pomeroie knight, John Warte and one Coffin gentlemen: & in Cornwell Ham-frie Arundell and Wirneclade esquiers, & Holmes a peoman, with sundrie others, who for the most part were in the end executed and put to death: and their facts to the memorie of their perpetuall infamie recorded in chronicles.

The principall & chiefe captains in Devon being fullie resolved by their owne power and authoritie to mainteine & continue the religion, according to the Romish church, & utterlie to impugn the reformation therof, established by act of parlement: & to support the authoritie of the dool of Rome (whome they neuer saw) in contempt of their true and lawfull king, whome they knew and ought to obeie: these I fate sent their messengers unto the maior of this citie, whose name was John Blackaller, to move and pte him to ioine with them, they thinking that they hauing by these meanes the libertie to haue free access to and from the citie, and the helpe of the citizens, should not want monie or armoz, or any thing else to serue their turne: the maior forthwith aduertised unto his brethren this motion. And albeit some and the chiefe of them did like & were well affected to the Romish religion: yet respecting their dutie to God, their obedience to the king, their fidelitie to their countrie, and safetie of themselves, gaue their full resolute and direct answer, that they would not ioine nor deale with them at all.

This answer was nothing liked, and therefore sent they their second messenger, requiring and commanding them to mainteine the old catholike religion with them, and to do as they did, or else they would besiege them, and perforce compell them therunto. The maior and his brethren returned their former answer, adding moreover that they in their domings were wicked & bad men; & they did & would repute them for enemies and rebels against God, their king, and countrie: and so renounced them. The one side therefore as they prepare to besiege the citie, and to worke all the extremities they can, by force to take that which by words they can not obtaine: so on the other side the maior and his brethren upon god aduise, garded and watched the citie with sufficient men, armed both by day and by night. The rebels (according to their determination) relying themselves upon a vaine hope, thinking that notwithstanding the answer before made; yet because the most part of the citizens were of their opinions, and of the like affections in religion, would not resist them: as also that they had many friends within the citie, more ready to ioine with them, than to follow the maior, if they might haue the choise what to do: they came being in number about two thousand persons, to the citie, upon the second of Iulie 1549, first making proclamation that if the citie would not yield, and ioine with them, they would enter with force and take the spoile of it, & so then they upon the deniall compassed the same round about; and gained unto them at the first all the suburbs.

And hereof they conceived such a vaine hope to haue their full desire upon the citie, that notonely the number in hope did double more & more increase, but also many of them brought their iuines, horses, and paniers; persuading themselves, and promising them, by such a date and upon such a date to enter into the citie, and then to measure beluets and silks by the bow, and to lade their horses home with plate, monie, and other great riches. The maior and his brethren forecasting the perils which might in such

a case insue, do promise all things necessarie and meet therewith to defend themselves, and to annoie the enimie. The citie therefore is bewed for armoz, men are mustered, soldiers are retained, captains in euerie ward appointed, warders for the day and watchmen for the night assigned, great peces of ordinance laid in euerie gate, and placed in all convenient places of the wals; mounts in sundrie places erected, as well for lateng of ordinance, as for saving of the soldiers & watchmen from the enimies shot: and nothing was left undone, which in any respect that present state and necessitie required.

The rebels likewise intrench the high wates, plash downe trees, breake downe bridges, keepe watches and wards in euerie place; so that no man could passe to or from the citie without their sufferance. The markets are stopped, vittels are kept from it, and all dealings and intercourses shut and cut off: and hauing (as they bragged) penned and shut up the townsmen in a cope or mew, they plant their ordinance against euerie gate, and in all other such places as best to serue their turne, and to hurt them within: they burnt the gates, they brake up the pipes and conduits, aswell for the taking auaie of the water comming to the citie, as also to haue the led to serue for their shot and pellets. But for the burning of the gates, there followed rather a benefit than a hurt thereof: for forthwith there were made certaine rampiers within the gate, which were farre stronger and of more defense than the gates, as also there were fiers continually kept euerie night betwixt the rampiers and the gates: and as for water, the citie so standeth upon a little hill, that it is full of springs in euerie quarter within the same, and by that means full and plentiful of euerie good and sweet waters. Also they in sundrie places did undermine the wals, minding thereby with gunpowder and with other matters fit for her to haue blowne up the wals; and so to haue entered in that wate: but herein they were also prevented by this means and in this manner.

The citie it selfe (as is before said) is set upon a little hill, and lieth herie sleeping towards two of the gates. And at one of these named the west gate, the said rebels had undermined on the one side, and filled the place with certaine barrels of powder, pitch, and other stufte, meet and apt to receiue fier, and had appointed the night when the same should be set on fier, and so to haue blowne the wals up. At the same time there was a certaine tinner in the citie, whose dwelling was at Weingemonth, named John Belcombe, who depended much upon the goodwill and friendship of maister William Hurk one of the aldermen of the citie, and he understanding of such an undermining to be in working, aduertised the same to maister Hurk, and maketh him priuie how he would prevent the same, which was done in this manner. For whereas he by a noise under the ground did suspect the undermining to be in working, he toke a pan of water, & did put the same on the ground, & by shaking of the water in the pan, he by removing the pan from place to place, came at length to the verie place, whereas the miners were working, and forthwith he countermined against the same, and brought so nere unto it, untill that he might and did see & looke into it. What done, he caused all the wals and streets in the citie towards euerie street, having a fall that wate to be drawne at one time, and euerie man to fill therewith a great tub of water. At his foredoze, which being done, he caused them all at one instant to be cast out and emptied, which water running in great abundance towards the said west gate, was conuered into the place countermined, & so entered and drowned the place, which before was mined:

The rebels send to the maior of the citie to ioine with them.

The maior & citizens refuse to ioine or to deale with the rebels.

Preparation is made on both sides to withstand the one the other.

The citie of Exon besieged.

The vaine persuasions of the rebels to haue the spoile of the citie.

The citie is bewed for armoz, men are mustered, soldiers are retained, captains in euerie ward appointed, warders for the day and watchmen for the night assigned, great peces of ordinance laid in euerie gate, and placed in all convenient places of the wals; mounts in sundrie places erected, as well for lateng of ordinance, as for saving of the soldiers & watchmen from the enimies shot: and nothing was left undone, which in any respect that present state and necessitie required.

The rebels likewise intrench the high wates, plash downe trees, breake downe bridges, keepe watches and wards in euerie place; so that no man could passe to or from the citie without their sufferance. The markets are stopped, vittels are kept from it, and all dealings and intercourses shut and cut off: and hauing (as they bragged) penned and shut up the townsmen in a cope or mew, they plant their ordinance against euerie gate, and in all other such places as best to serue their turne, and to hurt them within: they burnt the gates, they brake up the pipes and conduits, aswell for the taking auaie of the water comming to the citie, as also to haue the led to serue for their shot and pellets. But for the burning of the gates, there followed rather a benefit than a hurt thereof: for forthwith there were made certaine rampiers within the gate, which were farre stronger and of more defense than the gates, as also there were fiers continually kept euerie night betwixt the rampiers and the gates: and as for water, the citie so standeth upon a little hill, that it is full of springs in euerie quarter within the same, and by that means full and plentiful of euerie good and sweet waters. Also they in sundrie places did undermine the wals, minding thereby with gunpowder and with other matters fit for her to haue blowne up the wals; and so to haue entered in that wate: but herein they were also prevented by this means and in this manner.

The gates of the citie were kept open continually and rampiers within the citie, as also fiers kept burning all night in the same.

The citie being full of water, they went no further, but the citie was so full of water, that they could not enter.

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The rebels
plant their
ordnance
against the
citie & breake
up the conuoy
pipes, and
burne one of
the gates.

The gates of
the citie were
kept open com-
tinuallie and
rampired
South side,
as also fiere
kept burning
all night in
the same.

The citie be-
ing full of wa-
ter springes
they want
no water.

The citie
swals at the
South gate
were under-
mined, but
countermin-
ing the same
was preuen-
ted.

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mined:

The rebels
mining of
the wals
it was found
and destruyed.

The rebels
mining of
the wals
it was found
and destruyed.

The rebels
mining of
the wals
it was found
and destruyed.

The citie
was kept
open.

The citie
was kept
open.

The citie
was kept
open.

The citie
was kept
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The citie
was kept
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The citie
was kept
open.

mined: at which time also by the goodnesse of God, there fell a great shewe, as the like for the time had not bene seene manie years before, and which at that instant greatly serued this turne.

The rebels perceiuing themselves disappointed of their purpose, gaue ouer to deale any further in those attempts: howbeit otherwise they left nothing undone which might be to annoie the citizens. For sometimes they made alarmes, as though they with all might and maine would haue giuen the scale: and indeed they had prouided ladders for the same purpose. Sometimes they by policies would make to come to the gates to burne them, and herein they used this stratagem. They prouided carts laden with old haie, & vniuing the wheles before them would come to the gate without danger, and so set fier in the gate. But notwithstanding they escaped not scotfree, for both at the west gate and at the south gate, their commings being perceived, the great port peeces were charged with great bags of flint stones and halleshot: and as they were approaching unto the gates, the gates were secretly opened, and the said port peeces discharged, and so they were spoiled diuerse of them, & by that means they had small pleasure to follow those deuises: as also the citizens to preuent the same, did from thenceforth keepe the gates open. Likewise they would keepe themselves close in sundrie houses, in the suburbs nere the wals, and would so watch the garrets, that if any within the citie would looke out at the garrets, was in the danger of their shot, and some thereby were killed, and manie hurt. Upon which occasion the citizens set some part of the suburbs on fire, and some part which was next to the wals they beat and brake downe, and so drane the rebels out of those holes. Besides this, they had in sundrie places their great ordnance, so set and placed, that in certeine streets and places none could go but in perill and danger of their shot, which their deuises were checked, by making of certeine mounts to shadowe the streets from the same. Diuerse other deuises they practised to the continuall annoiance of the citie, which though they were greuous and dangerous, yet not to be compared unto the perils which were within the wals among themselves, and whereof had insured the confusion of the whole citie, had not the Lord God of his goodnesse kept and preserved the same. For the serpent of diuision, and the fier of malice, was entered into the citie, manie being inuicomed with the one, but more scalded with the other.

10 sometimes by secret conferences ouer the wals, sometimes by priuat letters priuillie conueied to and fro, by messengers lurking and attending for the same, sometimes by open speeches in times of truce, and manie times by bills and letters bound fast about arrows, and so shot to and fro: and by these and other such like means they discovered ech one to the other their purposes and wicked deuises and practises: all which tended to this effect, to betraie the citie, and to set by the religion.

20 Howbeit, these things were not so secretlie done, but the same were knowne, & manifest arguments and proofes thereof did appeare. And among sundrie some one of them being one of god credit and countenance, and of the number of the common council, whose name was John Wolcot a merchant, was so farre enchanted herein, that vpon a certeine daie he being (as his course came about) a capteine for the daie, and to ward one of the gates that daie, presuming that partlie by reason of his charge that daie, and partlie for that he was one of the common council, he might do more than in deed did apperteine to him, he vpon his first comming to the west gate in the morning met with certeine of his confederats, and after conference had with them, went suddenlie out at the wicket of the gate (which gate as then was not rampired) and carrying the keyes with him, went unto the rebels, and had a long conference with them. But it toke small effect, for he promised (as it after appeared) more than he could performe, which turned to his great discredit: both for that he himselfe verie hardlie escaped their hands who were bent to haue kept and reteined him, as they did the two others, who went out with him: as also when he came in, was both checked and blamed for his doings.

30 At an other time the maior vpon an occasion assembled all the commoners unto the Guildhall, & merie man being in his armor, and the papists being then the greater number, some one of them named Richard Tailor a clothier, thinking by making of a tumult or an vprore they should be too hard for the others, and so attaine to their purposes, hauing his bowe bent, did vocke his arrow, minding to haue striken the man to whom he leuelled the shot: but gaing his hand, and misting his marke, he strooke his owne and best friend John Peter the kings cashier, a gentleman of god countenance and credit, who had died thereof, had not the arrow lighted vpon one of his ribs bones: a great murthering was like to haue ben a tumult, but the matter knowne it was appeased.

40 Also at an other time there was a practise made with the souldiers, who had the charge and custody of the castell, that they should receiue in at the posterne of the said castell, a certeine number of the rebels; wherevnto the said souldiers through corruption had giuen their consent. The daie and time were appointed for the same: but whether the same by secret advertisement were discovered, or whether the matter were mistrusted, or whether it pleased God to moue the hearts of certeine men to take the view of the castell, & of the maner of the souldiers wages there: it is most certeine that by the repaire & resort of certeine men, vnder the colour to walke and see the trecherie, it was espied, and the practises discouered.

50 The magistrates and chiefe persons of the citie, albeit they were not as yet fullie resolued and satisfied in religion, yet they not respecting that, but cheslie their dutifullnesse to the king and commonwealth, nothing like the rebellion, nor beate with the same, but they do all things to defend the citie and themselves against their rebellious attempts, and likewise do their best indour to keepe their owne citizens in peace and quietnesse. Wherevpon the fauourers of the old Romish religion, being inwardlie grieued, that they could not haue their will, nor obteine to haue the gates to be opened, that those god and religious men (as they termed them) might come in, they used priuat conferences with them, sometimes by secret conferences ouer the wals, sometimes by priuat letters priuillie conueied to and fro, by messengers lurking and attending for the same, sometimes by open speeches in times of truce, and manie times by bills and letters bound fast about arrows, and so shot to and fro: and by these and other such like means they discovered ech one to the other their purposes and wicked deuises and practises: all which tended to this effect, to betraie the citie, and to set by the religion.

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The secret
conferences
of the papists.

A fond enter-
prise of an ex-
pert citizen.

This Tailor
died after in
prison for brute

What man
purposeth
God disposeth

A wicked
practise to re-
ceive the re-
bels into the
castell.

red, and their whole deuises preuented. Likewise manie houses, and often there were traces made, and sundrie parles and conferences had with the rebels, which were procured to the onlie end that they might compass their deuises. And this was a common practise with them, that when soeuer the parle was appointed, there should be hostages or pledges put in on both parties: and they as men upon whom the greatest weight of the matter did depend, would require to haue the best and most chosen citizens, to be hostages with them, in stead and for the safetie of those which they would send to the parle for them, who for the most part were the refuse, the scumme, and the rascals of the whole countrie, and yet such they were in this case, as who ruled the roose and bore the whole or chiefe stoke; and the worse the man, the greater his authoritie among them, which was good enough for so wicked a matter taken in hand, according as the common adage is: *Dignum patella operculum*, like lips like lettice.

The chiefe rulers & captains among the commons were the worst men.

Great practise bled to procure the citizens to ioinc with the rebels.

The faithfull and flat determination of the citizens to refuse the communicating with the rebels.

The last and perillous practise of the rebels.

A perillous practise.

But during the time of these truces and parles, there being then a time and scope of libertie to talke and conferre with them euerie man at his pleasure, there wanted no deuises under colour of frendlie conferences, to deuise how to compass their intents: howbeit it pleased the eternall God, so to carrie and rule the hearts of the magistrats, that albeit being taught in the Romish religion they were affected therewith, yet they so much respected their dutie to their prince, and the safetie to their commonwealth, that they openly professed they would neuer yield the citie so long as they liued, and were able to keepe and defend the same.

For the maior himselfe master William Hurst, master John Buller, master John Whitnall, master William Periam, & others of the ancientest of the citie, were by sundrie means, waies, deuises, and reasons, perswaded to containe themselves in this rebellion with the commons. They all with one mind and one voice gaue a flat answer that in the citie they had been brought by, there they had gotten their liuings, there they had sworne their fidelitie and allegiance to their king and prince, there they had faithfully hitherto serued him, and there would so continue so long as they could to the uttermost of their powers; all which their promises & anowyses (the Lord be praised) they performed.

But to the matter, Sundrie other trecheries & deuises were practised, which particularlie to recte were verie tedious & to no purpose. The last but the most perillous practise was this. When these malecontents saw themselves to be preuented in all their deuises, which before they had but secretlie and privately practised, then they comforting themselves together, do openly shew and declare the misdoings, being perswaded that because they were the greater number, and that also the most part of the poore people were wearie, and for want of hitteles would not indure to be pinned in any longer, that therefore manie would ioinc against a few, and that the game would go on their side.

And so on a sundae, being but two daies before the deliuerie of the citie, about eight of the clocke in the forenoon, a compaign of them in euerie quarter of the citie, hauing their consorts in a readines to followe & serue with them (if need so required) got into the streets, walking with their weapons about their girdles, as to fight with their enemies, and cry out, "Come out those heretikes and thieues, those bohemians, where be they? By Gods iudgement a blow we will not be pinned in to serue the iurme, we will go out and haue in our neighbors, they be honest, good, and goodlie men. Their pretense and meaning being then, that if any of the contrarie side had come out, they

would haue quarrelled with them, and haue taken occasion to set upon him and to raise a new tumult.

But by the providence and goodnesse of God it so fell out, that some being in their houses, and some at their parish churches, the maior and magistrats were first aduertised herof, before the others heard any thing of the matter: and they according to their wisdoms pacified the matter, and sent John Vincent, John Sharke, and others, the bretherers of this cloke into their houses. Where in the south gate street and at the south gate, there was a little stir, which being soon stopped there ensued no hurt therof, other than a broken pate or two: for as it fell out, the wardens of that gate at that time were against them and of the greater compaign. These and manie other like practises were daily and continually vsed on the one side, which in the end came to no effect, because the Lord kept the citie.

The others on the other side being also together bent to honor God, obeye the king, and to serue in their commonwealth, were fullie resolu'd to keepe and defend the citie, whose cause being iust and good, was sufficient of it selfe to keepe them in that mind: and yet their courage was the more, for that they saw the god bent of the maior and magistrats; who, howsoeuer they were affected otherwise in religion, yet they were wholly bent and determined to keepe and defend the citie: and therefore they seeing the industry, carefulnesse, service and painefulnesse, of these men, do favour, incourage, and countenance them, and (to saie the truth) by the industry and god service of them, the citie was cheefly kept and preserved.

For there was no seruice to be done within, nor exploit to be aduentured without upon the enimie (as manie times there were sallies given) but these were the chiefe and commonlie the onlie doers: for which cause the contrarie side marvelously maligned at them, and sought by all means how to impeach and indanger them. Which thing being badly perceived more and more by sundrie arguments, and as wise men seeking how to prevent the same, did manie and sundrie times confer among themselves here in, and in the end made a covenant and a faithfull promise among themselves (being then about the number of one hundred persons) that they would stand firmelie and faithfully to the defence and keeping of the citie to their uttermost powers.

And if it so fell out, that the rebel and enimie should haue access and entrie into the citie, that then they should all meet at the lord Kasseles (now the earle of Bedfordes) house, and there to issue out at the poierne of the garden, and to giue the aduerture to passe and to escape a waie, as also if they were besieged that then they should stand together to their defense. And for this purpose they had then named some one man to be their captaine for this enterprise. And in the meane time, to do all things extrinsie for the preservation of the citie, & by a particular covenant among themselves, did take order, that during the whole besieging of the citie, and their abode therein, a certaine number by course and besides the ordinarie set watch, should watch, ward, and walke about continually both by daie and night, by which means no sleight nor treacherie could be practised, but that they should haue an inbelling, and vnderstanding thereof, and that in deed stand and came to such effect that it was the chiefe (if not the onlie) cause of the preservation of the citie for that time: for there was no seruice, no diligence, no care, nor any thing wanting, or left vnborne, which by these men was not done.

Howbeit the Dutch, the author of all division and strife, who cannot abide any unitie, concord and agreement in god causes, did here also hurle in a bone

variance between John Courtenie & Richard.

The poples were displeased of their pastors.

The determination of the honest & good citizens.

A sally made upon the rebels.

The best citizens confederated.

The correction of the good citizens.

A blow towards.

Joim. 1549.

An. Reg. 3.

among these men, whereof had ensued a great detriment to the common state, and an overthrow to themselves, had it not in due time bene prevented. There were two gentlemen within this citie, and both of this companie, the one was borne of a honorable house and parentage, named John Courtneie a younger sonne to sir William Courtneie of Doverberham knight, and a man of verie good knowledge and experience in service. The other also was a man of verie good service, practise, and experience, his name was Barnard Duffeld, & servant to the lord Russell, and keeper of his house in Excester. Both of these were verie forward and carefull in this present service against the rebels. But there fell an emulation betwene them, which albeit it be verie commendable in good things, & he praiseworthy who can best excell therein: yet when the same shall tend to a division of a publike state, the dissolution of a commonwealth, the breach of common societie, or the maintenance of any euill, it is bitterlie to be shunned and lamented.

It happened upon an occasion offered, that certaine of this companie upon a time issued out at the foresaid pofferne and made a sallie upon the enemies, and had such good successe, that some of them they slew, some they tooke prisoners, as also spoiled them of their goods, and brought a waite with them some of their ordinance, namely basses and slings: howbeit they all escaped not scottfree, for some of them were taken, some also were hurt, as namely John Drake, who the yeare before was the receiver of the citie was shot through the cheeke with an arrow, which he brought into the citie with him, and one John Simons a coke was so hurt that he died thereof.

But among them all one John Goldsmith being of that companie and servant to Richard Belierd of the same goldsmith, and a Fleming borne, had the best successe: for in the same skirmish he was taken prisoner by one of the rebels, who offered in taking of him with his bill to have slaine him. With that this John Goldsmith fell downe & yielded himselfe, having then in his hand his peece of handgun charged, & suddenly the other not mistrusting no; marking the same, he discharged into his verie bellie and so slew him, toke the spoile of him, and brought the same into the citie with him.

This skirmish though it were not clere gaines to this companie, yet it so encouraged them, that from time to time they consulted, and in the end determined to make a fresh sallie and to give a new adventure: whereupon there fell and grew a disagreement betwene the two foresaid John Courtneie & Barnard Duffeld, the one affirming that the same was not to be permitted in anye sort of citie, which stood upon defense of gard, without a verie speciall order of the generall of chiefe capteine, or some urgent necessity, especiallie in that present distresse and extremitie, wherein the citie as then did stand. But Barnard Duffeld being verie loth to lose anye part of his credit, or to desist from that he with others had determined, could by no meanes be persuaded to the contrarie, but plainelie affirmeth that what he had determined should be performed.

Whereupon the foresaid John Courtneie resorteth to the maiors, aduertiseth unto him the matter, & dealeth so fullie and with such persuasions with him, that the maiors assembleth his brethren, and sendeth for the foresaid Duffeld: who being come, the matter was at full debated and discoursed, and in the end concluded that it was verie hurtfull and dangerous to that present state, that anye such issuing out should be granted or permitted: and therefore prayed the said Duffeld to staie his determination, and to be contented. But he being impatient, & thinking

his credit to be stained, if he should be debarred or denied to do that which he had faithfullie promised, did bitterlie refuse to yield to this the maiors request, as also by continuing of talkes, fell out in foule and disorderd speeches. Whereupon to avoid a further inconvenience, he was commanded to ward. The daughter of this Duffeld, whose name was Francis, hearing that hir father was in ward, and taking in greafe that so great an iniurie (as she feared it) should be done to hir father, came more hastily than aduisedlie unto the maiors, somewhat late in the evening, & required to haue hir father out of the ward. Which thing being denied unto hir, shee waied so waime, that not onelie she used verie vnseemelie tearmes and speeches unto the maiors, but also contrary to the modestie and shamefastnes required in a woman, speciallie young and unmarried, ran most violentlie upon him, and strake him in the face. This was taken in so euill a part, and fearing that it had bene a set match of some further inconveniences, the common bell was forthwith rung out: and also a rumour spread that the maiors was beaten, or killed.

The whole commons immediatlie in great troops, & the most part in armes, ran to the Guildhall, where the maiors was, who though he was safe, yet were they so greued with this iniurie, that they would in all hast haue run to the lord Russells house, where he was then gone, and haue fetched hir out: but the maiors forercalling what inconveniences might ensue, and respecting the necessitie of the present state, was not onlie contented patientlie to wape up these iniuries, but also earnestlie requested the commoners to do the like: who being so pacified, he went home, and they conducted him into his owne houses. The chorons of the cathedrall church which at that time were resident in their houses within the close there, namely archdeacon Dollard, treasurer Southyon, chancellor Luson, and master Holwell, with others of the said church, who joined with the maiors and citizens in this service for the safeguard of the citie, and did keepe both watches and wards, and their men readie at all times to serue in euerie alarm and skirmish: they at the hearing of this disorderd part were verie much greued therewith, and they likewise forthwith assembled all their men, and being well armed and appointed, they went to the maiors, who was then gone home to his house, and then and there verie friendly did comfort him, and offered to stand by him and to assist him in all the best service they were able to do for his defense, and safetie of the citie.

The said archdeacon offered, that in proper person he would herein stand in his behalfe against all persons whatsoeuer, that would attempt or offer to do him anye wrong. And in the end, after sundrie friendly and good speeches, they departed to their homes. And the said archdeacon, euerie daie after, would either come or send to the maiors. This maiors being a merchant, and onelie exercised in that trade, had small reach in matters of policie or martiall affaires: he was maiors of the citie thre times, and in euerie yeare there grew some troubles in the citie, but he had such a speciall care & regard to his charge and government, that he would neuer attempt nor do anye thing therein, but by the aduise and counsell of wise, graue, and expert men: and God so blessed him that he prospered and had good successe in all his doings.

Besides these and sundrie other former perils, the which the citie manie and oftentimes stood in, and by the goodnes and prouidence of God still overcome, there befell and happened a third one, which exceeded all the rest, and whereof the greatest danger and perill was feared: and this was famine, or penurie,

Francis the daughter of Barnard Duffeld strake the maiors in the face.

which

Bartholomew John Courtneie & Barnard Duffeld.

John Drake and John Simons.

The best citizens and confederates.

The carefullnesse of the good citizens.

The whole commons.

The bittels were
sent within
the citie.

Food made
of bean and
of pusses.

The godlie
and politike
dealings of the
magistrates
with the poore.
The poore are
swickelie libe-
ralle relieved.
All bittels
fetched into
the citie were
distributed a-
mong the poore.

The prisoners
in the gaole
did and were
duen to eate
hordles.
The gentle
intreating of
the poore lost.

The lord
Russell after
that the citie
had bene be-
sieged due

which of all other turmoils and perils is most danger-
ous, & no other plague to be compared to it. For no
force is feared, no lawes observed, no magistrate ob-
eyed, nor common societie esteemed, where famine
ruleth. For as the poet saith: *Nescit plebs ieiunia ti-
mere*. The store of bittels within the citie, for want of
prouision in due time, and by reason of the restraint
of the markets, vpon a sudden was verie slender
and small, and the same in verie short time spent and
consumed. And albeit there were good store of drie
fish, rise, pynes, rafins, and wine, at verie reasonable
prices, yet bread which as the prophet saith, *Confirmat
cor hominis*, Strengtheneth mans hart, that wanted:
neither was anie to be had. And in this extremitie
the bakers and householders were duen to seeke by
their old store of pusses and bean, wherewith they in
times past were wont to make hordleshead, and to
feed their swine and poultrie, and this they moulded
up in clothes, for otherwise it would not hold to-
gether, and so did bake it up, and the people well conten-
ted therewith. For (as Plutarch writeth) *Fames reddit
omnia dulcia, nihilq; contemnit esuriens*: Hunger maketh
all things sweet, and the hungrie bellie thynneth no-
thing.

But when this also was spent, and nothing now
left, and the common people being not acquainted
with so hard a diet as famine prescribeth, were ve-
rie impatient to endure the continuall barking of
their hungrie bellies, and therefore they were verie
sone & easie to be persuaded, or rather of themselves
contented to yeld vnto the enimie, to be fed for a
time with the stollen fat of his flesh pot, than to abide
for a short time a little penurie in hope of a deliuerie,
and then to be filled with saturitie and plentie. But
the magistrats and graue senators, who in all other
causes had shewed themselves wise, careful and dis-
creet; and who hauing receiued sundrie injuries, did
yet without rigour, reuenge or malice, wape the
same up, respecting rather the common state than
their owne priuat cause; so in this matter also being
of a great importance do verie wiselie & politikelie
deale with the said people: who the poore they were,
the better they were considered, and the more care-
fullie prouided for. First, there was a generall collec-
tion set and rated throughout the whole citie for their
reliefe, and thereby they were liberalle euerie weeke
considered: which thing being some increase to their
stocke and store, was the better to their content. When
all such bittels as were to be had within the citie,
they either had it fraile, or for a verie small price.

Besides this, manie times when anie cattell came
nears vnto the walles of the citie, some thiff was
made to haue them, or by skirmishing & issuing out
for them, or by some other means. And this also what
so euer it was, was altogether diuided among them.
And as for the prisoners fast fettered in the gaols,
they had also their portions, as farre as it would
stretch: notwithstanding in the end, for want they
were fed with hordles, which they liked and were
well contented withall. For as the proverbe is, *Hun-
ger findeth no faults but all things are sweet*. Be-
sides, if anie wrong were offered or iniurie done to
anie of them, it was forthwith vpon complaint re-
dressed: but if anie of them did disorder themselves,
it was borne withall, and they in all gentle and cur-
teous meanes intreated: as also from time to time
persuaded with good words patientlie to abide and
be contented: not mistrusting but that God shortly
would send a deliuerance.

And thus, and by these means, in hope almost
against hope, they continued dutifull and obedient,
from the second daie of Iulie 1549, vntill the first
daie of August then following, the same bring-
ing whole weekes, vpon which daie they were deliue-

red by the comming and entrie into the citie of the
lord Russell: and which daie in our morall for euer to
endure is kept for a high and holie feast amongst the
citizens yearelie vpon the first daie of August. Im-
mediatlie vpon which deliuerance of the citie, the
first care that euerie man had, was to thiff and to
make prouision for bittels, wherof some hungrie bel-
lies were so greedie, that ouercharging their empty
stomachs to hastilie, they died therewith.

Thus hauing declared something of the state of the
citie, and of the doings therein during the time of
this rebellion, though much more might be therein
said, let vs now retorne to the lord priuie scale, who
after the departure of sir Peter Carew to the court,
remoued from George Henneron, and came to
Honiton, minding from thence to haue passed vnto
Excester, if waie had bene open. But being aduer-
tised that the citie was besieged, and that all the waies
leading thitherwards were stopped, he remained still
in Honiton. Sir Peter Carew in the meane time,
according to the former order betwene them taken,
was ridden to London, and being before the king,
declareth the whole matter at large. Which the king,
not liking the distastie of his people, promised to
seeke a speedie remedie: and so commanded him to
the counsell for the same: and being before them, and
hauing at full discoursed the state of the matter, the
duke of Summerfet being much grieved with the
matter, would haue reiected the whole on sir Peter,
charging him that by reason he had caused the houses
to be burned at Crediton, it was the onelie cause of
the commotion. But therevnto he answered the ne-
cessitie of that seruice, as also declared that he had
done nothing but by a good warrant, and therewith
shewed forth the kings letters vnder his hand and
priuie signet.

The lord which then lord chancelor replied and said,
that the kings letters were no sufficient warrant,
unlesse he had his commission vnder the hode seale;
and therefore if he had right, he should by the lawes
be hanged for his doings. But to this sir Peter an-
swered so stoutlie, and charged the duke so depelle,
that in the end he was willed to retorne into the
countrie, being promised that sufficient helpe both
of men & monie should be with speed sent downe into
the countrie. And to this effect he had both the kings
and the counsels letters vnto the lord priuie scale,
and so toke his iourne backe againe into the coun-
trie, and deliuered his letters to the said lord Russell,
who in hope of the supplie promised, staid and remai-
ned sometimes at Woburnesotre, but most common-
lie at Honiton, still looking for that supplie and furni-
ture that was promised. But hauing long looked for
the same in vaine, he was daillie more and more for-
saken of such of the common people, as who at the
first serued and offered their seruice vnto him. And
hauing but a verie small gard about him, he liued in
more feare than he was feared: for the rebels daillie
increased, and his companie decreased and thynke
awake, and he not altogether assured of them which
remained.

Wherefore distrusting himselfe, & by a false rumour
being aduertised that the citie was taken, & in the
possession of the rebels; as also how that there was a
new stirre or rebellion begun about Sarisburie; he
toke aduise and counsell of the gentlemen and such
as were with him what were best to be done. The
gentlemen of Dorsetshire were of the mind, and
gaue him aduise, that it were best for him to retorne
into Dorsetshire, and there to remaine for a time;
because it was a place of a more safetie, vntill such
time as he were better prouided. And accordingly
the next daie following he toke his iourne, & rode
backe againe with the said Dorsetshire gentlemen.

The lord
Russell after
that the citie
had bene be-
sieged due

The more
dangers of
from procure
and began
to helpe
towards
Excester.

The lord
Russell after
that the citie
had bene be-
sieged due

The lord
Russell after
that the citie
had bene be-
sieged due

The lord
Russell after
that the citie
had bene be-
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Russell after
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The lord
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had bene be-
sieged due

The lord
Russell after
that the citie
had bene be-
sieged due

1459.

hes tur-
ly to his
e open the
of August
deliberately
same.

An. Reg. 3.

the lord
Russell desired
long himselfe,
as to his
demeanor
from out of
theire but
the lord
Russell is re-
turned backe
again.

Sir Peter Carew then being at Hoozofoton, and advertised hereof, took his horse and came against the said lord Russell, & met him upon Blacke downe, where was a long conference betwene them both: and in the end he so perswaded the lord, and with such pitie reasons he caried him, that leauing his former determination, he dooly returne againe into Honiton; & there he continued thenceforth, sauing one night spent at Oterie saint Marie, where as it fell out he was in moze feare than perill. At his being in Honiton, and dailie waiting and looking for the promised helpe and supplie which came not; he was in an agonie, & of a heauie chere: not onelie for the want of the men & monie which he had long in vaine looked for, but also because he had spent all that he had brought with him, and could not tell how otherwise to helpe and provide to supplie his present need: but as it fell out all happened for the best.

For it chanced that there were then three merchants of the citie, following and attending upon him; Thomas Brestwood not long before maior of the citie, John Bodlie, and John Perlam, men of great wealth. These men vnderstanding of the heauinesse and grieve of his lordship, make their resort vnto him, and promise to helpe and relieue his agonie and want: and forthwith did procure vpon their credit from the merchants of Wiltow, Linne, Saluerton, and elsewhere, such a masse of monie, as which when he had receiued, his grieve was eased. For forthwith he so provided and furnished himselfe with such necessities, and with a greater number of men; that he was now in the better safetie, as also the better able to incounter with the enimie: and it was not long after, but that he had a further supplie from the king, euen to his content. And being now somewhat reuiued, newes was brought vnto him, that the rebels vnderstanding of his distressed state, were comming, and marching toward Honiton to assaile him; and were come as far as Fenington bydge, which is about three miles. Whereupon, he took aduise with sir Peter Carew, sir Galwen Carew & others that were best to be done. And in the end, after manie speeches, it was concluded that they should march towards them, and giue the onset vpon them, & accordinglie, without further delays or much talke, it was done out of hand. For vpon the next morning being a holie daie, they set forth, and came to the bydge aforesaid, where the rebels were indeed: some at the bydge, but the greatest company in a medow beneath the bydge: who, as some as they persecuted the lord Russell and the gentlemen with all their troope to be come, they make themselves readie to the fight. But the ruler & the bydge being betwene them, the lord Russell vseth all the policies that he can, how to reconer the bydge; which by bold aduenturing he did in the end: but with the hurt of sundrie of his companie, amongst whome sir Galwen Carew was one, being hurt with an arrow in the arme.

And hauing recovered the bydge, and the river, all the rebels (such as were escaped) were gathered together in a medow nere adjoining in the lower side of the bydge, vpon whome they so fiercely followed, and gaue the onset; that though not without good losse of blowes and bloodshed, they in the end gaue the enimie the ouerthrow, and had the upper hand. And thinking that the victorie was cleare with them, and that the enimie was cleane gone, the soldiers and seruingsmen gaue themselves all to the spoile; and being in the middle of their game, and they nothing thinking less than of any moze entmies to be comming towards, euen suddenly march towards a newe crue of Cornishmen, to the number of two hundred, of two hundred and forty persons,

vnder the conduct of one Robert Smith of saint Germans in Cornewall gentleman; and who taking these spoilers napping, manie of them paid dearlie for their waies. The lord Russell forthwith setteth all his companie in god arise, as the others did the like, and gaue the onset vpon them: betwene whome the fight for the time was verie sharpe and cruell. For the Cornishmen were verie lustie and fresh, and fullie bent to fight out the matter: nevertheless in the end they were ouerthrowne, and their capteine, whose combe was cut, thelwith a faire paire of heeles and fled awaie. In these two fights, there were reported to be slaine about three hundred rebels, which were verie tall men, lustie, and of great courage; and who in a god cause might haue done better seruice.

The lord Russells companie followed the chase nere three miles, & he himselfe then throughlie minded and bent to haue passed through to the citie. But one Joll his sole, who was then in hast come from Honiton, and where he had heard, as also by the waie as he came did heare bells ringing in sundrie parish churches, and supposing the same to be alarum, came with a soule mouth to my lord, and cried that all the countrie behind him were vp, and comming vpon him. Which his report (considering the cruell fights past) was credited, and thought that a newe companie was in preparing to follow the former quarels. Whereupon they all retired and returned againe to Honiton; and from thence his lordship sent his comfortable letters secretlie by a boy appointed and accustomed for the same, vnto the maior of his successe, as also aduertising him of his determination that he would be shortly with him for the deliuerance of the citie. Which letters (the citie being then but in a doubtfull and dismayed estate) came in verie good season; and yet in the end scarcelie credited by some men, because his comming was not so speedie as was looked for.

Within verie short time after this ouerthrowe was giuen, the lord Greie of Wiltow with a crue of horsemen, and one Spinola an Italian with three hundred shot, came to my lord; who being aduertised of the ouerthrow of the enimie, and that there were slaine about three hundred persons of them, they were in a great chafe, and much bewailed their euill lucke, that they had not come sooner to haue bene partakers of that seruice. My lord being now of a verie good comfort & courage, aswell for the good successe which he had ouer the enimie, & that his long looked supplie was come, sendeth his other letters to the maior, comforting him, as also as before promising him to be with him verie shortly; willing him that he should now take but a little patience for a little time. And accordinglie about six daies after, on saturdaye the third of August, in god order he set forth out of Honiton, and marched towards Excester, his companie being about a thousand of god fightingmen; and leauing the direct high waie, draweth ouer the downs towards Widdurte, and there lodged and pitched his campe that night, at a windmill appertaining to one Gregorie Cartie gentleman. Which when the rebels of saint Marie, which heard of, forthwith, with all their force and power came forth, and marched on wards, untill they came to the foresaid mill where they offer the fight: and notwithstanding they were of verie stout for-machs, & also verie valiantlie did stand to their heels, yet in the end they were ouerthrowne, and the most part of them slaine.

Where after the victorie thus gotten, the lord Russell Couerdale then the preacher, and attending vpon my lord in this iourne made a sermon, and caused a generall thanksgiving to be made vnto God: but

The Cornish
rebels giue an
onset, and are
ouerthrowne
at Fenington;
their capteins
died awaie.

The lord
Greie and
Spinola come
with a supplie
to the lord
Russell.

The lord
Russell march-
eth towards
Excester for
their deliue-
rance.

The rebels
are ouer-
throwne at
the windmill.

The lord
Russell
couerdale then
the preacher,
and attending
vpon my lord
in this iourne
made a sermon,
and caused
a generall
thanksgiving
to be made
vnto God:

the Peter
new ad-
vised the
ag & coun-
the rebels.

he duke of
summer-
set ar-
rested sir
Peter Carew
the rebels.

the king his
ter & vnder
is giue sig-
t counte-
no suffic-
arant.
he stout an-
ser of sir
eter Carew
sir Peter
arew being
omised of
the return-
ch home.

the lord
Russell is
most left
sation.

the lord
Russell
is
most
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sation.

the lord
Russell
is
most
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sation.

before all was ended, there began a new alarm; and forthwith euerie man to horse & to harnesse againe. The rebels which remained in the towne of saint Marie Clift, hearing of the euill successe befallen to their neighbours, and they doubting that their turne would be next to receiue the like; do spread abroad the newes, and request to be aided and assisted. Whereupon, forthwith in great tropes reioyced vnto them a number of their companions out of euerie quarter, to the number (as it was said) of six thousand men: and in all hast, they make themselves and all things in a readinesse to abide the brunt. Upon the next morning being sundaie, my lord minding to follow on his course, commandeth the trumpet to sound, reuerie man to make readie to march forwards. And about nine of the clocke in the same morning, they come to Clift; where the armie is diuided into three parts, and in three severall places do appoint to make entrie into the towne. For in so manie places they had fortified the towne, and made great rampires for their defense.

The kings
armie marcheth
towards
bishops Clift.

Sir William
Francis first
entred the
rampire.

The kings
armie re-
tired.

The rebels
take the
kings wa-
gons, mun-
ition and trea-
sure.

Sir William
Francis
being in the
foreward was
killed.

Bishops
Clift towne
set on fire and
burnt.
The rebels
overthrew the
towne.

These rampires were after some bickering recovered, and sir William Francis of Summerst-hire was named to be the first that gaue the aduenture, & made the entrie. The commons being driven from the said rampires, ran all into the towne; and there toine themselves together to abide the pulse. And as the kings armie was in good order marching into the towne, one of the chiefe captains of these rebels, named sir Thomas Pomeroie knight, kept himselfe in a furze close, and perceiving the armie to be past him, and hauing then with him a trumpeter, and a drumme, commanded the trumpet to be sounded, and the drumme to be stricken by. At which sound, the lord priole seale, and his companie were amazed, supposing verelie that there had bene an ambush behind them to haue intrapped and inclosed them. Whereupon, they forthwith retire backe in all the hast they may: which when they in the towne perceived, they follow after, and neuer staied vntill they came to the wagons then being in the high waie; & which now by fleeing and retiring of the armie, are the foremost and next to the towne. And these being laden with munition, armour, and treasure, they take and bring into the towne, where they rife as much as they could, sauing the peces of the ordinance, which with the shot and poulder they bestowed in places conuenient, and employed the same against my lord and his companie.

The armie hauing recovered the hill, did there pause a while, and finding themselves to be deceived, march backe againe towards the towne: but before they came thither, it was aduertised vnto my lord, that the towne and euerie house therein was fortified and full of men; and that it was not possible for ante to passe that waie without great perill and danger, except the towne were set on fire. Whereupon order was giuen, that as they passed and entered into the towne, notwithstanding it was my lords owne, they should set the houses on fire. Sir William Francis being in the foreward was for- mist, and leauing the waie which he toke before, toke another and other waies, which waie was both deepe and narrow. The enemies being vpon the banks vpon euerie side of the waie, with their stones to beat him, that they stroke his headpece fast to his head and whereof he died. The armie being come into the towne, they set fire on euerie house as they passed by. But the rebelles containing themselves in the middle of the towne, do stand at their defense, where the fight was very fierce and cruel; and bloodie was that daie: for some were slaine with the sword, some burned in the houses, some flitting for themselves

were taken prisoners, and manie thinking to escape over the water were drowned: so that there were dead that daie one with an other about a thousand men.

The towne thus being recovered, and the over-throw giuen, the lord Greie desireth to passe over the riuer, and to be in the open field, which is a great heath named Clift heath: & this he could not do, but that he must passe over either the water or the bidge, both which were somewhat dangerous, for the water was somewhat mirie and muddie, as also at that time be- rie depe, by reason of the flowing of the seas, which causeth the same at euerie tide to swell. Howbeit one John Pardo a gentleman, and who had dwelled thereabouts, knowing the said water, gaue the first aduenture over, and found waie nere vnto a mill about the bidge; and after him others do followe. But this was not for all the rest of the armie, who must needs passe over the bidge, which as then they could not do, by reason that the same was so over- laid with great trees and timber, as also there stood the gunner with his peece readie charged. Whereupon proclamation was made, that whosoever would aduenture and make waie over the bidge, should haue foure hundred crownes for his labo: When one forthwith moze respecting the gaine, than foreseeing the perill, gaue the aduenture: but the gunner rewarded him, for he discharged his peece vpon him, and slue him. And then before he could againe charge his peece, one of the companie, who before was passed over the water, came and entred the bidge at the further end, and comming behind him slue him; who forthwith calleth companie vnto him, and causeth aside all the trees and timber, and maketh the bidge cleere, and so the whole armie passeth over the bidge into the heath.

The lord Greie as soone as he was passed over the water, he rode forthwith to the top of the hill, which is in the middle of the heath; and from thence did make a view of all the countrie about him: and looking backe towards Woodburie, he saw and espied vpon Woodburie hill a great companie assembled; & marching forward, & suspecting that they were a new supplie appointed to follow and come vpon them, and aduertised the lord Russell therof. Whereupon it was concluded, that the prisoners whom they had before taken at the windmill and in the towne, who were a great number, and which if they were netwile set vpon, might be a detriment and a perill vnto them, should be all killed: which forthwith was done, euerie man making a dispatch of his prisoners; and then the night approaching, there they incamped themselves for that night.

The rebelles, which were and late about Greesfer, were aduertised out of hand of this the euill successe of their neighbours; wherefore they with as manie as they could get, in all hast came to Clift heath: and in the lower side thereof next to the high waie, do intrench and fortifie a place fast by a hedge, and so crettie there, in the night, do place their ordinance, & make themselves in readinesse to abide the brunt: and as soone as the daie light serued, discharge and shot off their peces vnto the armie incamped about the top of the hill. The lords and captains to end the quarrell, do determine to giue the onset vpon them; and according to the nature of warres, do politelie diuide themselves into three parts, and euerie one hath his place assigned and order appointed vnto him.

The lord Russell, hauing no waie open before him, causeth his pioneers to make waie over the hedges & inclosed grounds, and by that means doth at length recover vpon the backe of the enemies: and they were so intrapped on euerie side, that they could

The lord
Greie passeth
over the water
into Clift
heath.

John Pardo
first giveth
the aduenture
and findeth
waie over the
water.

A proclamation
is made, that
whosoever
shall first
make waie
over the
bidge to haue
four hundred
crownes.

The bidge
recovered.

All the prisoners
before taken
are committed
to the sword.

The rebelles
are overthrown
vpon
Clift heath.

Sir William
Francis be-
ing at Grees-
fer.

The rebels
forbide the
pass.

The lord
Russell com-
meth to Ex-
eter.

The mado-
and his bre-
thren salute
the lord Rus-
sell, and he
embraceth
them.

The king
thanketh
Russell for
the service
he hath done
in the fa-
uour of the
king.

ape
here
andThe lord
Greie passed
over the river
into East
heath.was
be-
hich
bettJohn Yard
first giveth
the adventure
and liberty
to the water.they
uer
frowA proclama-
tion, that the
former recon-
ciled first the
bridge to have
four hundred
crowns.The bridge
recovered.who
tha-
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notThe rebels
recovered
upon
East heath.The lord
Greie passed
over the river
into East
heath.The rebels
recovered
upon
East heath.The lord
Greie passed
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Greie passed
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into East
heath.The lord
Greie passed
over the river
into East
heath.

not by any means escape, but must yield or fight. The one they would not, and in the other they prevailed not. For notwithstanding valiantly and stoutly they stood to their tackle, and would not give over as long as life and limb lasted: yet in the end they were all overthrowen, and few or none left alive. Great was the slaughter, and cruel was the fight; and such was the valor and stoutness of these men, that the lord Greie reported himselfe, that he neuer in all the wars that he had been in did know the like.

This fight being done, and all things set in good order, the whole armie marched unto Topsham, which was about a mile off, and late in that to come all that night, and carried with them in a hostler the bodies of corps of sir William Francis, and from thence carried it to Excester, where it was buried in martiall manner verie honorable in the bodie of the cathedrall church of saint Peters. When the rebels who late about the citie heard how their neighbors had sped, and from time to time had the worse side, and were still overthrowen: then as men despairing to prevail, secretly gave over the siege and ran awaye euerie man his waie. The gentlemen, which were kept prisoners in the churches and in other places about the citie, being now at libertie, came straight to the walles about midnight, & gave knowledge thereof to the watch; and they forthwith did the like unto the maior. The ioie and comfort thereof was so great, and the desire of fresh vittells so much pressed, that manie not abiding till the daie-light, gat and shifted themselves out of the gates, but more for vittells than for spoile, and yet they were glad of both: howbeit some did not long enioie the same, for manie being more greedy of meat than measurable in feeding, did so overcharge themselves in surfeiting, that they died thereof.

The next morrow being tuesday and the first of August, the lord priue scale thinking it long before he came to the citie, commanded the trumpets verie earlie to sound, and euerie man to make readie and to prepare alwaie. And accordinglie all things being done, he marcheth towards Excester, and about eight of the clocke being tuesday the first of August 1549 he came to the same, to the great ioy & comfort of the long captiued citizens, who were no more glad of their deliuerie, than was his lordship and all good subjects full of his victorie. But at his coming he entered not into the citie: for being aduertised from the maior that the citie was altogether furnished of vittells, order was taken that no stranger, nor one nor other should enter into the citie, but lie in the campe for a time. When his lordship pitched his tents without the wals in St. Johns fields, next to Southing haie, & upon the cities wals next to the posterne of his house was the kings standard of the red dragon set up. As soon as he was entered into his tent, the maior & all his brethren in most seemelie & decent order went unto him, who most louinglie embraced them, most thankfullie accepted them, and most highlie commended them for their trust, dutie, and service, which upon his fidelitie and honor he did promise should be well considered by the kings maiestie, and which in the end was performed. For the king being aduertised thereof, he did not onelie thankfullie accept and highlie commend their services, but also rewarded and considered the same, both by confirmation of their charters, enlarging of their liberties, and augmenting of their revenues, in giving unto them the maior of Excester, which as was said was sometimes their ancient inheritance, but by power of the earles of Devon by force taken, and by wrong and iniurie kept from them.

Immediatlie after his coming, sir William Herbert then master of the kings horses, and after

earle of Denbroke, came with a thousand Welshmen: who though they came too late to the fraile; yet some inough to the plaie. For the whole countie was then put to the spoile, and euerie soldier fought for his best profit: a lust plague of the Lord upon rebels and disloyall persons. But the citie being as yet altogether destitute of vittells, and the Welshmen at their first coming seeing the same, they did by their speciall industries & travels fraught & furnish the same within two daies with coine, cattels, and vittells, verie plentifullie, to the great reliefe and comfort of the people therein, & to the benefit of themselves. The lord priue scale remained and continued in this citie about twelue daies before he removed: setting all things in good order, rewarding the good & punishing the euill. To sir Peter Carew he gave all Wineslades land, to sir Calwen Carew Humfrie Arundels lands, to William Gibbes esquier Weries lands, and to manie others which had done good services he gave prisoners, both bodies, goods, and lands.

On the other side he commanded forches and gallows to be set up in sundrie places, as well within the citie as also in the countie; and did command and cause manie to be executed and put to death, & speciallie such as were noted to be chiefe and buie dowers & ringleaders in this rebellion. Among them all there was no one so exalted as was Welsh the vicar of saint Thomas nere the Erbridge at Excester, who was preferred and presented to that benefice by the lord Russell patron thereof. This man had manie good things in him, he was of no great stature, but well set and mightilie compact: he was a verie good wrestler, shot well both in the long bow as also in the crossbow, he handled his handgun and peece verie well, he was a verie good woodman and a hardie, and such a one as would not give his head for the polling nor his beard for the washing, he was a companion in any exercises of activitie, & of a courteous and gentle behauiour, he descended of a good honest parentage, being bozne at Pennerin in Cornewall; and yet in this rebellion an archcapteine and a principall doer. He was charged with three principall crimes. The first was, that he did not onelie persuade the people to the condemning of the reformed religion, according to the kings proceedings, and to keepe and obserue the Romish and poppish religion: but also did erect, keepe, and vse the same in his parish church. Secondly, he was a capteine and a principall dealer in the cause of the rebellion, which was chieflie directed by him, his order, & advice. Thirdlie, he caused one Kingwell a tinner of Chagford, and seruant to master John Charrels of Tauesdale to be hanged, because secretly he had conveyed letters betwene my lord and his master, and was earnest in the reformed religion, which was then termed the kings proceedings, & an enemy to the poppish state. And being a sharpe inueter against the one, and an earnest maintainer of the other, it procured unto him great hatred and malice: when the rebellion was begun he fought by all the means he could how to escape alwaie: but he was so narrowly watched, that he could neuer haue any opportunity so to do.

They used all the deuises they could to recover him to their opinions, sometimes with faire words, sometimes with threatenings, and sometimes with imprisonment: but still he inuied against them, calling them rebels and traitors both against God and the king, and foreprophesied unto them that destruction and confusion would be the end & reward of their doings. Thus when they could not reclaim him to their disposition, then by the order and iudgement of this vicar Welsh, he was fetched out of the

The Welshmen came too late to the fight, but some inough to the spoile.

The lord priue scale remained and continued in this citie about twelue daies before he removed: rewarding the good and punishing the euill. Sir Peter Carew, sir Calwen Carew, William Gibbes, rewarded with traitors lands.

These things laid to the charge of the vicar of saint Thomas.

The rebels hang Kingwell.

prison, and forthwith brought forth before Calphas and Pilat, and condemned to be hanged: which was executed upon him forthwith, and he brought to an elme tree in Crilond, without the west gate of the citie, before the house of one Nicholas Caeue, and there hanged. The like crueltie or rather tyrannie was done at Sampford Courteneie, where then a certeine frankelin a gentleman, named William Hektons, who comming to Sampford to haue some communication with them for the staie of their rebellion, and for the pacifying of them in their due obedience, was at the townes end taken prisoner, & carried to the churchhouse, where he so earnestlie reproued them for their rebellion, & so sharplie threatened them an euill successe: that they all fell in a rage with him, and not onlie with euill words reuiled him: but also as he was going out of the churchhouse & going downe the staires, one of them named Cithbyrde with a bill strake him in the necke, and immediatlie notwithstanding his pitifull requests and lamentations, a number of the rest fell upon him, slue him, and cut him into small peeces: and though they counted him for an heretike, yet they buried him in the church-yard there, but contrarie to the common manner, laing his bodie north and south.

These things being called to remembrance and objected against this vicar, although some men in respect of his vertues and good gifts did pittie and lament his case, and would haue gladlie bene sutors for his pardon: yet the greatnesse of his lewdnesse and follies considered, they left him unto his deserts: & so was by order of the marshall law condemned to death. And yet this one thing by the waie I must speake in his commendation. There was among the rebels a stranger and an alien, who was a verie skilfull gunner, & could handle his peece verie well, and did much harme vnto the citie, & among others slue one Smith standing at a doore in northgate street with a great shot from saint Dauids hill. This fellow toke vpon him, that he would set the whole citie on fire, and it should be cleane burned within foure houres, do they what they could. This his offer was so well liked, that the daie and tyme was appointed when this should be done.

The vicar hearing thereof, assembleth vnto him as manie men as he could make and haue, & came to this companie when this fire should be kindled, and was so hot and earnest against their attempts, that he would in no wise suffer so lewd an act and wicked a thing to be done. For (saith he) do you what you can by policie, force, or dint of sword to take the citie, I will ioyne with you, and do my best: but to burne a citie which shall be hurtfull to all men and good to no man, I will neuer consent thereunto, but will here stand with all my power against you. And so stout he was in this matter, that he stopped them from their further enterprysing of so wicked a fact. But to the matter. The execution of this man was committed to Barnard Duffeld, who being nothing slacke to follow his commission, caused a paire of gallowes to be made, and to be set vp vpon the top of the towler of the said vicars parish church of S. Thomas: and all things being readie and the stage perfected for this tragedie, the vicar was brought to the place, and by a rope about his middell dazorie bp to the top of the towler: and there in chains hanged in his popish apparell, and had a holie water bucket and spynkle, a sacring bell, a paire of beads, & such other like popish trash hanged about him, and there he with the same about him remained a long time. He made a verie small or no confession, but verie patientlie toke his death, he had bene a good member in his common-wealth, had not the words ouergroونه the good coine, and his soule vices ouercom-

med his vertues.

The lord priue scale remaining still in Excester was continuallie occupied in setting things in order, he was verie seuerie and sharpe against such offenders as were chiefe and principall ringleaders of this rebellion: but to the common sort who were led and carried, and who did humble themselves, he was pitifull and mercifull, and did daillie pardon infinite numbers. And his lordship thinking verelie that all things were now quieted, & the rebels pacified, sodenlie newes were brought vnto him that there assembled at Sampford Courtneie, both Devonshire men and Cornishmen, and who were fullie bent to mainteine their quarrell and abide the battell. These newes so troubled and tickled my lord, that all businesse set apart, he commaunded forthwith the trumpet to be sounded, and the drumme to be stricken vp, and all his armie to be forthwith mustered: which was then the greater, by reason of the Welshmen and gentlemen of the countrie and of the commoners, who vpon submission had obtained pardon, and increased to the number of eight or ten thousand men, and forthwith he marcheth towards Sampford Courtneie, where sir William Herbert requested to haue the foze-ward for that daie, which was granted him.

And being come thither, albeit the great companie of so manie good soldiers and well appointed might haue discomfited them, being nothing nor in order, nor in companie, nor in experience, to be compared vnto the others: yet they were at a point they would not yelde to no perswasions, nor did, but most manfullie did abide the fight: and neuer gaue ouer, vntill that both in the towne and in the field they were all for the most taken or slaine. At which time one ap Owen a Welsh gentleman, more boldlie than aduisedlie giuing the aduenture to enter the rampier at the townes end, was there slaine by the rebels, and after carried backe to Cron, where after the manner of wars he was honorable buried in the bodie of saint Peters church, few of the kings side besides him then slaine: and so of a traitorous beginning they made a shamefull ending. Neuertheless manie escaped and they fled towards Summerfetshire: after whom was sent sir Peter Carew, and sir Hugh Paulet then knight marshall: with a great companie attending vpon them, and followed them as far as to King Welton in the countie of Summerfet: where they ouertooke them and ouerthrew them, and also toke one Coffin a gentleman their captaine prisoner and brought him vnto Excester.

The lord Russell himselfe minding to make all things sure, taketh his forneie, and marcheth into Cornewall: and following his former course, causeth execution to be done vpon a great manie, and especially vpon the chiefe belwedders and ringleaders: but the chiefe and principall captaine he kept as prisoner, and brought them with him to Excester. And when this lord had set all things in god order, he returned to Excester, & remained there for a time: but after departed towards London, where he was received with great ioy and thanks: and being come before the king, he forgot not to commend vnto his maiestie the good seruite of this citie in this rebellion, which (as is before said) was liberallie rewarded and considered. After his departure, and according to his order and appointment, the chiefe captaine and principall heads of this rebellion, whom he left in prison in the kings goale at Excester, were carried to London and commaunded to the towler, and in their due time were afterwards executed to death, namely Humfreie Arundell esquier, Willelme esquier, John Berrie and Coffin gentlemen, and Holmes yeoman: which Coffin and Holmes were seruants to

The rebels appoint to set fire on the citie and to burne it.

The vicar of saint Thomas letteth and will not consent to the burning of the citie.

The vicar is hanged in chains vpon the top of the towler with his popish trash and ornaments about him.

The rebels assemble at Sampford Courtneie.

The rebels ouertooke them at King Welton.

The religious house within the precinct of cemetery S. Peter

Sir Peter Carew pursued the rebels which fled to King welton.

The lord priue scale taketh his forneie into Cornewall.

King William built the towler the citie done.

Examp. vnto the harrus B. Exon.

Ex. chro. ecclesie. Exon.

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The rebels
assembled at
Sampford
Courtine.

The rebels
overthrew
at Sampford
Courtine.

Exemplis
no bonis
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the
monie
of
S. Peters.

King Ethel
bert built
the walls
of
the
city
of
Canterbury.

Exemplis
no bonis
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the
monie
of
S. Peters.

Exemplis
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S. Peters.

to sir John Arundell knight. Of the number of them who were slain, there is no certain knote, but manie more be found lacke then number: holobrit it was accounted by such as continued in the whole service of this commotion to be about foure thousand men. But what number was of the contrarie side dispatched, nothing is reported, albeit it be well knowne that they escaped not scotfree, and especiallie the Burgonians, who were abhorred of the one partie, and nothing favoured of the other. Thus much concerning the description of the cite, and of the sundrie inuasions and assaults against the same, and especiallie of the last rebellion or commotion in the yeare of our Lord 1549, wherein much more might be spoken, but this may suffice for this matter. And for as much as the cathedrall church of this cite, called by the name of S. Peters, is a parcell of the cite, and compassed within the walls of the same, though in respect of certaine priuileges distinct from the iurisdiction thereof; I thought it good to subiect hereunto the description of the said church; and of the antiquitie of the same.

The antiquitie, foundation, and building of the cathedrall church of saint Peters in Excester.



After that corrupt religion and superstition was crept and receiued into the church, and the people became deuout therein, then began the erecting of religious houses and monasteries in euerie countie. And as this was vniuersall throughout all chrestendome vnder the gouernement of the Romaine bishop: so also was it generallie done throughout all England, in which generallie this cite was of a particularitie; for in this cite from time to time as opportunitie serued sundrie religious houses and monasteries were erected and builded, of which there were thre within the cite, circuit, and place now called the clofe of S. Peters, and which in time accrued and were vniued into one. The first was a house for women called moniales or nuns, which is now the deanes house or halendar haie. The other was a house of monks, supposed to be builded by king Ethelred, the third sonne to king Ethelwolp, and these two were vniued by bishop Leofricus vnto the cathedrall church. The third was a house for monks of the order of S. Benet, which was builded and founded by king Athelstane, about the yeare of our Lord 932: and this is that part of the cathedrall church now called the ladie chappell. For the said king, hauing giuen out of this cite the Wiltens then dwelling therein, and minding to make a full conquest both of them and of this their countie which they then inhabited, did so fiercelie follow and pursue them euen into Cornewall, that in the end he conquered them, and had the victorie. After which he returned to this cite, and here staing and sojourning for a time, did reedifie the cite, incompassed it with a stone wall, and founded the cathedrall church, which he then appointed for a monasterie for monks of S. Benets order. For so is it written: *Hanc urbem rex Athelstani primus in potestatem Anglorum effugatis Britonibus redactam turribus munivit, et muro ex quadratis lapidibus cinxit, ac antiquitus vocatam Munketon nunc Excester vocari voluit: ac ibi sedens mansum quoddam dedit ad fundandum monasterium pro monachis Deo et sancto Petro famulantibus.* Besides the charges which he was at the building of the said church, he gaue also lands and reuenues vnto them sufficient for maintenance and liuelihods, whereof Popkehill and Treasurors were parcell, and which now are appendant and appertaining to the treasurer of the cathedrall

church.

After the time of king Athelstane, the Danes with great hostilitie and crueltie hauing overrun this whole land, they also came to this cite, and in spoiling the same, did also ransacke and spoile the said church, whose continuall inuasions the monks being not able to indure, fled and forsoke their house and home, and sought places of better safetie. By which means this monasterie for sundrie yeares was left desituted, vntill the time of king Edgar; who on a time made a progresse into these west parts, to visit his father in law Dogarus then earle of Deuon, and founder of the abbey of Taunfoke, whose daughter he had married. And being come to this cite, did here rest and staie himselfe, where then he saw the distressed state of the said church, & pitying the same, caused search and inquirie to be made of the monks which were scattered and yet left: and when he had gotten them together, he restored them vnto their house and liuelihods, and appointed Sidemannus who was afterwards bishop of this diocese to be abbat of the same. And from thensforth they continued together (though sometimes in troubles) vntill that king Swanus or Sweno the Dane, with a mightie and a huge armie came to this cite, besieged, toke, spoiled, and destroyed it with sword and fier. Whombe it not long after it was restored againe by king Canutus or Canutus, who being aduertised of the great cruelties which his father Sweno had done to the said monasterie, did at the request of Athelredus one of his dukes, make restitution vnto Athelwoldus then abbat of all their lands, liuinges and priuileges: as doth appeare by his charter dated in the yeare of our Lord 1019.

After this, about thirtie yeares, king Edward the Confessor came to this cite, and he by the aduise and at the motion of Leofricus bishop of Crediton, and who sometimes was lord chancellor of England vnder the said king, and one of his priue counsell, partlie for the better safetie of the bishop and his successors, who lieng and hauing their houses in the countie, were subiect to manie and sundrie perils, and partlie to prouide a more conuenient place for the monks, did remove the bishops see from Crediton, and removed the monks vnto Welfminster: and he the king in his owne person, together with quene Edith his wife, did install the said Leofricus in possession of this his new church and see. The bishop thus removed from the old, and placed in the new see and church, doth endow the same with all those lands and liuelihods which he had of the gift of the said king, and which before did appertene to his former church, and to reduce and make his sanctuarie to his mind, polleth downe the two monasteries nere adioining, the one being of monks and the other of nuns, and addeth and vnieth them vnto his owne church, and hauing brought all things to effect according to his mind, denifeth and maketh lawes, orders, and ordinances for the good gouernment of his church and cleargie.

After the death of Leofricus, all his successors for the most part procure the augmentation and increase of this their new erected see and church, some in liuelihods, some in liberties and priuileges, some in buildings, and some in one thing, and some in another. William Warewast the third bishop of this church, who had sometimes bene chapleine to the Conqueror, and to his two sonnes William and Henrie, was in such fauor and good liking with the Conqueror, that at his request he gaue vnto him and to this church, Plimpton, Wampton, and S. Stephens, in Excester, which gift his said sonnes being kings of England did ratifie and confirme. And then this said bishop, hauing the ordering and visiting

The Danes
spoile the
church of S.
Peters.

The monks
forsoke their
monasterie.

Florus histori-
amus.

King Edgar
restored the
abbat and
monks to
their house.

Sidemannus
abbat of this
church, and
after bishop
of this dioc-
esse.

Canutus
restored both
lands & priu-
leges to the
church.

The bishops
see removed
from Credit-
on to Exon.

Leofricus the
first bishop of
Excester.

The king at
the request of
William
Warewast bi-
shop, giueth
Plimpton,
Wampton, &
S. Stephens
to the church
of Excester.

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thereof, giueth Plimpton to the regular monkes there, for whom he had founded and builded a monasterie, and wherein he himselfe shortly after leauing and yeelding vp his bishoprike, became and was a monke. Wrampton was referred to the church, and which afterwards was annexed to the deanerie. And St. Stephens with the fee to the same appertaining, he referred to himselfe and to his successors, & where by they are barons and lords of the parlement. This bishop in the yeare of our Lord 1112, first began to enlarge his cathedrall, and laid the foundation of that part, which is now the chapele quier: for before that time it was no bigger than that, which since and now is called the lade chapele. After him William Bzower the bishop made and established in the yeare of our Lord 1235, a deane and a chapter of foure and twentie prebendaries: and for the deane (whome he appointed, and whose name was Serlo) and for his successors, he gave and impropriated Wrampton and Coliton Kableigh, and for the prebendaries he purchased lands, allotting and assigning to euery of them *Pro pane & sale* the like portion of foure pounds.

The foundation of the quier of St. Peters church.

Bishop William Bzower instituteth the deane & foure and twentie prebendaries.

The bodie of saint Peters church first founded.

The chanter and subdeane first constituted in this church.

Bishop Grandisson a great benefactor to the church.

The church of St. Peters was in building 437 yeares.

Peter Duinel the bishop finding the chancell of his church to be fullie builded and ended, beginneth to found and build the lower part of the bodie of his church, in the yeare of our Lord 1284, from the chancell of his church vnto the west end of the said church. This man first appointed a chanter and a subdeane to be in his church. To the one of them he impropriated Daineton and Chudleie, and to the other the parsonage of Gloschehaile in Cornewall. After him John Grandisson, in the yeare of our Lord 1340, did increase the length of the bodie of the church from the fust westwards, as also vaulted the rofe of the whole church, and did fullie end and finishe the same. And albeit from the time of king Athelstane the first founder in the yeare of our Lord 932, vntill the date of the death of this bishop Grandisson, which was in the yeare 1369, there were about 437 yeares distant, and in the meane time this church was continued in building by sundrie persons: yet it is so decentlie and vniuersallie compacted, as though it had bene builded at one verie time and instant.

The cloister builded.

The building of the chapter house.

The successor of this Grandisson, who was named Thomas Wentingham, finished and ended the north tower of the church. After this, about the yeare of our Lord 1400, and in the time of bishop Stoford, the cloister was added to the church, and builded at the most part of the charges of the deane and chapter. And not long after Edmund Lacie bishop began to build the chapter house, which being not ended in his time, his next successor George Penill, in the yeare of our Lord 1456, did fullie end and absolue the same: and which is a verie faire, beautifull, and a sumptuous worke. And thus much concerning the antiquitie, foundation, and building of this cathedrall church. Thus far John Hooker.

John Fox.

Common rebellion.

About the same time that this rebellion (whereof all the foresaid discourse tendeth) began in the west, the like disordered hurles were attempted in Dorsetshire, and Buckinghamshire: but they were speedily appeased by the lord Greie of Wilton, who comming downe that waie to soine with the lord priuie seale, chased the rebels to their houses, of whome two hundred were taken, and a dozen of the ringleaders to him deliuered, wherof certeine afterwards were executed. Whereouer, in diuerse other parts of the realme, namelie in the south and east parts, did the people (as before ye haue heard) assemble themselves in rebellions maner, committing manie foule disorders: but yet by god policie and wholesome persuasions they were appeased, except in Dorsetshire, where

after there was a rumour spied, that at the commons in Kent had throlone downe the diches and hedges, wherewith certeine pasture grounds were inclosed, and had laid the same open. Diuerse seditious persons and buisie fellows began to complaine that the like had not bene done in Dorsetshire, and ceased not to practise how to raise the people to an open rebellion; meaning not onelic to laie open parkes and inclosures, but to attempt other reformations, as they termed them; to the great danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of the common-wealthe.

They chiefie declared a spitefull ranco; and hatred conceived against gentlemen, whome they maliciouslie accused of inordinat couetousnesse, pride, rapine, extortion, and oppression, practised against their tenants and other, for the which they accounted them worthy of all punishment. Whereupon diuerse of them, namelie the inhabitants of Atliborough, and other of their neighbors, conceiuing no small displeasure, for that one Grene of Wilbie had taken in a parcell of the common pasture, as was supposed, belonging to the towne of Atliborough, and abiding together, and threlo downe certeine new diches made by the said Grene, to inclose in the said parcell of commons.

This was done before Midsummer, and so it rested till the first of Iulie, at which time there should be a publike plate kept at Wilmondham, a towne distant from Dorsetshire six miles, which plate had bene accustomed yearelie to be kept in that towne, continuing for the space of one night and one date at the least. Whereupon the wicked contriuers of this vnhappie rebellion, toke occasion by the assembling of such numbers of people as resorted thither to see that plaie, to enter further into their wicked enterprise: and vpon conference had, they immediatlie assembled at Dorsetshire a mile from Wilmondham, & there they cast downe certeine diches of maister Hubbords on the tuesday, and that night they repaired to Wilmondham againe, where they practised the like feats. But as yet they toke no mans goods by violence.

Whereupon one John Flowerdew of Wetherset gentleman, finding himselfe grieved with the casting downe of some diches, came vnto some of the rebels, and gaue to them fortie pence to cast downe the fences of an inclosure belonging to Robert Ket, a knight, a tanner of Wilmondham; which pasture lieth nere to the faire Mounge at Wilmondham also: which they did. And that night consulting together, the next morning they toke their tournets to Wetherset, by the procurement of the said Robert Ket, in reuenge of the displeasure which he had conceived against the said Flowerdew, and set them in hand to plucke vp and cast downe hedges and diches, wherewith certeine pasture grounds belonging to the said Flowerdew were inclosed.

Here was somewhat adoe. For maister Flowerdew did what he could to haue caused them to desist from that attempt, in somuch that manie sharpe words passed betwixt Ket and the said maister Flowerdew. But Ket being a man hardie and forward to anie desperate attempt that should be taken in hand, was straight entered into such estimation with the commons thus assembled together in rebellious wise, that his will was accomplished: and so those hedges and diches belonging to the pasture grounds of maister Flowerdew were throlone downe and made plaine. Whereupon was Ket chosen to be their capteine and ringleader, who being resolved to set all on fir and seuen, willed them to be of god comfort, and to follow him in defense of their common libertie, being readie in the common-welths cause to hazard

Wetherset.

The beginning of the rebellion in Dorsetshire.

The citizens of Dorsetshire.

A conference to further the rebellion in a meeting at a publike place.

Thomas Ket.

John Flowerdew.

Robert Ket.

Atliborough.

Wetherset.

Robert Ket.

Robert Ket.

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both life and goods.

Wherewith they passed the water betwixt Crin-
gelford and Witon, and coming to Bowthorpe, cast
downe certeine hedges and ditches in that place, and
their number being now greatlie increased, they in-
camped there that night. Here sir Edmund Wain-
dam knight, being high shiriffe of Suffolke and
Suffolke, came and proclaimed them rebels, com-
manding them to depart in the kings maiesties
name. With which proclamation they were greatlie
offended, and attempted to haue got him into their
hands: but he being well hoisted, valiantlie brake
through them that had compassed him in: howbeit
he escaped from them and got into Norwich, being
not past a mile off. The same night there came a
great number of lewd people vnto them, as well out
of the citie of Norwich as out of the countrie, with
weapon, armour, and artillerie.

The daie before that Ket came to this place, a
great number of the meaner sort of the citizens of
Norwich had thowne downe a quickset hedge, and
filled up the ditches, wherewith the foresaid commons
were on the one side inclosed, to keepe in the cattell
of the citizens that had the same going before their
common meatherd: and so that fence which by god
and prouident aduise of their forefathers, had bene
raised and made for the common profit of the whole
citie, was thus by a sort of lewd persons defaced and
cast downe at that present. And scarce had they
thowne downe the ditch in the upper end of this pa-
rish, but that a companie of euill disposed persons
stale out of the citie, and got them to Kets campe.
The maior of the citie named Thomas God aduer-
tised hereof, doubting what might follow of this mi-
chievous begun rebellion, thought god to trie if he
might persuaade the rebels to giue over their traito-
rous enterprises: and therefore taking certeine of the
aldermen with him, he went to Kets campe, bring-
ing that persuasions he could to reduce them vnto their
doutfull obedience, & to depart home to their houses.
But his trauell was in vaine, and therefore retur-
ned backe to the citie without hope to doe anie good
with that brutall rout.

After whose departure, they considering in what
danger they stood to be surprisid, if they should sca-
ter abroad in such sort as till then they had done,
seeking to wast and spoile the countrie about them,
without keeping together in anie warlike order,
thought it stood most with their suertie to draw into
one place, and to fortifie the same for their further
strength. Upon this resolution they determined to
go with all speed vnto Spaulthorpe, a place as they
tooke it next for their purpose, and therefore sent to
the maior of Norwich, requesting him of licence to
passe through the citie, because it was their nearest
waie, promising not to offer anie iniurie or violence
to anie person, but quietly to march through the citie
vnto their place appointed. But the maior did not on-
lie denie them passage, but also with sharpe and bitter
speech reprobating their rebellious doings, told them
what should follow thereof, if they gaue not ouer in
time from further proceeding in such wicked at-
tempts.

The next daie being thursdaie, sir Roger Wood-
house with seuen or eight of his household seruants,
came to them, bringing with him two carts laden
with beere, and one cart laden with other vittels: for
a recompense whereof he was stripped out of his ap-
parell, had his horses taken from him, and whatso-
euer else he had, the rebels accounting the same a
god peece, he himselfe was cruelly tugged and cast
into a ditch of one Acres of nether Arleham by Wel-
le Donbridge: where the same daie the rebels, being
disappointed of their purpose to passe through Nor-

wich, found meanes to passe, and coming to mai-
ger Corbets house of Spaulthorpe, intended to haue
burnt the same house. But yet being perswaded to
spare it from fire, they spoiled his goods, defaced a
douchouse of his, which had bene a chappell, and after-
wards got them to Spaulthorpe, and coming to St.
Leonards hill, on which the erle of Surrie had built
a statelie house called mount Surrie, they inken-
nelled themselves there on the same hill; and in the
woods adioining that lie on the west and the south
side of the same hill, as the commons or pasture cal-
led Spaulthorpe heath lieth on the east side, which con-
taineth foure or five miles in length, & three or foure
in breadth.

They put sir Roger Woodhouse, and other pris-
oners whom they had caught, in strict ward within
the foresaid house of mount Surrie, on the which
they seized, and spoiled whatsoeuer they found within
it. In the meane time, the maior of Norwich taking
aduise with his brethren the aldermen, what was best
to doe in this case; whether presentlie to issue forth,
and distresse the rebels now in the beginning, least
time might giue them meane to increase their pow-
er: or rather to staie till they had aduertised the
councell of the whole matter. In the end they agreed
that this last aduise was most surest, and so they dis-
patched a post with all speed to the court. Beside this
great campe (as they termed it) at Spaulthorpe, there
was a lesser at Kising chace neare to Lin: but the
rebels there, by the good diligence and circumspect
pollicie of the iustices and gentlemen of those parts,
were speedilie repelled, and driuen from thence.
Notwithstanding afterwards they assembled togi-
ther at Watton, & there remained about a fortnight,
stopping also the passage at Thetford and Brandon
ferrie, within nine miles of the said Watton: and
at length came and ioined themselves with these
other at Spaulthorpe, by appointment of their ge-
nerall captaine (as they took him) the foresaid Ro-
bert Ket.

Whereouer, there came flocking from Suffolke
and other parts, a great multitude of lewd disposed
persons, raised by firing of beacons, and ringing of
bells. Also a number of rascals & naughtie lewd per-
sons stale out of the citie of Norwich, and went to
campe. And thus being got together in great multi-
tudes, they added one wickednesse to another, as ha-
ving no state of themselves after their downefall,
nor holding them content with the committing of
one villanous trespass and horrible transgression,
according vnto the poets words to the like purpose:

*Quisquam hominum est, quem tu contentum videris uno
Flagitio?*

Now to cloke their malicious purpose with a com-
terfeit shew of holinesse, they caused one Coniers
vicar of saint Martins in Norwich to saie seruice
morning and euening, to praise to God for prosperous
speed in that their vngodlie enterprize. Whereouer
they went about to ioine to their cause diuers honest
men, and right commendable for religion, doctrine,
vertue, and innocencie of life; amongst whom were
Robert Watton a preacher, Thomas God maior of
Norwich, and Thomas Alderich of Pangrue hall.
These three, although sore against their willes, were
constrained to be present with them in all matters
of counsell, and to take vpon them (as associates with
capteine Ket) the administration and order of euerie
thing: which happened well for manie. For when et-
her Ket himselfe, or anie other of the capteins,
through setting on of the outrageous multitude, pur-
posed anie mischance (as often it came to passe) in one
place or other, through their graue aduise, and appro-
ued industrie, their furie was sundrie times raised
and calmed. Although Ket bent to all vngodlienes,
would

Mount Sur-
rie.

Spaulthorpe.

Kising chace.

Watton.

Counterfeit
religion.

would diuerse times grant forth commissions, abusing now and then the names of honest men thereby appointing his vnchristie mates to fetch in vittels to furnish their campe withall. The tenor of one of the which commissions here insuch.

The forme of a warrant granted out
by the rebels to take up vittels.

Whe kings friends & deputies, doo grant licence to all men, to prouide and bring into the campe at Abouthehold, all manner of cattell, and prouision of vittels, in what place soeuer they may find the same: so that no violence or iniurie be done to any honest or poore man. Commanding all persons as they tender the kings honoz and total maiestie, and the relate of the common welth, to be obedient to vs the gouernors, and to those whose names insue.

Signed

Robert Ker.

Gentlemen
imprisoned.

Then followed in order a long list of names, for the number of the gouernors was great, as they that beside the chiefe captaines had chosen out of euerie hundred two, and there were six and twentie hundred. By vertue of such commissions, manie that were of god worship and credit in the countrie, whom the rebels in their rage had condemned, were fetched from their houses, and other places where they might be found, and being brought to the campe, were committed to prison. Also the ditches and hedges, wherewith the commons abode in the countrie, were inclosed, were throlone downe, & manie were warned and called forth from sundrie parts, to come and take part with them in these tumultuous uprores. And all these things were done, the maior, maister Aldrich not onlie holding their peace and twinkling thereat, but also sometime after a manner giuing their consent to the same, for to haue resisted them had bene but follie, and the waie to haue put themselves in danger of destruction, and their countrie too.

The number
of the rebels.

The honest citizens of Poxtolke in this meane while remained in great perplexitie, hearing nothing from the king nor his counsell. They therefore being vncertaine what to do, abode in the citie, till they might vnderstand what order it should please the king to take for the quieting of these troubles. The cause why the counsell was thus slacke in prouiding remedie against the Poxtolke rebels, was: for that they were busie in quieting the troubles in the inner part of the realme about London, and other places (as before ye haue heard) by meanes whereof the power of these Poxtolke rebels still increased, so that there were assembled togither into thes campe, to the number of sixtene thousand vngracious vnchristis, who by the aduise of their captaines fortified themselves, and made prouision of artillerie, powder and other abillments, which they fetched out of ships, gentlemens houses, and other places where any wares to be found, and withall spoiled the countrie of all the cattell, riches and coine, on which they might laie hands.

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But because manie (as in such case is euer seene) did prouide for themselves, and bid that which they got, laung it vp for their owne stoz, and brought it not forth to further the common cause, yet and the other gouernors (for so would they be called) thought to prouide a remedie, and by common consent it was decreed, that a place should be appointed, where iudgements might be exercised, as in a iudiciall hall.

Whereupon they found out a great old oke, where the said Act, and the other gouernors or deputies might sit and place themselves, to heare and determine such quareling matters as came in question. Afore whom sometime would assemble a great number of the rebels, and exhibit complaints of such disorders, as now and then were practised among them; and there they would take order for the redressing of such wrongs and injuries as were appointed, so that such greedy vagabounds as were ready to spoile more than seemed to stand with the pleasure of the said gouernors, and farther than there commissions would beare, were committed to prison. This oke they named the tree of reformation.

The tree of
reformation.

The maior, maister Aldrich and others, whom they had receiued into the number of their gouernors, would oftentimes go vp into this tree, and make diuerse pitie orations to persuade the outrageous multitude to giue over their riotous rapines and spoilings. There were also certeine diuines which did vse all waies possible to withhold them from their wicked attempts; and to reduce them to peace and quietnesse, although this was not done without danger of their liues. Neuertheless, these in the due time used to preach in the churches, and in the night to watch with armour upon their backs, leaving nothing vndoone that might seme to asperitise vnto the dustie of godlie and vertuous diuines, or faithfull and obedient subjects. Among these was doctor Mathew Parker, afterward archbishop of Cantuarie, whose wisdom, faithfulness, and integritie was most apparant.

Doctor Parker.

He coming on a daie into the campe with his brother Thomas Parker, that was after maior of Poxtolke, found them before the tree at common praier, the foreremembred Coniers bicar of saint Martins in Poxtolke sateng the Lecture. Whereupon doctor Parker thinking the time to serue for his purpose, went vp into the tree; where he made a sermon, diuiding it into thre feuerall parts. In the first he exhorted them to vse with moderation those vittels which they had prouided & brought into their campe, and not riotouslie nor laushlie to wast and consume them. In the second he aduised them in no wise to take reuenge of priuat displeasures, and not to chaine or keepe in irons those persons whom they held in ward, nor to take anie mans life from him. Lastly, he wished that they should haue regard to themselves, & leaue off their rash begun enterprise, giuing eare to such heralds or other messengers as came from the king, and to shew such honour vnto his maiestie now in his pong and tender yeares, as they might inioy him hereafter being growne vp in vertue, to their great ioy, comfort, and gladnesse. As he was handling this matter, with manie godly and effectuall reasons, hauing the auditozie attentive to his words, one lewd fellow among the rest cried out and said: How long shall we suffer this hireling doctor, who being waged by gentlemen, is come hither with his tong, which is sold and tied to serue their appetite? But for all his prating words, let vs brydle them, and bring them vnder the orders of our law.

The rebels
they proteste
to Parker.

When began the multitude to stir and make a noise, threatening the preacher, some of them saing: It were well, that for his faire told tale we should bring him downe with a mischiefe, with arrows and lanelings. This speech brought doctor Parker in no small feare, and the more, for that he heard a noise and clattering of weapons vnder him, so that he looked for present death among them. But herein he was deceiued: for there was not a man that stood next him within the compasse of the tree, would him anie harme. And immediatlie the foresaid bicar of

An. Dom. 1549

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So, Martins that executed the office of the minister, began with helpe of some singinmen that were present, the canticle *Te Deum*, wherewith the vnruly multitude seemed partlie to quiet themselves. Which occasion doctor Parker perceiuing to serue his turne, thought not longer to tarie amongst them; but quietly got him downe from the tree, and with his brother made hast towards the citie. But before he came to Dockthorp gate, there were of the rebels that came to him, and began to question with him about his licence, whereby he was authorized to preach; but he perceiuing that there was no reason to be conceiued of them, slipt his waies, and left his brother to argue the matter with them.

Yet the next daie he entering into saint Clements church, took occasion to expound somewhat out of one of the lessons that was read that daie, concerning these wicked bariburles; manie of the rebels comming about him; but not interrupting him a whit, hearing the end of his exhortation, although they seemed greatlie therewith offended. But as he came out of the church, they followed him, and told him that (as they understood) he had three or foure able geldings to serue the king; and therefore charged him that after dinner they might be ready for them to occupie. But doctor Parker made them no great answer; but calling to him his horsekeeper, commanded him to plucke off the shoes from some of his geldings, and to pare their hounes vnto the quicke; and that he should anoint the other with neruall, as if they had bene lamed with trauell. The rebels perceiuing this, when they saw the same geldings had forth as it had bene to pasture, made no further businesse. Whereupon doctor Parker shozle after, feining as if he went abroad to walke two miles off from the citie, at Crinklesford bridge found his horses ready as he had appointed, with his servants, and mounting vp, took his iourneie towards Cambridge, with as much speed as was possible, escaping thither out of all danger, although by the waie they met with and saw diuerse of the rebels plaieng their parts in their wonted outrageous manner. Thus did doctor Parker escape the hands of the wicked rebels, who despising his whole some admonitions, did afterwards by Gods iust iudgement proue his words to be most true.

But in the meane time proceeding from one mischief to another, after they had practised to spoile the gentlemen of the countrie of their goods, they began to attach their bodie, and by force to bring them into their campe: so that such as escaped their hands, were glad to flee, and hide themselves in woods and canes, where they might best keepe themselves out of their aduersaries reach and intended dangers. But to speake of all the horrible praisses by these ungratious people exercised, it would be too long a proesse. That shifs they found to cloake their doings, and that euen vnder the kings authoritie, if it was wonderfull. For whereas there were certeine commissions directed vnto diuerse gentlemen in the countrie, to take order for the appeasing of these tumults; they getting the same into their hands, took vpon them the authoritie committed to the gentlemen, vnto whome the same commissions were sent; and taking off the scales from the other, fastened the same vnto their counterfeit writings. To conclude, they grew to such vnnearurable disorder, that they would not in manie things obeye neither their generall capteine, nor anie of their gouernors, but ran headlong into all kind of mischief, & made such spoile of vittels which they brought out of the countrie adioining vnto their campe, that within few daies they consumed (beside a great number of beees) twentie thousand muttons, also swans, geese,

hens, capons, ducks, & other fowles so manie as they might laie hands vpon. And furthermore, they spared not to breake into parks, and kill what there they could. Such haucke they made of all that came in their waie, and such number of sheepe speciallie they brought into their campe, that a good fat weather was sold for a groat. The woods, groues, and trees that were destroyed I passe ouer, and make no mention thereof. Herewith, what crueltie was shewed by them in fettering and manacing such gentlemen as they caught, and committed to prison for some mistaking they had conceiued of them, it was a miserable case to behold. Some there were whom they brought forth; as it had bene to iudgement before the tree of reformation, there to be tried afore the gouernors, as if they had bene guiltie of some heinous and greuous crime. And when it was asked of the commons, what should be done with those prisoners, they would crie with one voice; Hang them, hang them. And when they were asked why they gave so sharpe iudgement of those whom they neuer knew, they would roundlie answer; that other cried the same crie; and therefore they went to giue their assent with other; although they could yeeld no reason, but that they were gentlemen, & therefore not worthy to liue.

The outragi-
ous dealing as
gainst gentle-
men.

Whilest the rebels thus raged abroad in the countrie at Hengham eleuen miles from Norwich, sir Edmund Breuet knight, with a small companie of his owne mentall seruants, set vpon the night watch of the rebels that were placed there, & brake through, overthrowing diuerse of them; and hauing some of his owne men also unhorsed by the rebels, and in danger to be hewen in peeces among them, yet he recovered them, & escaped their hands through great manhood. After which good nights seruice, as they would haue it esteemed, they repaired to their great capteine Ket, to shew their hurts received, & to complaine of their griefes. It was talked among them, that they would go to sir Edmund Breuet's house called Buckenham castell, to assault it, and to fetch him out of it by force. But it was doubted of some, least it were too strong for them; and other feared sharpe stripes, if they should attempt that exploit, being at the least twelue miles from their maine campe: and so that enterpise went not forward, the most part thinking it best to sleepe in whole skins.

Sir Edmund
Breuet's ser-
uice.

There was at London the same time a citizen of Norwich, one Leonard Southerton fled from thence for feare of his life, whome the counsell sent for, to come to speake with them: and being asked what he knew touching the state of the rebels, he declared to them from point to point the manner of all their outrageous proceedings; but yet that as he understood, there were manie among them that would laie aside their armour, if they might be assured of the kings pardon: and therefore if it would please the king to set forth a proclamation, that all such as would depart from the campe and be quiet, should haue their pardon for all that was past, he doubted not but that those routs should be dispersed. His aduise was allowed, and thereupon was an herald sent with all speed in companie with the said Southerton vnto Norwich; & comming into the campe the last of Julie, and standing before the tree of reformation, apparelled in his cote of armes, pronounced there before all the multitude, with loud voice, a free pardon to all that would depart to their homes, and laieing aside their armour, giue ouer their traitorous begun enterpise.

Leonard
Southerton.Pardon pro-
claimed by an
herald at
armes.

After he had made an end of his proclamation, in maner all the multitude cried, God save the king. And manie of them falling downe vpon their knees, could

could not forbear with feares gushing from their eyes, but commend the kings great and unspeakable mercie thus freilie offered unto them, which doubtlesly they had at that time all of them received, if the wicked speech of some of the rascall sort, and namelie the traitorous persuasions of that wicked caittife that himselve, had not staied them from their dutifull inclinations. But after that that had with lowd voice before declared, that kings & princes were accustomed to grant pardons to such as are offenders, and not to others; he trusted that he needed not anie pardon, sith he had done nothing but that belonged to the dutie of a true subiect: and here with he besought them not to forsake him, but to remember his promise, sith he was readie to spend his life in the quarell. The herald hereupon called him traitor, and commanded John Petibone the swordbearer of Northwich to attach him for treason. Then began a great hurle burle among the multitude, so that the herald, perceiving they began to shrink from their former purpose of receiving the kings pardon, departed from them with these words: All ye that be the kings friends, come a'waie with me. The maior & maister Alderich, with a great number of other gentlemen & honest peomen that were readie to obey the kings commandement, followed him.

The citizens
favouring the
rebels.

The maior being thus returned to the citie, caused the gates to be shut, and such gentlemen as had been committed to prison within the castell, or other places in the citie, he caused to be set at libertie, & with their aduise toke order how the rebelles might be kept out. But as he was busie about such matters, certeine of the citizens that favoured the rebelles had receiued a great multitude of them into the citie, which did put the citizens in such feare, that it was thought the most suretie for the gentlemen that had bene now released out of prison, to be shut up againe, least the rebelles finding them abroad, should haue murdered them. Yet after this, when the rebels were departed out of the citie againe, the maior & aldermen fell in hand to ramprye by the gates, to plant ordinance, and to make all necessarie provision that for them was possible.

At length they fell to shooting off their artillerie as well from the citie as from the campe, doing their best to annote ech other. But when the rebelles saw that they did little hurt to the citie with their great ordinance lieng vpon the hill, they remoued the same downe to the foot of the same hill, and from thence began to beat the walles. Northwich standing, shortly after they made sute for a truce to indure for a time, that they might passe to and fro through the citie, to fetch in vittells, whereof some want began to pinch them in the campe. The maior and aldermen flatlie denied their request, protesting that they would not permit anie traitors to haue passage through their citie.

The rebels soze kindled in wrath with this answer, and deniall of their sute, came running downe from the hill, and assaulking the gates, were beaten off with shot of arrowes and other weapons. And yet such rage appeared among the rebels, that the boies and yong lads shewed themselves so desperat in gathering up the arrowes, that when they saw and felt the same sticking in some part of their bodies, they would plucke them forth, and deliuered them to their bow-men, that they might bestow the same againe at the citizens. In all this boile (a thing noteworthy) the seditious sort minding nothing more than the compassing of their purpose, had as little faie of themselves in this their outrage, as a bull at the sight of a cow, or a stoned horse at the view of a mare; according unto the old saying of the poet:

*Non facile est taurum visa retinere iuuenca,
Fortis equus visa semper adhaeruit equa.*

In the meane time, whilst they were thus busie vpon one side of the citie, an alarm rose at the defendants backs, crying that the rebels were entered the citie on the contrarie side: and so euerie man thinking awaie, and running thither to repell the enimie there, that part was left void of defendants where the first assault began. Whereof the rebels being aduised, rushed into the river that runneth before bishops gate, got to the gates, and breaking them open, entered without anie great resistance. For all the citizens were withdratone to their houses and other places, where they hoped best to hide themselves from the furie of their enimies.

The rebels having thus entered the citie by force, conueied all the guns and artillerie, with other furniture of warre out of the citie into their campe. The herald that was yet abiding in the citie, to see if the rebels would before the daie prefixed for their pardons, being not yet expired, giue ouer their enterprisse, came with the maior into the market place, and in the hearing of a great multitude of people that were come thither and stood about him, he citions gaue commandement in the kings name, that they should laie armes aside, and get them home to their houses: which to so manie as did, he pronounced a generall pardon, and to the rest extreme punishment by death.

The rebels that stood by and heard him, when he had once made an end of his proclamation, bade him get him thence with a mischief: for it was not his faire offers, nor his sweet flattering words that should beguile them, sith they made no account of such manner of mercie, that vnder a colour of pardon, should cut off all their safetie and hope of preservation. The herald perceiving how obstinate they were bent, and set on all mischief, and that it was impossible to bring them from their outrageous treason, either through feare of punishment or hope of pardon, departed without hauing brought that to passe for which he was sent. Immediatlie after his departure, the rebels sought for Leonard Southerton, purposing to haue apprehended him, and committed him to prison, for accompanying the herald thitherwards. But he hauing knowledge of their meaning, hid himselve from them.

After this, there were by thes commandement apprehended diuerse persons, as the maior, Robert Watton, William Rogers, John Homersson, William Wrampton, and manie others, which were brought out of the citie, and committed to prison in mount Surric. That perceiving well that he must either now obtaine a bloodie victorie by force against his countrie, or else to take such an end as his ungracious attempts did well deserue, got together so manie wicked persons as he might procure to come vnto him from ech side, with great rewards and faire promises: so that it was a strange matter to consider that a multitude of bntifists and rascalles came to him vpon the sudden.

The citizens of Northwich were soze displeased, that their maior (being an honest man, and one greatlie beloued among them) should be imprisoned, and so remaine in danger of life among the rebels: for they threatened him soze, & telling at his name, would saie one to another; Let vs all come together to morrow, for we shall see a cobs hed sold in the campe for a penny. Whereupon the citizens fearing least through the malice and rage of the rebels, their maior might chance to be made awaie among them, procured maister Thomas Alderich (whose authoritie was great among them) to be a meane for his deliuerance: who comming to that with sharpe and bitter words

The maior
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libertie.

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The lord
argutine
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The rebelles
refusal
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Prisoners
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Rebels power
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words reproued him for his cruell dealing, by im-
prisoning so honest a man as the maior was, and
withall commanded him to release him: which either
for shame, or rather through feare of a guiltie consci-
ence that pricked him, he caused incontinentlie to be
done: who thereupon might now and then go and
come at his pleasure to and fro the citie. But because
he could not still remaine in the citie, but was con-
strained to continue for the most part in the campe,
he appointed Augustine Steward to be his deputie,
who with the assistance of Henrie Bacon, and John
Atkinson thiriffes, gouerned the citie right orderlie,
and kept the most part of the citizens in due obe-
dience.

The counsell aduertised now vpon the heralds
returne, that there was no waie to reduce these
Norfolke rebels vnto quiet otherwise than by force,
appointed the marquisse of Northampton with fif-
tene hundred horsemen to go downe vnto Northol-
to subdue those stubborn traitors that so vndutiful-
lie refused the kings mercifull pardon, & helie offered
by his officer at armes, and others. There went with
the lord marquisse diuerse honorable and worshipfull
personages, as the lord Sheffield, the lord Went-
worth, sir Anthoine Denny, sir Henrie Parker, sir
Richard Southwell, sir Rafe Sadler, sir John
Clere, sir Rafe Kowlet, sir Richard Lee, sir John
Gates, sir Thomas Dallon, sir Henrie Beding-
field, sir John Sullard, sir William Malgraue, sir
John Cuts, sir Thomas Cornewallis knights, to-
gether with a great manie of other knights, es-
quiers and gentlemen, and a small band of Italians,
vnder the leading of a capteine named Spalatesta.

The lord marquisse being approached within a
mile of Northolch, sent sir Gilbert Dethicke knight,
now Carter, then Porrie, king at armes, vnto the
citie, to summon them within to yeld it into his
hands, or vpon refusal to proclame warre against
them. Whereupon Augustine Steward the maiors
deputie sent to the maior that was in the campe with
him, aduertising him what message he had receiued
from the marquisse. The maior sent word againe,
that nothing was more gracious vnto him, than to
see into what miserie the citie and countrie about
were brought by the rage of these commotions; and
declaring in what case he stood, being kept by force
among the rebels, whereas otherwise he would (ac-
cording to his dutie) haue come to his hono. But
as for the citie, he had committed the gouernance vnto
Augustine Steward, who should be ready to sur-
render it into his lordships hands: and that if he
would giue him leaue, he would come himselfe to
his hono, submitting all things wholie to his lord-
ships order and disposition.

This message being brought backe by the said
Porrie, Augustine Steward the maiors deputie
with the thiriffs, and a great number of the citizens,
came to the lord marquesses campe, and deliuered
by the sword to his lordship, declaring how the ma-
ior himselfe would gladlie haue come, if he could
haue got from the rebels: and that although a great
roul of the lewd citizens were partakers with the
rebelles, yet a number of the substantiall & honest ci-
tizens would neuer consent to their wicked doings,
but were ready to receiue his lordship into their
citie. The lord marquisse giuing god words to the
citizens, and willing them to be of god comfort, sith
he trusted to appease these troubles verie shortly,
deliuered the sword vnto sir Richard Southwell, who
bare it before the lord marquisse as he passed forth
towards the citie, entring the same by saint Ste-
phans gate. And incontinentlie was proclamation
made that they should all resort into the market
place, where they consulted together how they might

best defend the citie against the enimies, and to re-
presse their furie. Whereupon was order giuen for the
placing of watch and ward about the gates and the
walles, as might seme expedient. The lord marquisse
supped that night and lodged in the maiors deputies
house; but his lordship as well as other kept their ar-
mour on their backs all that night, for doubt of some
sudden assault to be made against the citie by the re-
bels. Here it chanced that the strangers, either by
appointment, or otherwise, went forth, and offered
skirmish to the rebels vpon Pagdalen hill.

The strangers
offer skirmish
to the rebels.

The rebels came forth with their horsemen: but
it seemed that they were better practised to fetch in
booties, than to make their manage or careise, which be-
ing percelused of their fellows that were footmen,
they put forth their archers before their horsemen,
and such numbers heretofore came swarming forth of
their campe, meaning to compasse in those stran-
gers, that they perceiuing the maner and purpose of
the enimies, cast themselves in a ring, and retired
backe into the citie againe. But they left one of their
compantie behind them, a gentleman that was an It-
talian, who more valiantlie than warlike ventured to
sarre among the enimies, and through euill hap be-
ing ouerthrowne before his horse, he was inuironed
about with a great multitude of those rebels, that
tooke him prisoner, and like vile wretches spoiling
him of his armour and apparell, hanged him ouer the
walles of mount Surrie. Which act well shewed what
courtesie might be looked for at such cruell traitors
hands, that would thus vnmmercifullie put such a ge-
ntleman and worthy souldior to death: for whose ran-
some, if they would haue demanded it, they might
haue had no small portion of monie to haue satisfied
their greedy minds. But it seemed that their bestlie
crueltie had bereft them the remembrance of all ho-
nest consideration and dutifull humanitie.

An Italian
hanged by the
rebels.

The marquisse of Northampton causing (as be-
fore ye haue heard) diligent watch to be kept vpon
the walles, and at the gates, appointed the same to be
visited right often, that through negligence no mis-
hap should follow. Moreover, besides the watch at
the gates and walles, the residue of the soldiours ma-
king a mightie huge fire in the market place, so as
all the streets were full of light, they remained there
all that night in their armour, ready vpon anie oc-
casion to resist the enimies if they should make anie
attempt. Sir Edward Warner marshall of the
field gaue the watch word, sir Thomas Dallon, sir
John Clere, sir William Malgraue, sir Thomas
Cornwallis, and sir Henrie Bedingfield were ap-
pointed to the defense of other parts of the citie. And
now when euerie thing was thought to be safelie
provided for, and that the lord marquisse and other
were laid to take their rest, the rebels about the mid-
dest of the night began to shot off their great artille-
rie towards the citie, so thicke as was possible: but
the bullets passed ouer their heads that were lodged
in the citie, without doing anie great hurt at all.

Sir Edward
Warner.

The lord marquisse, by reason of the often ala-
rums that were giuen, whilst the enimies thus cea-
sed not to rage with continuall shot of ordnance,
was called vp by the marshall sir Edward War-
ner; and comming into the market place, accompa-
nied with the nobles and gentlemen of the armie, fell
in counsell with them, how to foresee that the citie
in such danger might be safelie defended against
the enimies with such small power as he had there
with him. It was therefore determined, that all the
gates which were on the contrarie part of the towne
from the rebels campe, and likewise the ruinous
places of the walles should be rampired vp, that if
the enimies should chance to giue an assault to the
citie,

citie, they might moze easilie be repelled.

But as these things were in doing, and almost brought to end, in a manner all the whole multitude of the rebelles came out of their cabins, running downe in most furious maner to the citie, and with great shouts and yelling cries went about to set fire on the gates, to cline over the walles, to passe the river, and to enter the citie at such places where the walles were thorough age decayed and ruinous. The soldiors that were there with the lord marquisse, did shew their uttermost endeavour to beat backe the enemies. This fight in most cruell wise continued for the space of thre houres without ceasing, the rebels forcing themselves to the uttermost of their powers to enter perforce upon them, and they within the citie shewed no lesse courage to repell them backe. The hardie manhood of diuerse knights, and other men of worship was here right apparant. It was strange to see the desperat boldnesse of the rebelles, that when they were thrust through the bodies of thighs, and some of them hough-sinewed, would yet seeke reuenge in striking at their aduersaries, when their hands were scarce able to hold by their weapon; thinking themselves somewhat satisfied if the humors of their enuie and deadlie spite might be fed but with a drop of their aduersaries blood; with such a malignant spirit (tending wholie to vengeance) these desperat rebels were possessed, according to the poets speech in the like sense and meaning:

The desperatnesse of rebelles.

Inuicta, sat. 13.

Inuicta dabit minimus solatia sanguis.

The rebels beaten backe.

But such was the valiance of the gentlemen and soldiors, which were there with the lord marquisse, that in the end the enemies which were already entered the citie, were beaten out againe, and driuen backe to their accustomed kennell holes with losse of thre hundred of their numbers. They within the towne hauing thus repelled the enemies, & accounting themselves in moze safetie than before, for the rest of the night that yet remained, which was not much, they gaue themselves to refresh their wearied bodies with some sleepe. The next daie, the lord marquisse was informed by some of the citizens, that there were no small number in Ilets campe that would gladlie come from him, if they might be sure of their pardon: and that at Dockethorpe gate there were foure or five thousand, that wished for nothing moze than for pardon: and that if the same were offered them, there were no doubt (as they beleued) but that they would submit themselves to the kings mercie.

The marquisse was glad to vnderstand so much, & incontinentlie dispatched Porreie king at armes, with a trumpetter, to assure them on the kings behalfe, that they should be pardoned for all offenses past, and that had bene committed in time of this rebellion, if they would lay armes aside. Porreie and the trumpetter comming to the gate, found not a man there: but the trumpetter sounding his trumpet, there came running downe from the hill a great multitude of their people, & amongst other as chiefe, one Flotman, whom Porreie commanded to haie. Whereupon the said Flotman asked him what was the matter, and wherefore he had called them together by sound of trumpet: To thy waies (said he) & tell thy companie from my lord marquisse of Northampton, the kings maiesties lieutenant, that he commandeth them to cease from committing anie further outrage: and if they will (saith he) obey his commandement, all that is past, shall be forgiven and pardoned.

Flotman.

Pardon offered to the rebels.

Flotman hauing heard Porreies declaration, as he was an outrageous and buisie fellow, presumptuously made answer, that he cared not a pins point for my lord marquisse, and withall, like a rebellious

traitor, railed upon his lordship, and maintained, that he and the rest of the rebels were earnest defenders of the kings roiall maiestie, and that they had taken weapon in hand not against the king, but in his defense, as in time it should appeare, as they that fought nothing but to mainteine his maiesties roiall estate, the libertie of their countrie, and the safetie of their commonwealth, &c. To conclude, he utterly refused the kings pardon, and told Porreie certeinlie, that they would either restore the commonwealth from decay, into the which it was fallen, being oppressed thorough the couetousnesse and tyrannie of the gentlemen; either else would they like men die in the quarrell.

Scarcelie had he made an end of his tale, when suddenlie a fearefull alarm was raised thorough out the citie: for whilest Flotman was thus in talke with the king of armes at Dockethorpe gate, the rebels in great rage entering the citie by the hospitall, went about to bring all things to destruction: but being incountered nere to the bishops palace, by the lord marquisse his men, there ensued a bloudie conflict betwixt them, which continued long with great fiercenesse and eger reuenge on both parts. There died about seuen score of the rebels, and of the soldiors that rescued against them some number, beside a great multitude that were hurt and wounded on both parts. But the pittifull slaughter of the lord Sheffield, who hauing moze regard to his honor than safetie of life, desirous to shew some prouise of his noble valiance, entering amongst the enemies, as he sought right hardlie, though not so warlike as had bene expedient, fell into a ditch as he was about to turne his horse: & herewith being compassed about with a number of those horrible traitors, was slaine amongst them: although he both declared what he was, and offered largelie to the villains, if they would haue saued his life. But the moze noble he shewed himselfe to be, the moze were they kindled in outrageous furie against him. And as he pulled off his head peece, that it might appeare what he was, a butcherlie knaue named Fulks, who by occupation was both a carpenter & a butcher, slat him in the head with a club, and so most wretchedlie killed him. A lamentable case, that so noble a young gentleman, inuend with so manie commendable qualitties, as were to be wished in a man of his calling, should thus miserablie end his daies by the hands of so vile a villain.

Diuerse other gentlemen and worshipful soldiors came to the like end among those outrageous rebels, and amongst other, Robert Woluaston, that was appointed to keepe the doore of Chyffs church, was killed by the same Fulks, who took him for sir Edmund Laneuet, against whom the rebels bare great malice, for that he sought to annoie them so farre as by anie means he might, as partlie ye haue heard. But the slaughter of that noble man the lord Sheffield, soze discouraged the residue of the soldiors that were come with the lord marquisse. And on the other part, the rebels were aduanced thereby, in greater hope to preuaile against them, and thereupon pressed forward with such hardinesse, that they caused the lord marquisse and his people to giue place, and to forsake the citie, enerie man making the best thift he could to saue himselfe. But yet diuerse gentlemen of good account and worship remaining behind, as sir Thomas Cornewallis, and others, whom the rebels afterwards kept in strict durance, untill the daie came of their ouerthrow by the kings power, vnder the conduction of the earle of Warwicke.

The lord marquisse and the residue that escaped, made the best thift they could to get out of danger: and at length, he and the most part of them that went

The rebels enter the citie.

The miserabie slaughter of Sheffield.

The lord Sheffield most fullie slaine.

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Alexander Nevill.

Relief to the rebels.

The marquisse and the residue that escaped.

Dom. 1549.

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Reg. 3.

went forth with him, came to London. The rebels
having thus repelled the lord marquisse & his power,
set fire on the citie, whereby manie faire buildings
were consumed and burnt. It happened yet well the
same time, that there fell great abundance of raine,
the which holpe in part to quench the rage of the fire.
Nevertheless, all the houses on either side of Holmes
street, and the hospitall of the poore; also Bishops gate,
Dockthorpe gate, Dagdalene gate, and Bearestreet
gate, with manie other houses in other parts of the
citie, were burned, and sowle defaced with fire. The
citizens were brought into such extreame miserie,
that they knew not which waie to turne them. Some
there were that fled out of the citie, taking with
them their gold and siluer, and such short ware as
they might coueie awaie with them, abandoning
wife and childe, to rest at the mercie of the rebels.
Other hid their goods in wells, priuies, and other such
secret places out of the waie.

The rebels entering into the houses of such as
were knowne to be wealthie men, spoiled and bare
awaie all that might be found of anie value. But to
speake of all the cruell parts which they plaied, it
would be tedious to expresse the same, their doings
were so wicked and outragious. There was shooting,
holing, and wounding among them, waeping, and
crying out of women and childe. To be short,
the state of the citie at that present was most mi-
serable. The maiors deputie kept himselfe close in his
house, and might behold all this mischief and de-
struction of the citie, but durst not come abroad, nor
go about to staie them: at length, a great multitude
of the rebels that were come downe fro their campe,
entering by saint Augustines gate, came straight to
his house, and strove to breake open the doores: but
when they could not easilie bring their purpose to
passe that waie forth, they began to fire the house.
Whereupon for feare to be burned within his owne
lodging, he set open the doores, and in came those un-
manerlic ghests, toke him, plucked his gowne be-
hind his backe, called him traitor, and threatened to
kill him, if he would not tell them where the lord
marquisse of Northampton had hidden himselfe.

And when he had told them that undoubtedly he
and all his companie were gone, they were in a
great rage, and with terrible noise and rimb-
ling they sought euerie corner of the house for him, and
taking what they found, they departed. But yet ma-
nie of them afterwards partlie pacified for a pece of
monie, and other things which they reuelued of the
maiors, and partlie reproued for the wrongfull robbe-
ries by some that were in credit among them, they
brought againe such packs and fardels as they had
trussed up together, and threw them into the shops of
those houses, out of the which they had taken the same
before: but yet there were diuers of the citizens that
were spoiled of all that they had by those rebels, that
entered their houses under a colour to seeke for the
marquisse of Northampton's men. Namelie, the
houses of those citizens that were fled, were spoiled
and ransacked most miserable, for they reputed and
called them traitors and enimies to their king and
countrie, that thus had forsaken their houses and
dwelings in time of such necessitie: yet manie of
the citizens bringing forth bread, beere, and other vi-
tels unto the rebels to refresh them with, somewhat
calmed their furious rage, and so escaped their vio-
lent hands, although no small number were so fiesed
(as before ye haue heard) that they haue liued the
waie for it all the daies of their life since that time.

But now the rebels having thus got possession of
the citie, & chased awaie the kings people, they toke
order to haue the gates kept howrelie with watch
and ward of the citizens themselves, thertuning them

with most shamefull death, if they omitted the same.
These brutall persons were so farre kept into all
kind of beastlie outrage, that when it rained, they
would kennell by themselves in the churches, abusing
the place appointed for the seruice and worshipping
of the almightie God, in most prophane and wicked
manner, and neither prayer nor yet threats of men
or women that abused them to modestie could take
place. The kings maiestie aduertied therefore, that
there was no waie to tame their diuelish and traito-
rous outrage, but by force: with the aduise of his
councell caused a power to be put in a readinesse, as
well of his owne subiects as of strangers, namelie
lanquenets, which were come to serue his maiestie
against the Scots.

But now it was thought expedient to vse their
seruice against these rebels, whose power and despe-
rate boldnesse was so farre increased, that without a
maine armie, guided by some generall of great ex-
perience, and noble conduct, it would be hard and
right dangerous to subdue them: wherein violence
and force was to be used, sith they had shewed them-
selues in an extremitie of stubborneesse, like buls that
by basting are to be tamed, or like disnecked stallions
which with bit & bridle must be managed, as one saith:

Asper equis duris contrahitur ora lupatis.

Whereupon that noble cheefeste and valiant erle
of Marwick, latelie before appointed to haue gone
against the Scots and Frenchmen into Scotland,
was called backe, and commanded to take upon
him the conduction of this armie against the poore
folke rebels: for such was the opinion then concei-
ued of that honorable erle, for the high manhood,
valiant prowesse, and great experience in all war-
like enterprises, sufficientlie tried, and knowne to
rest in him, that either they might be vanquished and
ouercome by him, or by none other.

Captaine Ket and his rebellious armie, having
some aduertisement by rumors spred, of this prepa-
ration and coming of an armie against them, they
were not slacke to make themselves strong and rea-
die to abide all the hazard that fortune of warre
might bring. The erle of Marwick then, after that
his men and provisions were ready, did set for-
ward, and came vnto Cambridge, where the lord
marquisse of Northampton and other met his lord-
ship. Here also diuerse citizens of Norwich came to
him, and falling downe upon their knees before him,
besought him to be good lord vnto them; and withall
declared their miserable state, great griefe and sor-
row, which they had conceiued for the wretched de-
struction of their countrie: beseeching him to haue
pittie vpon them. And if in such extremitie of things
as had happened vnto their citie, they had through
feare or ignorance committed anie thing contrarie
to their dutifull allegiance, that it might please his
honor to pardon them their offenses in such behalf,
sith if anie thing were amisse on their parts, the same
came to passe for against their wills, and to their ex-
treame griefe and sorrow.

The erle of Marwick told them, that he knew
indeed in what danger they had bene among those
brutall ribalds; and as for anie offense which they
had committed, he knew not: for in leauing their
citie sith matters were growne to such extre-
mitie, they were to be borne with, but in one thing
they had ouershot themselves: for that in the begin-
ning they had not sought to repress those tumults,
sith if they had put themselves in defense of their
countrie, to resist the rebels at the first, such mischiefs
as were now growne, might easilie haue bene auoi-
ded. But neuertheless, vpon this their humble sub-
mission, he granted them all the kings mercifull par-
don, and commanding them to provide themselves

The erle of
Marwick ap-
pointed to go
against the
Scots and
Frenchmen.

The erle of
Marwick com-
meth to
Cambridge.

The kings
pardon gra-
nted.

who served
under the earle
of warwicke.

of armour and weapon, appointed them to march forth with the armie, wearing certeine laces or ribbons about their necks for a difference, that they might be knowne from others. There were in this armie under the earle of Warwicke diuerse men of honor and great worship, as lords, knights, esquires, and gentlemen in great numbers. First the lord marquisse of Northampton, and sundrie of them that had bene with him before, desirous to be reuenged of his late repulse, the lords Willoughbie, Powes and Wale, Ambrose Dudley, sonne to the said earle, and at this present worthilie adorned with the title (which his father then bare) of earle of Warwicke, and his brother lord Robert Dudley now earle of Leicester; also Henrie Willoughbie esquier, sir Thomas Cresham, sir Parmaduke constable, William Deuener sonne to the lord Ferrers of Chartley, sir Edmund Kneuet, sir Thomas Palmer, sir Andrew Flammoche, and diuerse other knights, esquires, and gentlemen: all which plaid their parts as time and occasion was ministered vnto them to giue trial of their manhood.

The earle of Warwicke, and such as were come with him to Cambridge, marched directlie from thence towards Norwich, and came vnto Wymondham the two and twentieth of August, where and by the waie the most part of all the gentlemen of Norfolk folke that were at libertie, came vnto him. The next daie betimes he shewed himselfe vpon the plaine, betwixt the citie of Norwich and Ciston wood, and lodged that night at Intwood, an house belonging to sir Thomas Cresham knight, a two miles distant from Norwich. Here they rested that daie and night following, not once putting off their armour, but remaining still in a readinesse, if the enimies should haue made anie sudden inuasion against them. The earle of Warwicke in the meane time sent the afore remembred king of armes Porreie, to summon the citie, either to open the gates that he might quietlie enter; or else to loke for warre at his handes that would then assaie to win it by force, and such reward as rebels (that wilfullie withstand their fouereigne) ought to receiue.

Norwich
summoned.

what answer
was made to
the herald by
the citizens of
Norwich,
whom he
assigned there
vnto.

When he understood that the herald was come to the gates, he appointed the maiors deputie Augustine Steward, and Robert Rug, two of the chiefe citizens, to go to him and to know his errand. They passing forth at a posterne, and hearing his message, made answer, that they were the miserablest men that were then liuing, as they themselves beleued, sith that hauing suffered such calamities as they could not but tremble at in calling to remembrance, they could not now haue libertie to declare the loiall dutie which they bare & ought to beare to the kings highnesse: so that they accompted themselves most vnforsunate, sith their hap was to liue in that season, in which they must either leaue off life, or the estimation of their good name, although they trusted the kings maiestie would be gracious lord vnto them. sith they had given no consent vnto such wicked rebellion as was thus raised against his highnesse, but with losse of goods and perill of life so farre as in them laie, had done what they could to keepe the citizens in good order and dutifull obedience.

One thing more they would humbly desire of my lord of Warwicke, that whereas there was no small number of the kings armie in the citie without armour or weapon, and as it should seeme irksome and wearie of that which had bene already done, it might please him once againe to boughsaie to offer them the kings pardon, and if he should thus do, they had great hope that the rebels would gladly accept it, and so the matter might be pacified without more

bloudshed. Porreie returned to the earle of Warwicke, and declared what answer he had receiued. The earle desirous of nothing more than to haue the matter thus taken vp, as well for other considerations, as for feare least the gentlemen remaining prisoners with the rebels, should be unmercifullie murdered by their keepers, if they came to the bittermost triall of battell, he resolved to proue if it would thus come to passe. And heretupon was Porreie with a trumpet sent to offer them a generall pardon, who being entered the citie, met about fortie of the rebels on horsebacke, riding two and two together verie pleasant and merrie, and so passing from S. Stephens gate vnto Wishops gate, the trumpetter sounded his trumpet, and with that, a great multitude of the rebels came thronging downe together from the hill: to whom the hoismen speedilie riding, commanded that they should diuide themselves, and stand in order vpon either side the waie. And as Porreie and the trumpetter, with two of the chiefe citizens entred betwixt them, they were receiued with great noise and clamour, for euerie of them putting off their hats or caps, cried; God saue king Edward, God saue king Edward.

Porreie and the two citizens, highlie commending them herein, requested them to keepe their place and order wherein they stood for a while: and then Porreie passing forth about two hundred and fiftie paces, came to the top of the hill, and putting on his coate armour, staied a while (for he was not yet come) and at length began to declare vnto them in what manner diuers times since first they had taken armes in hand, the kings maiestie by sundrie persons, as well heralds as other, had sought to reduce them from their vnlawfull and rebellious tumults, vnto their former dutie and obedience; and yet neuerthelesse, they had shewed themselves wilfull and stubborne, in refusing his mercifull pardon freely offered vnto them, and despised the messenger which his grace had sent vnto them to pronounce the same. He willed them therefore to call themselves now at length to remembrance, and to behold the state of the common-wealth, which they so often to no purpose had still in their mouths, and neuerthelesse by them miserable defaced, & brought in danger of bitter ruine and decay.

And herewith discourting at large of the horrible, wicked, and heinous murders, riots, burnings, and other crimes by them committed, he willed them to consider into what sea of mischeces they had throwne themselves, and what punishment they ought to looke for as due to them for the same; sith as well the wrath of God as the kings armie was hanging ouer their heads, and readie at hand, which they were not able to resist. For his grace had resolved no longer to suffer so great and presumptuous mischeces as this, to be suffered in the middle of his realme: and therefore had appointed the right honourable earle of Warwicke, a man of noble fame and approved ballancie, to be his generall lieutenant of that his roiall armie, to persecute them with fire and sword; and not to leaue off, till he had utterly disperfed and scattered that wicked and abominable assemblie. And yet such was the exceeding greatnesse of the kings bountifull mercie and clemencie, that he that was by him appointed to be a reuenger of their heinous treasons committed against his maiestie, if they continued in their obstinate wilfulness, should be also the interpreter and minister of his gracious and free pardon, to so manie as would accept it. Which vntill they now imbraced, the said earle had made a solemn vow, that they should neuer haue it offered to them againe; but that he would persecute them till he had purged

Porreie king
of armes sent
to offer the
pardon.

Porreie the
herald made
a long
discourse
to the
rebels, for
the
renewing
of them to
good
order.

Alexandre
Moull.

The
herald
made
a
speech
to
the
rebels.

The kings
purpose in
sending the
earle of war-
wicke against
them.

Let me
to haue
such
of war.

of War. Forreie the
herald deputed
to haue
her confi-
er remain
bunmerci-
came to
to proue
erebpon
er them a
itie, met
, riding
erie, and
Bishops
and with
hanging
hoylnen
do diuide
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with two
they were
euerie of
God saue

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depe their
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het was
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ie by sun-
fought to
rebellious
fence; and
clues will
all pardon
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me; fith as
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ie how, that
m againe;
e had pun-
shed

shed the whole multitude according unto their lust
deserts.

Wantie that heard him, hauing due confide-
ration of their miserable estate, were touched with
some remorse of conscience, fearing at length to taste
the reuenge of such horrible crimes as they had been
partakers of with others in committing the same.
But the more part finding themselves highly offen-
ded with his words, began to iangle (as they had
done before unto other that had bene sent to offer
them pardon) that he was not the kings herald, but
some one made out by the gentlemen in such a gate
coate, patched together of belements and church-
stufte, being sent onelie to deceiue them, in offering
them pardon, which would proue nought else but
halters; and therefore it were well done, to thrust
an arrow into him, or to hang him vp. Although o-
ther seemed dutifullie to reuerence him, and diuerse
that had serued in Scotland and at Bullongne, re-
membryng that they had sene him there and knew
him, told and perswaded their fellowes, that he
was the kings herald indeed. Wherebpon they be-
came more mild, and offered him no further iniurie:
but yet they could not be perswaded that this par-
don tended to anie other end, but to bring them to
destruction; and that in stead of pardon, there was
prepared for them nought else but a barrell full of
halters.

Such lewd speech was amongst them, fauou-
ring altogether of malicious mistrust, and most
willfull treason. Forreie neuerthelesse departing
from thence, accompanied with het, came to ano-
ther place, where he made the like proclamation:
for the multitude was such that he could not be heard
of them all in one place. Here, before he had made
an end of his tale, there was a vile boie (as some
write) that turned vp his bare taile to him, with
words as vnseemlie as his gesture was filthie: with
which spitefull reproch thus shewed towards the
kings maiesties officer at armes, one (which in com-
panie of some other that were come over the water
to view things) being greatly offended, with an
harquebuse shot stroke that vngracious lad through
the bodie a little aboue the reins.

Which when some of the rebels had sene, a doz-
zen of their horsemen came galloping out of the
wood, crying; We are betrayed friends, we are be-
trayed, if you looke not about you: do you not see
how our fellowes are slaine with guns before our
faces? What may we hope if we disarme our selues,
that are thus vsed being armed? This herald goeth
about nothing else, but to bring vs within danger
of some ambush, that the gentlemen may kill and
beate vs all downe at their pleasure. Wherebpon
they all shanke awaie, and fled, as they had bene
out of their wits: yet did their great capteine Ro-
bert het accompanie Forreie, meaning (as hath
bene said) to haue gone to the earle of Warwicke
himselfe, to haue talked with him: but as he was al-
most at the foot of the hill, there came running after
him a great multitude of the rebels, crying to him,
and asking him whither he went; We are readie (said
they) to take such part as you do, be it neuer so bad:
and if he would go anie further, they would (as thep
said) suerlie follow him.

Forreie then perceiuing such numbers of peo-
ple following them, desired het to staie them: who
returning backe to them, they were incontinentlie
appeased, and so they all returned with him backe
to their campe. When the earle of Warwicke vn-
derstood that they were thus altogether set on mis-
chiefe, and neither with praier, proffer of pardon,
threatening of punishment, nor other meanes they
could be reduced to quietnesse, he determined to

proceed against them by force. And herebpon bring-
ing his armie unto saint Stephens gate, which the
rebels stopped vp, with the letting downe of the port-
culice, he commanded those that had charge of the ar-
tillerie, to plant the same against the gate, and with
batterie to breake it open.

As these things were in hand, he understood by
Augustine Steward the maiors deputie, that there
was an other gate on the contrarie side of the citie,
called the Wasen gate, which the rebels had rammed
vp, but yet not so, but that it might be easilie broken
open. Wherewith were the pioniers called, and com-
manded to breake open that gate also: which being
done, the soldiers entered by the same into the citie,
and due diuerse of those rebels that stood readie to
defend and resist their entrie. In the meane time had
the gunners also broken in sunder with their shot
the portculice, and nere hand the one halfe of the o-
ther gate, by the which the marques of Northamp-
ton, and capteine Durrrie, alias Poignard (that being
sent from London met my lord of Warwicke by the
waie) entered with their bands, and droue backe the
rebels with slaughter, that were readie there to re-
sist them.

Whereouer, the maiors deputie caused War-
wicke gate to be set open: at the which the earle
of Warwicke himselfe entring with all his armie,
and finding in manner no resistance, came to the
market place. Here were taken a threelcore of the re-
bels, the which according to the order of martial law
were incontinentlie executed, according to the qua-
littie of their offense, confessing (no doubt) in consci-
ence, that their punishment was proportioned to
their trespasses, and that in dieng the death (were the
same neuer so extreme & dreadfull) they had but their
desert; and therefore might well saie with the poet:

Supplicia scelerum paruas expendimus omnes.
Shortlie after, the carriages belonging to the ar-
mie were brought into the citie by the same gate,
and passing through the citie, by negligence & want
of order giuen to them that attended on the same ca-
riage, they kept on forward till they were got out at
Bishops gate towards Household. Whereof the re-
bels being aduised, they came downe, & setting upon
the carters, and other that attended on the carriages,
put them to flight, and droue awaie the carts laden
with artillerie, powder, and other munition, bring-
ing the same into their campe, & greatlie reioysing
thereof, because they had no great store of such things
among them: but yet capteine Durrrie with his
band comming in good time to the rescue, recovered
some of the carts from the enimies, not without
some slaughter on either side. Whereouer, the eni-
mies as yet being not fullie driuen out of the citie,
placed themselves in crosse streets, & were readie to
assaille the soldiers as they saw their aduantage, part
of them standing at S. Michells, part at S. Ste-
phans, and part at S. Peters, and some of them also
stood in Timers street.

Here they assailing such as bradsheddle were en-
tered within their danger, they due diuerse, and a-
mong other thre or foure gentlemen, before they
could be succoured from anie part. The earle of War-
wicke aduertised hereof, passed forth with all his for-
ces to remoue the enimie, and comming to S. An-
drew in Johns street, was receiued with a sharpe
shorme of arrowes: but capteine Durrrie his harque-
busers galled them so with their shot, that they were
glad to giue place, and so fled amaine. There were
slaine a hundred and thirtie, and diuerse of them
shynking asid into churchyards and other places
vnder the walles, were taken and executed. All the
rest got them vp to their campe at Household, and
so the citie was rid of them for that time. Then was
the

the re-
bels were af-
ter the earle
of Warwicke

the herald
of armes sent
to offer the re-
bels their
pardon.

Forreie the
herald made
a long dis-
course to the
rebels, for the
reducing of
them to good
order.

Robert
het.

Edward
was
lord of a
residence.

According to
the earle
of Warwicke.

The Wasen
gate.

Virgil.

Carter laden
with munition
on taken by
the rebels.

Gentlemen
slaine.

h h h h.

Order taken
for the safe
keeping of
the citie.

the erle of Warwicke take order for the safe keeping of the citie, appointing watch and ward to be kept on the walles, and in euerie street. Also that all the gates should be rammed vp, except one or two that stood towards the enemies, at the which were planted certaine peeces of the great artillerie.

Alexander
Newill.

But the rebels understanding that the earle of Warwicke wanted powder and other things appertaining to the vse of the great ordinance, and withall perceiuing that the Welshmen which were appointed to the gard of the said great peeces of artillerie were no great number, and therefore not able to resist anie great force that should come against them, they came downe the hill vpon the sudden as it were wholie together in most outrageous manner. And withall one pyles that was a verie perfect gunner, and maruelous skillfull in the feat of shooting of great artillerie, and at that time remaining among the rebels, shot off a peece; and due one of the kings principall gunners, that was attending vpon those peeces of artillerie, which stood thus before the gate. Whom when the rebels perceiued thus to be slaine, they made forward with more courage, and gaue such a desperate onset vpon them that garded the said artillerie, that their small number, being not able to withstand their aduersaries great and huge multitude pressing in such furious rage vpon them, that they were constrained to flee backe, and to leaue the artillerie for a preie vnto the enemies, who seizing vpon the same, conueied them awaie with certaine carts laden with all manner of munition for wars vp to their campe: a matter (as was thought) of no small importance, sith the enemies thereby were furnished now with such things, whereof before they stood most in need, and now hauing store thereof, they spared not liberallie to bestow it against the citie, beating downe not onlie the highest top of Bishops gate, but also a great part of the wals on that side.

The rebels
take certaine
peeces of ar-
tillerie from
the earle of
Warwicke.

Captaine
Dzurie.

And here trulie the good seruice of captaine Dzurie is not to be forgotten, who now as earli being readie to reuenge this iniurie, following vpon the enemies, put them to flight, and recouered much of that which they had taken from the earls souldiers. The earle of Warwicke after this cut off the entries at the gates, and rampired them vp, placed at the bridges and turnings of the waies and streets diuers bands of souldiers to keepe the passages, brake downe the White friers bridge, and at Bishops gate he appointed the lord Willoughbie with a great number of souldiers to defend that part, & in this sort he made provision to defend the citie from the rebels, if they should attempt to make anie surpris vpon the sudden.

The next daie yet they passing ouer the river, set fire on certaine houses at Connessforth, burning the more part of all the houses of two parishes: and so great was the rage of the fire, that catching hold vpon an house wherein the merchants of Nozwich vse to laie vp such wares and merchandize as they conueie to their citie from Permouth, the same house with great store of wheat and other riches was miserablie consumed and defaced. Thus whilest euerie thing seemed to chance and fall out in fauour of the rebels, there were some in the earle of Warwicks armie, that despairing of the whole successe of their tournee, came to the earle of Warwicke, and began to persuaide with him, that sith the citie was large, and their companies small (for in deed the whole appointed numbers as yet were not come, neither of strangers nor Englishmen) it was impossible to defend it against such an huge multitude as were assembled together in their campe, and therefore besought him to regard his owne safetie, to leaue the citie, and not to hazard all vpon such an vncertaine

Councell gi-
uen to the erle
of warwicke
to abandon
the citie.

maine chance.

The earle of Warwicke as he was of a noble and invincible courage, baliant, hardie, and not able to abide anie spot of reproch, whereby to lose the least peece of honour that might be, made this answer: Whie (saith he) and do your harts faile you so some? Are you so mad withall, to thinke that so long as anie life resteth in me, that I will consent to such dishonour? Should I leaue the citie, heaping vp to my selfe and likewise to you such shame and reppose as woorthilie might be reputed an infamie to vs for ever? I will rather suffer whatsoeuer either fire or sword can worke against me. These words being vttered with such a courage as was maruelous to consider, he drew out his sword. Which other of the honorable and woorthipfull that were then present likewise did, whome he commanded that each one should kisse others sword, according to an ancient custome used amongst men of war in time of great danger: and herewith they made a solemne vow, binding it with a solemne oth, that they should not depart from thence, till they had either vanquished the enemies, or lost their liues in manfull fight for defence of the kings honour.

Whilest these things were in doing, the rebels brake into the citie on that side, where was no suspicion of their entring at all; but being come almost to the bridges, they were encountered by the souldiers, beaten backe, and chased out by the same waie they came. The next daie being the six and twentieth of August, there came to the earle 1400 lancequenets. The rebels notwithstanding that such reinforcement of the earles power might haue somewhat discouraged them, yet trusting altogether to certaine baine prophesies, which they had among them, and set out in verses by such wilfards as were there with them in the campe, they had conceiued such a baine hope of prosperous successe in their businesse, that they little esteemed anie power that might come against them.

Among other of those same verses, these were two: The countie gnuffes, Hob, Dick, and Hick,
with clubs and clowted shoon,
Shall fill vp Dussin dale with blood
of slaughtered bodies soone.

Vpon hope therefore of this and other baine prophesies, the rebels through the diuels procurement, that had nourished and pricked them forward all this while in their wicked proceedings, determined to remoue thither, to the end that they might with more speed make an end of the matter, before they should be dztuen to disperse themselves by famine. For the earle of Warwicke had taken order to haue the passages stopped, in such wise as no vittells could easilie be conueied to their campe, the want whereof began already to pinch them. Here vpon setting fire on their cabins, which they had raised and built here and there of timber and bushes (the smoke whereof covered all the grounds about them) they came downe with their ensignes into the ballie called Dussin dale, where with all speed that might be they intrenched themselves about, and raising a rampe of a good height, set stakes also round about them, to keepe off the horsemen.

The earle of Warwicke perceiuing their doings, the next daie being the seuen and twentieth of August with all his horsemen, and the Almans with captaine Dzuries band, issued forth of the citie, marching straight towards the enemies. Yet before he approached in sight of them, he sent sir Edmund Beauchamp & sir Thomas Palmer knights, with others, to understand of them, whether now at length they would submit themselves, & receiue the kings pardon; which if they would do, he offered to grant it freele to all the whole multitude, one or two of them onlie excepted:

The earle
of warwicke

Lancequenets come to
the earle of
Warwicke.

The rebels
trust in baine
prophesies.

The number
of the rebels
same.

The rebels
remoue.

The earle of
warwicke go-
eth forth to
fight the ene-
mies battell.

Pardon offered
to the rebels.

Part on ch
red

n. Dom. 1549

An. Reg. 3.

able and the earle
able to answere.
he least
answer:
I come:
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Lancome-
nets come to
the earle of
Warwicke.

The rebels
trust in bome
prophecies.

The rebels
remoued.

The earle of
Warwicke go-
eth forth to
giue the eni-
mies battell.

Part on
red.

red: but they with generall voices refusing it, the earle fell in hand to encourage his people unto the battell, and hauing appointed as well the horsemen as footmen in what order they should giue the charge, they passed forward in approaching the enimies. The rebels beholding them thus to come forward, put themselves in order of battell, in such manner, that all the gentlemen which had bene taken prisoners, and were kept in irons for starting awaie, were placed in the fore ranke of their battell, coupled two and two together, to the end they might be killed by their owne friends that came to seeke their deliuerance: but yet as God would haue it, the most part of them were saued. Besides the maister gunner among the rebels, leuelling a peece of ordnance, shot it off, and strooke him that carried the kings standard in the thigh, and the horse through the shoulder.

The earle of Warwicke and others fore grieved therewith, caused a whole bolie of artillerie to be shot off at the rebels: and here with capteine Durie with his owne band, & the Almans or lanceknights, whether yelid to call them, on foot, getting nere to the enimies, hailed them with their barquebut shot so sharplie, and thrust forward upon them with their pikes so stronglie, that they brake them in sunder. The gentlemen, who (as we haue said) were placed in the fore ranke, found meanes (as god hath was) to shrinke aside, and escaped the danger for the more part, although some indeed were slaine by the Almans, and other that knew not what they were. The light horsemen of the kings part herewith gaue in amongst them so roundlie, that the rebels not able to abide their valiant charge, were easilie put to flight, and with the foremost their grand capteine Robert Ket galloped awaie so fast as his horse would beare him. The horsemen following in chase, slue them downe on heapes, ever still as they ouertake them; so that the chase continuing for the space of three or foure miles, there were slaine to the number of three thousand five hundred at the least: besides a great multitude that were wounded as they fled here and there ech waie forth, as seemed best to serue their turne for their most speedie escape out of danger. Yet one part of them that had not bene assailed at the first onset, seeing such slaughter made of their fellows, kept their ground by their ordinance, and thanke not: determining as men desperatlie bent, not to be breuenged, but to fight it out to the last man.

They were so inclosed with their carts, carriages, trenches (which they had cast) and stakes pitched in the ground to keepe off the force of horsemen, that it would haue bene somewhat dangerous to haue assailed them within their strength. But sure they were that now they could not escape, seeing no small part of their whole numbers were cut off and distressed, and they inuironed on ech side, without hope of succour or reliefe of vittels, which in the end must needs haue forced them to come forth of their inclosure to their vndoubted overthrow and destruction. The earle of Warwicke yet pittieing their case, and loth that the king should lose so manie stout mens bodies as were there amongst them, which might do his maiestie and their countrie good seruice, if they could be reclaimed from this their desperat follie bringing them pardon of life if they would throw downe their weapons and yeld: if not, he threatened that there should not a man of them escape the deserved punishment. Their answer was, that if they might be assured to haue their liues saued, they could be contented to yeld: but they could haue no trust that promise should be kept with them. For notwithstanding all such faire offers of pardon, they took it that

there was nothing meant but a subtil practise, to bring them into the hands of their aduersaries the gentlemen, that had prepared a barrel of ropes and halters, with which they purposed to trusse them by: and therefore they would rather die like men, than to be strangled at the wils and pleasures of their more tall enimies.

The earle of Warwicke right sozie to see such desperat minds among them, sent to the citie, and caused the most part of the footmen which he had left there to defend the same, to come forth now in battell arrate, that they might helpe to distresse those wilfull rebels that thus obstinatelie refused the kings pardon. And hauing brought as well them as the Almans and the horsemen in order of battell againe, and readie now to set upon the rebels, he likewise sent unto them to know that if he should come himselfe and giue his word, that they should haue their pardon, whether they would receiue it or not. Hereunto they answered, that they had such confidence in his word, that if he would so do, they would giue credit thereto, and submit themselves to the kings mercie. Incontinentlie hereupon he went unto them, and commanded Porreie to read the kings pardon freely granted to all that would yeld. Which being read, euery man threw downe his weapon, and with one whole and entier voice cried, God saue king Edward, God saue king Edward. And thus thorough the prudent policie, and fauourable mercie of the earle of Warwicke, a great number of those offenders were preserved from the gates of death, into the which they were readie to enter.

Thus were the Norfolk rebels subdued by the high prowesse, wisdome, and policie of the valiant earle of Warwicke, and other the nobles, gentlemen, & faithfull subiects there in the kings armie: but not without losse of diuers personages of great worth, beside other of the meaner sort, namely maister Henrie Willoughbie esquier, a man so well beloued in his countrie for his liberalitie in housekeeping, great courtesie, byright dealing, assured steadfastnes in friendship, & modest staednes in behaviour, that the countries where his liuings laie lament the losse of so worthy a gentleman euen to this date. There died also maister Lucie esquier, maister Foster esquier, and maister Throckmorton of Northamptonshire, gentlemen of no small credit and worship in their countries. The battell being thus ended, all the spoile gotten in the field was giuen to the soldiers, who sold the most part thereof openlie in the market place of Norwich. The next daie the earle of Warwicke was aduertised that Ket, being crept into a barne, was taken by two seruants of one maister Riches of Swanington, and brought to the house of the same Riches. Hereupon were twentie horsemen sent thither to fetch him, who brought him to Norwich. The same daie examinations were taken of them that were the principall beginners and setters forth of this unhappie rebellion, and diuerse being found gilty were hanged, and nine of the chiefe procurers of all the mischief (Robert Ket and his brother William onelie excepted) were hanged vpon the oke of reformation, besides the number & two of their prophets being three of that number.

Some others of them were drabone, hanged, and quartered, & their heads and quarters set vp in publicke places for a terror to others. But yet the earle of Warwicke spared manie, where some would gladlie haue persuaded him, that there might haue bene a great number more executed. But his lordship perceiving them importunate in that incharitable sute, told them (as it were in fauour of life of those sillie wretches, whose miserable case he seemed to pittie) that measure must be vsed in all things, & in punish-

Pardon once
giue office
red.

They yeld to
the earle of
Warwicke.

Gentlemen
slaine in this
rebellion.

Ket taken.

Execution.

The earle of
Warwicke
doeth mercie.

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ling

ing of men by death (saith he) we ought alwaies to beware that we passe not the same. I know well that such wicked doings deserue no small reuenge, and that the offenders are worthy to be most sharplie chastised. But how farre yet shall we go? Shall we not at length shew some mercie? Is there no place for pardon? What shall we then do? Shall we hold the plough our selues; plaie the carters and labour the ground with our owne hands. These and such like words tastig altogether of mercie and compassion in that noble earle, did quench the cruell desire of reuenge in them that were altogether kindled in wrath and wished nothing moze than to see the whole multitude executed: but now moued with the earles wise and mercifull answer to their rigorous sute, they became moze mild and mercifull towards the miserable creatures.

This also is not to be forgotten, that when information was giuen against some of the rebels, for that they had bene busie fellowes, & great doers in time of those vpproes, so as it was thought of some, that it stood with god reason to haue them punished by death, when the earle of Warwike vnderstood by credible report of Doctore king at armes, that vpon the offer of the kings pardon, they were the first that theyr downe their weapons, and submitted themselves to the kings mercie, the earle would not in a nie wise consent that they should die, but protested frankeite that he would keepe promise with them, and that he would be as good to them as his word: and so they had their liues saued. The same daie was order giuen by the earle that the bodies of them that were slaine in the field should be buried. On the morrow being the nine and twentieth of August, the earle of Warwike, with the nobles and gentlemen of the armie, and others in great numbers, both men and women, went to saint Peters church, and there gaue praises and thanks to God for the victorie obtained. And this done, he with all the armie departed out of the citie, and returned homewards with high commendation of citizens & others, that acknowledged the said earle to be the defender of their liues, and recoverer of their wiues, children, houses, and liuinges.

It was afterwards ordeined, that vpon the same daie in the which the rebels were thus subdued, the citizens yearelie should repaire to their churches, and there to heare sermice, and to haue a sermon abroad, to the which they should come together, to giue thanks to God for their deliuerance as that daie, and this is obserued till these our times. Robert Ket and his brother William Ket were brought vp to London, where they were committed to the tower, and shortly after arraigned of their treason and found guiltie, were brought to the tower againe, where they continued till the nine and twentieth of Nouember, on which daie they were deliuered to sir Edmund Windham high shiriffe of Dorsetholke and Suffolke, to be conueied downe into Dorsetholke, where Robert Ket was hanged in chains vpon the top of Dorsetholke castell: and William Ket his brother on the top of Windmondham Steple, in which towne they had both dwelled, and conspired with others to go forward with their wicked rebellion.

This William Ket (as was thought) had bene sure of his pardon, if he had not plaid the traitorous hypocrite: for vpon his submission at the first to my lord marquisse of Dorsethampton, at his comming downe to suppress this rebellion, he was sent to his brother to perswade him and the rest to yeld, and receiue the kings pardon: but he (like a dissembling lutchie, although he promised to my lord to do what he could in that behalfe) vpon his comming to his brother into the rebels campe, beholding the great multitude that were there about him, he did not one-

lie not dissuade him and them from their traitorous rebellion, but encouraged them to persist and continue in their doings, declaring what a small number of souldiers the marquisse brought with him, nothing able to resist such a puissance as was there assembled. So that if it had not bene through the wicked perswasion of him, and some others at that time, not onelic Robert Ket himselfe, but also all the multitude beside, would haue submitted themselves, and receiued the kings pardon, to the preservation of manie a good mans life that after died in the quarrell.

But now to retorne somewhat backe to the doings in Scotland. In the meane while that such huris were in hand here in England, ye shall vnderstand that in the beginning of this summer, the king by aduise of his counsell sent forth a nauie by sea towards Scotland, the which arrtiuing in the Forth, and comming before Lieth, saluted the towne with cannon shot, & remaining there ten or twelue daies, took in the meane time the Ile of Jusketh, leaving therein foure ensignes of Englishmen, and one of Italians, with certeine pioners to fortifie the place. But the Frenchmen (as in the Scottish historie ye shall find moze at large) after the departure of the English nauie, recovered that Ile againe out of the Englishmens possession (after they had kept it fixtē daies) with the slaughter of capteine Cotton their generall, capteine Applebie, & one Jasper that was capteine of the Italians, beside others. After the recovering of this Ile, monsieur de Desse returned into France, leauing his charge to monsieur de Thermes latelie before there arrived: who after the departure of the said Desse, with a campe volant did what he could to stop the Englishmen within Vadington from vittels. But notwithstanding the earle of Rutland being lieutenant of the north, did not onlie vittell it, but put the French armie in danger of an ouerthrow, as it was thought must needs haue followed, if they had not with moze speed than is vsed in a common march kept alwaie, after they perceiued the English armie so neare at their elbowed.

Moreover, beside these inordinate vpproes and insurrections aboue mentioned, about the latter end of the said moneth of Iulie, in the same yeare, which was 1549, an other like sturre or commotion began at Semer in the north: siding of Dorsetholke, and continued in the eastriding of the same, and there ended. The principall doers and raiuers by whereof, was one William Dmbler of Eastbedderton peoman, and Thomas Dale parish cleark of Semer, with one Steuenfon of Semer, neighbour to Dale and nephew to Dmbler, which Steuenfon was a meane or messenger betwene the said Dmbler and Dale, being before not acquainted together, and dwelling seuen miles one from the other: who at last by the trauell of the said Steuenfon, and their owne euill dispositions, inclined to vngratiousnesse and mischief, knowing before one the others mind by secret conference, were brought to talke together on saint James daie, Anno 1549.

The causes mouing them to raise this rebellion, were these. First & principally their traitorous hartis grudging at the kings most goodlie proceedings, in aduancing and reforming the true honour of God and his religion. An other cause also was, for trusting to a blind and a fantasticall prophesie, wherewith they were seduced, thinking the same prophesie should shortly come to passe, by bearing the rebellions of Dorsetholke, of Denonshire, and other places. The reason of which prophesie and purpose together of the traitors was, that there should no king reigne in England, the noblemen and gentlemen to be destroyed, and the realme to be ruled by foure gouernours,

The slaine
carcasses buried.

The two
Kets executed.

William Ket a
dissembling
traitor.

Justices
taken.

Monsieur de
Desse returned
into France.

The earle of
Rutland.

M. Fox.
An other
bellion or
mult began
in Yorkshire.

The chiefe
surreys of
this rebellion.

The causes
mouing the
rebellion.

A blind
prophesie
among
the traitors
mouing
them.

The desire of
rebels how
compassionate
in purpose.

The desire
of rebels how
compassionate
in purpose.

¶ The hurt of feditiō how greuous
it is to a common-wealth, set out by sir Iohn
Cheeke knight, in the year 1549.

The true subiect to the rebell.



Althow so manie and notable benefits,
wherewith God hath alreadie and plen-
tifullie indued vs, there is nothing more
beneficiall, than that we haue by his
grace kept vs quiet from rebellion at this time. For
we see such miseries hang ouer the whole state of the
common-wealth, through the great misorder of your
feditiō, that it maketh vs much to reioyse, that we
haue bene neither partners of your doings, nor con-
spirers of your counsels. For euen as the Lacede-
monians for the auoiding of drunkennesse did cause
their sons to behold their seruants when they were
drunke, that by beholding their beastlinesse, they
might auoid the like vice: euen so hath God like a
mercifull father staied vs from your wickednesse,
that by beholding the filth of your fault, we might
fustlie for offense abhorre you like rebels, whome
else by nature we loue like Englishmen. And so for
our selues, we haue great cause to thanke God, by
whose religion and holie word daile taught vs, we
learne not onelie to feare him trulie, but also to o-
beie our king faithfullie, and to serue in our olone
vocation like subiects honestlie. And as for you, we
haue surelie iust cause to lament you as brethren,
and yet suffer cause to rise against you as enemies,
and most iust cause to ouerthrow you as rebels.

For what hurt could be done either to vs priuat-
lie, or to the whole common-wealth generallie, that
is now with mischief so brought in by you, that euen
as we see now the flame of your rage, so shall we
necessarilie be consumed hereafter with the miserie
of the same. Wherefore consider your selues with
some light of vnderstanding, and marke this grie-
uous and horrible fault, which ye haue thus vilelie
committed, how heinous it must needs appeare to
you, if ye will reasonable consider that which for my
duties sake, and my whole countries cause, I will
at this present declare vnto you. Ye which be bound
by Gods word not to obeie for feare like men-plea-
sers, but for conscience sake like christians, haue con-
trarie to Gods holie will, whose offense is enerla-
sting death, and contrarie to the goodlie order of qui-
etnesse, set out to vs in the kings maiesties lawes,
the breach whereof is not vnknotone to you, taken
in hand vncalled of God, vsent by men, vnfit by
reason, to cast awaie your bounden duties of obeie-
nce, and to put on you against the magistrats,
Gods office committed to the magistrats, for the re-
formation of your pretended iniuries. In the which
doing ye haue first faulted grieuouslie against God,
next offended vnnaturallie our soueraigne lord,
thirdlie troubled miserablie the whole common-
wealth, vndone cruellie manie an honest man, and
brought in an bitter miserie both to vs the kings sub-
iects, and to your selues being false rebels. And yet
ye pretend that partlie for Gods cause, and partlie
for the common-wealths sake, ye do arise, when
as your selues cannot denie; but ye that seeke in
word Gods cause, do breake in deed Gods comman-
dements; and ye that seeke the common-wealth,
haue destroyed the common-wealth: and so ye marre
that ye would make, & breake that ye would amend,
because ye neither seeke anie thing rightlie, nor
would amend anie thing orderlie.

Ye that faulteth, faulteth against Gods ordi-
nance, who hath forbidden all faults, and therefore
ought againe to be punished by Gods ordinance, who
is the reformer of faults. For he saith, I caue the pu-

nishment to me, and I will reuenge them. But the
magistrate is the ordinance of God, appointed by
him with the sword of punishment to loke strenght-
lie to all euill doers. And therefore that that is done
by the magistrate, is done by the ordinance of God,
whome the scripture oftentimes doth call God, be-
cause he hath the execution of Gods office. How
then do you take in hand to reforme? Be ye kings:
By what authoritie? By what occasion? Be ye the
kings officers: By what commission? Be ye called
of God: By what tokens declare ye that? Gods
word teacheth vs, that no man should take in hand
anie office, but he that is called of God like Aaron.
What Apolles I praise you called you? What Gods
minister had you rise?

Ye rise for religion. What religion taught you
that? If ye were offered persecution for religion, ye
ought to flie: so Christ teacheth you, and yet you in-
tend to fight. If ye would stand in the truth, ye ought
to suffer like martyrs, and you would stee like ty-
rants. Thus for religion you keepe no religion, and
neither will follow the counsell of Christ, nor the con-
science of martyrs. Why rise ye for religion? Haue
ye anie thing contrarie to Gods booke? Poa, haue
ye not all things agreeable to Gods word? But the
new is different from the old, and therefore ye will
haue the old. If ye measure the old by truth, ye haue
the oldest; if ye measure the old by fanie, then it is
hard: because mens fancies change, to giue that is
old. Ye will haue the old still. Will ye haue anie ol-
der than that as Christ left, & his apostles taught, &
the first church after Christ did vse? Ye will haue that
the chancous do establish. Why that is a great deale
younger than that ye haue, of later time, and newlie
invented. Yet that is it that ye desire. Why then ye
desire not the oldest. And do you preferre the bi-
shops of Rome afore Christ, mens inventions afore
Gods law, the newer sort of worship before the ol-
der? Ye seeke no religion, ye be deceiued, ye seeke
traditions. They that teach you, blind you, that so
instruct you, deceiue you. If ye seeke what the old
doctors saie, yet loke what Christ the oldest of all
saith. For he saith, Before Abraham was made I
am. If ye seeke the truest way, he is the verie truth;
if ye seeke the readiest waie, he is the verie waie; if
ye seeke euerlasting life, he is the verie life. What
religion would ye haue other now, than his religion?

You would haue the bibles in againe. It is no
maruell, your blind guides would leade you blind
still. Why, be ye howlets and backs, that ye can-
not looke on the light? Christ saith to euerie one,
Search ye the scriptures, for they beare witnesse of
Christ. You saie, Vnto in the scriptures, for we will
haue no knowledge of Christ. The apostles of Christ
will vs to be so readie, that we maie be able to giue
euerie man an account of our faith. We will vs not
once to read the scriptures, for feare of knowing of
our faith. Saint Paul praieeth that euerie man may
increase in knowledge: ye desire that our know-
ledge might decaie againe. A true religion ye seeke
belike, and worthe to be sought for. For without
the sword indeed nothing can helpe it, neither Christ,
nor truth, nor age can mainteine it. But why should
ye not like that which Gods word establisheth, the
primitive church hath authorized, the greatest lear-
ned men of this realme haue drawn, the whole con-
sent of the parlement hath confirmed, the kings
maiestie hath set forth? Is it not trulie set out? Can
ye deuise anie truer than Christes apostles vse? Ye
thinke it is not learnedlie done. Were ye commons
take vpon you more learning, than the chosen bi-
shops and clearks of this realme haue? Think ye
folle in it? Ye were wont to iudge your parlement
wisest, & now will ye suddenlie excell them in wis-
dome?

what the La-
cedemonians
did to make
their sons de-
test drunken-
nesse.

Rebellion a
verie grie-
uous and ho-
rrible offense a-
gainst God,
the prince,
and the state.

Rebellion do
lawfull in the
sense of true
religion. Eye
much more
vnderstanding
maintenance
of false reli-
gion, &c.

A principal
point of reli-
gion for re-
bels special
to learne.

The rebell
of feditiō
is a verie
common:
for, it is the
cause of the
king.

what all or
not looke to
beare like
rule.

The necessi-
tie beareth
the life of the
bible, and con-
trariety.

Adagfro
ere to be h
re both i
speech and
manners.

To haue
progress &
no ineq-
uallitie in
ment.

The precept
of S. Peter
teaching the
right waie to
riches and
honour.

them againe. If ye would follow his will, and obaie his commandments, ye should eat the fruits of the earth, saith the prophet; if not, the sword shall deuour you. Ye might haue eaten the fruits of this seasonable yeere, if ye had not by disobedience rebelled against God. Now not onelie ye can not eat that which your felices did first sowe by labour, and now destroye by sedition; but also if the kings maiesties sword came not against you, as iust policie requi-
reth, yet the iust vengeance of God would light a-
mong you, as his word promisseth, and your cruell
wickednesse deserueth.

The act of rebellion aggravated, & proved most wicked and horrible.

For what fouler the causes be that haue moued
your wild affections herin, as they be vniuersall causes,
& increase your faults much, the thing it selfe, the ris-
sing I meane, must needs be wicked and horrible be-
fore God, and the blurring of authoritie, and taking
in hand of rule, which is the sitting in Gods seat of
iustice, and a proud climbing vp into Gods high
throne, must needs be not onelie cursed newelie by
him, but also hath bene often punished afore of him.
And that which is done to Gods officer, God accom-
teth it done to him. For they despise not the mini-
ster, as he saith himselfe, but they despise him: and
that presumption of chalenging Gods seat, doth
shew you to haue bin Lucifers, and the woe is that
God will punish you like Lucifers. Wherefore right-
ly I looke, as ye durke haue deserved, either for great
vengeance for your abhominable transgression, or
else earnestlie repent, with vniueined minds, your
wicked doings; and either with example of death be
content to dehort other, or else by faithfullnesse of obe-
dience declare how great a seruice it is to God, to
obey your magistrats faithfullie, and to serue in sub-
jection traile.

An exhorta-
tion to rebels.

Disobedience
to the prince
is a most ab=
ominable
sinne, and that
we are bound
by dutie to o=
b. is.

Well, if he had not thus grievously offended
 God, whome ye ought to worship, what can ye reason-
 able thinke it, to be no fault against the king,
 when ye ought to reuerence? He be bound by Gods
 word to obeye your king, and is it no breach of dutie
 to withstand your king? If the seruant be bound to
 obeye his maister in the familie, is not the subiect
 bound to serue the king in his realme? The child is
 bound to the priuat father, and be we not all bound
 to the common-wealths father? If we ought to be
 subiect to the king for Gods cause, ought we not then
 to praye you to be faithfullie subiect to the king? If
 we ought dutifullie to shew all obedience to heathen
 kings, shall we not willingly and trulie be subiect
 to christian kings? If one ought to submit himselfe
 by humilitie to another, ought we not all by dutie to
 be subiect to our king? If the members of our natu-
 rall bodie all follow the head, shall not the members
 of the politicall bodie all obeye the king? If good ma-
 ners be content to giue place the lower to the high-
 er, shall not religion teach vs alwaie to giue place to
 the highest? If true subiects will die gladielie in the
 kings seruice, should not all subiects thinke it dutie
 to obeye the king with iust seruice. But you haue not
 onelie disobeyed like ill subiects, but also taken stout-
 ly rule vpon you like wicked magistrates.

A notable and
rhetoricall
clause, and to
the purpose.

pe haue bene called to obedience by counsell of pzinat men, by the aduise of the kings maiesties counsell, by the kings maiesties free pardon. But what counsell taketh place, where surdineſſe is law and churlish answers be counted wiſdome? Who can perſuade where treason is about reason, and might ruleth right, and it is had for lawfull whatſoeuer is luſſfull, and commotioners are better than commiſſioners, and common too is named common-wealth? Haue ye not broken his lawes, diſobeyed his counsell, rebelled againſt him? And what is the common-wealth worth, when the law which is indifferent for all men, ſhall be willfullie and ſpitefullie

broken of head-strong men, that seke against lawes
to order lawes; that those may take place, not what
consent of wisse men hath appointed, but what the
lust of rebels hath determined? What unthriftine-
is in ill seruants, wickednes in vnnaturall children,
sturdinesse in brutish lubbers, crueltie in fierce en-
emies, wilddnes in brastle mindes, pride in disdainfull
harts; that slowly now in you, which haue fled from
houised conspiracies, to incamped robberies, and are
better contented to suffer famine, cold, trauell, to
glut your lusts, than to liue in quietnesse to saue the
common-wealth, and thinke more libertie in wilful-
nesse, than wisdome in dutifullnesse, and so run head-
long not to the mischief of other, but to the destruc-
tion of your selues, and vnder by follic that ye intend
by mischief, neither seeing how to remedie that ye
iudge faultie, nor willing to saue your selues from
miserie; which stiffneckednesse cannot do, but home-
sie of obedience must frame.

20 If authoritie would serue vnder a king, the coun-
cell haue greatest authoritie; if wisdome and grant-
tie might take place, they be of most experience; if
knowledge of the common-wealth could helpe, they
must by ballie conference of matters vnderstand it
best; yet neither the authoritie that the kings maie-
stie hath giuen them, nor the grauntie which you know
to be in them, nor the knowledge which with great
trauell they haue gotten, can moue you either to
keepe you in the dutie ye ought to do, or to auoid the
30 great disorder therein ye be. For there disobedience
is thought stoutnesse, and sallennes is counted man-
hood, and stomaching is courage, and prating is lub-
berd wisdome, and the clusthest is most met to rule;
how can other iust authoritie be obied, or sad coun-
sell be followed, or godd knowledge of matters be
heard, or commandements of counsellors be con-
sidered? And how is the king obied, whose wisest be
withstanded, the disobedientest obied, the high in au-
thoritie not weied, the vnskillfullest made chiefe cap-
teins, to the noblest most hurt intended, the brag-
gingest braller to be most safe? And euen as the vic-
40 iler parts of the bodie would contend in knowledge
& gouernement with the fine wits: so do the lower
parts of the common-wealth enterpryse as high a
matter, to striue against their dutie of obedience to
the counsell.

¶ What talke I of disobedience to quietnesse: haue
 not such mad rages run in your heads, that forsa-
 king and bursting the quietnesse of the common
 peace, ye haue heinouisie and traitorouisie incamped
 50 your selues in field, and there like a bile in a bobie,
 naie like a sinke in a tobole, haue gathered together
 all the nasty vagabonds and idle loiters to beare
 armour against him, whome all goodlie and good sub-
 iects will liue and die withall. If it be a fault when
 two fight together, and the kings peace broken, and
 punishment to be sought therefore; can it be but an
 outrageous and detestable mischiefe, when so manie
 rebels in number, malicious in mind, mischievous
 60 in enterprise, fight not among themselves, but a-
 gainst all the kings true and obedient subiects; and
 seeke to proue whether rebellion may beat downe
 honestie, and wickednesse may overcome truth o:
 no: If it be treason to speake heinouisie of the kings
 maiestie, who is not hurt thereby, and the infamie re-
 turneth to the speaker againe; what kind of outra-
 gious & horrible treason is it, to assemble in campe
 an armie against him, and so not onelie intend an o-
 uerthrow to him, and also to his common-wealth;
 but also to cast him into an infamie, though all out-
 ward and strange nations, and perswade them that
 he is hated of his people, whome he can not rule; and
 that they be no better than bilans, which will not
 with godd orders be ruled:

what

The rebelle
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With most be-
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The kings
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The kings
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dience: yore.

The action of
rebellion pro-
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nous, intol-
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the death cri-
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council.

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the death cri-
me, enough for
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council.

The applica-
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The applica-
tion of the for-
mer compar-
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reuerence.

What death can be deuised cruell enough for those
rebels, who with trouble seeke death, and can not
quench the thirst of their rebellion, but with the blood
of true subiects; and hate the kings mercifull par-
don, when they miserable haue transgressed, and in
such an outrage of mischief will not by stubborne-
acknowledge themselves to haue faulted, but intend
to bzoile the common-wealth with the flame of
their treason, and as much as lieth in them not one
to annoie themselves, but to deströie all others: He
that is discontented with things that happen, and
because he cannot beare the miserie of them, renteth
his beare, and teareth his skin, & mangleth his face,
which easeth not his sorow, but increaseth his mis-
erie; maie he not be iustlie called mad and fantasti-
call, and wozthie whose wisdom should be suspec-
ted? And what shall we saie of them, who being in
the common-wealth, seeing a soe greuous vnto
them, and easie to haue bene amended, sought not
the remedie, but haue increased the greife, and like
frantike beasts raging against their head, do teare
and deface as much as lieth in them his whole autho-
ritie in gouernement, and violentlie take to them-
selues that rule vpon them, which he by policie hath
granted vnto other?

And who weieing well the beauntesse of the fault,
maie not iustlie saie and hold them to be worse here-
in than any kind of brute beasts? For we see that the
shepe will obeie the shepheard, and the neat be ru-
led by the neatheard, and the hösse will know his
keeper, and the dog will be in awe of his maister, and
euerie one of them feed there, and of that, as his kee-
per and ruler doth appoint him, & goeth from thence,
and that, as he is forbidden by his ruler. And yet we
haue not heard of, that anie heard of companie of
these haue risen against their heardsman or gouer-
nour, but be alwaies contented not onelie to obeie
them, but also to suffer them to take profit of them.
And we see furthermore, that all heards, & all fozts,
be more egre in fiercenesse against all kind of stran-
gers, than they be against their owne rulers, & will
easier offend him who hath not hurt them, than
touch their ruler who seeketh profit on them.

But ye that ought to be gouerned by your ma-
gistrates, as the heards by the heardsman, and ought
to be like shepe to your king, who ought to be like a
shepheard vnto you, euen in the time when your
profit was sought, and better redresse was intended,
than your vpsirs and vniquietnesse could obtaine,
haue beyond the crueltie of all beasts foliue risen a-
gainst your ruler, and sheued your selues wozthie to
be ordered like beasts, who in kind of obedience will
fall from the state of men. A dog stropeth when he is
beaten of his maister, not for lacke of stomach, but
for naturall obedience: you being not striken of
your head but fauoured, not kept downe but succou-
red and remedied by law, haue violentlie against
law not onclie barked like beasts, but also bitten
like helhoundes. What? Is the mischief of sedition
either not knowne vnto you, or not feared? Haue
not examples aforesayd both told the end of rebels,
and the wickednesse of rebellion it selfe? But as for
old examples, let them passe for a while, as things
well to be considered. But at this present one thing
more to be weied.

Loke vpon your selues, after ye haue wickedlie
stept into this horrible kind of treason, doe ye not see
how manie bottomlesse whirlpooles of mischief ye
be gulst withall, and what lossefull kinds of rebel-
lion ye be faine to wade through? Ye haue sent out
in the kings name, against the kings will, precepts
of all kinds, & without commandement com-
manded his subiects, and vniustlie haue ruled where ye
liued to command, thinking your owne fancies the

kings commandements, and reles luffs in things
to be right gouernement of things, not looking what
should follow by reason, but what your selues follow
by affection. And is it not a dangerous and a cruell
kind of treason, to giue out precepts to the kings
people? There can be no iust execution of lawes, re-
formation of faults, giuing out of commandements,
but from the king. For in the king onelie is the right
herof, & the authoritie of him deriued by his appoint-
ment to his ministers. Ye hauing no authoritie of
the king, but taking it of your selues, what thinke ye
your selues to be? Ministers ye be none, except ye be
the diuels ministers, for he is the author of sedition.

The kings maiestie intendeth to mainteine
peace, and to oppresse warre; ye stirre by vpozers of
people, huriburles of vagabonds, routs of robbers.
Is this anie part of the kings ministerie? If a vaga-
bond would do what he list, and call himselfe your
seruant, and execute such offices of trust, whether ye
would or no, as ye haue committed vnto another
mans credit, what would euerie one of you saie or
do herein? Would ye suffer it? Ye wander out of
houses, ye make euerie daie new matters as it
pleaseth you, ye take in hand the execution of those
things, God by his word forbidding the same; which
God hath put the magistrates in trust withall. What
can ye saie to this? Is it sufferable thinke ye? If ye
told a pssuat message in another mans name, can it
be but a falselie I praie you? And to tell a feined
message to the common-wealth, and that from the
king, can it be honest thinke ye? To command is
more than to speake: what is it then to command so
traitorous a lie? This then which is in word a deceit-
full lie, and in deed a traitorous fact, noisome to the
common-wealth, vnhonourable to the king, mischie-
fous in you, how can ye otherwise iudge of it, but to
be an vheard of and notable disobedience to the
king: and therefore by notable example to be puni-
shed, and not with gentlenesse of pardon to be for-
giuen: Ye haue robbed euerie honest house, and spoil-
ed them vniustlie, and pssioullie wronged poze men
being no offenders, to their vtter vndoiing; and yet
ye thinke ye haue not broken the kings lawes. The
kings maiesties law and his commandement is,
that euerie man should safelie keepe his owne, and
use it reasonable to an honest gaine of his liuing:
ye violentlie take and carie awaie from men with-
out cause, all things whereby they should mainteine,
not onelie themselves, but also their familie, & leaue
them so naked, that they shall feele the smart of your
curst enterprisse, longer than your owne vnnatu-
rall & vngodlie stomachs would well vouchsafe. By
iustice ye should neither hurt nor wrong man, and
your pretended cause of this monstrous stur is to
increase mens wealth. And yet how manie, and saie
truth, haue ye decayed and vndone, by spoiling and
taking awaie their goods? How should honest men
liue quietlie in the common-wealth at anie time, if
their goods, either gotten by their owne laboz, or left
to them by their friends, shall vnlawfullie and vno-
derlie, to the feeding of a sort of rebels, be spoiled and
wasted, and vtterlie scattered abroad? The thing that
ye take is not your right, it is an other mans owne.
The maner of taking against his will is vnlawfull,
& against the order of euerie godd common-wealth.
The cause why ye take it is mischievous and horrible,
to sat your sedition. Ye that take it be wicked trait-
ors, and common enemies of all good order.

If he that desireth an other mans goods or cat-
tel, do fault: what doth he (thinke you) whose desire
taking followeth, and is led to and fro by lust, as his
wicked fantasie void of reason doth guide him? He
that vseth not his owne well and charitable, hath
much to answer for: and shall they be thought not
vniust,

The rebels
outrageous
and intoler-
able demean-
descried.

Their disobe-
dience nota-
rious.

The rebels
offend against
the law of ius-
tice & equitie.

The former
matter behe-
mentlie bagged.

The rebels
are still char-
ged with their
rapines, and
violentlie
inferred
wrongs.

Libertie des-
red about all
things.

* Fit epithets
and terms for
head and taile
of this rebel-
lion.

The offense
of excluding
the kings sub-
jects from the
benefit of li-
bertie aggra-
uated.

binisſe, who not onelie take awate other mens , but
also misuſe and waſt the ſame vngodelie : They that
take things priuileie awate , and ſeale ſecretlie and
conuertlie other mens goods , be by law iudged wor-
the death : and ſhall thei that without ſhame ſpoile
things openlie , and be not affraid by impuement to
proſeſſe their ſpoile, be thought either honeſt creatures
to God, or faithfull ſubiectes to their king, or naturall
men to their countrie : If nothing had moued you
but the example of miſchaunce, and the ſoule praictiſe of
other moued by the ſame, ye ſhould yet haue abſte-
ined from ſo licentious and vilanous a ſhew of rob-
berie, conſidering how manie honeſter there be, that
being loſt their wickedneſſe ſhould be blazed abrode,
yet be found out by prouidence , and hanged foꝛ deſ-
ſert . What ſhall we then thinke of ſate of you :
Shall we call you pickers , or hid theues ; naie moze
than theues, daie theues, heard ſealers , thire ſpoi-
lers , and bitter deſtroiers of all kinds of families,
both among the poore and alſo among the rich . Let
vs yet further ſee . Be there no moe things wherein ye
haue broken the kings laws , and ſo vilelie diſobei-
him , ſhat contrarie to your bounden dutie and alle-
giance :

giance?
 We haue not onelie spoiled the kings true fabricks
 of their goods, but also ye haue imprisoned their bo-
 dies, which should be at libertie vnder the king, and
 restrained them of their seruice, which by dutie they
 owe the king, and appaied both strength and health,
 wherewith they liue and serue the king. As there a-
 nie honest thing moze desired than libertie: We haue
 shamefullie spoiled them thereof. As there anie
 thing moze dutifull than to serue their lord and mas-
 ter: But as that was desired of the one part, so
 was it hindered and stopped on your part. For nei-
 ther can the king be serued, nor families kept, nor
 the common-wealth looked vnto, where freedom of
 libertie is stopped, and diligence of seruice is hinde-
 red, and the helpe of strength and health abated.
 Mens bodies ought to be free from all mens bon-
 dage and crueltie, and onelie in this realme be sub-
 iet in publike punishment to our publike gouer-
 nour, and neither be touched of headlesse captaines,
 nor bolden of brainlesse rebels. For the gouerne-
 ment of so pretious a thing ought to belong vnto the
 most noble rylar, and not iustlie to be in euerie mans
 powder, which is iustlie euerie lining mans treasure.
 For what goods he is deare to euerie man, as his
 owne bodie is, which is the true vessell of the mind, to
 be incalurable kept of euerie man for all exercises &
 seruices of the mind: If ye may not of your owne
 authoritie meddle with mens goods, much lesse you
 may of your owne authoritie take order with mens
 bodies.

For what be gods in comparison of health, liber-
tie, and strength, which be all setled and fastened in
the bodie : They that strike other, doe greatlie offend,
and be iustlie punishable : and shall they that cruel-
lie and wrongfullie torment mens bodies with
irons and imprisonments, be thought not of others
but of the infernall honest, and plaine, and true dea-
ling men : What shall we say by them, who in a pri-
uat businesse will let a man to go his tourneie in
the kings high waie : Doe they not thinke ye plaine
wrong : When in a common cause not onlie to hin-
der them, but also to deale cruelle with them, and
thrust them from doing their service to the king, and
their dutie to the common-wealth, is it not both dis-
obedience, crueltie, and mischief thinke ye : What
an hinderance is it, to haue a good garment hurt,
and setwell appaired, or anie esteemed thing to be de-
caied : And seeing no earthlie thing a man hath is
more pretious than his body, to cause it to be cruelle
tormented with irons, feebled with cold, weakened

with ordering: can it be thought anie other thing but wrong to the sufferer, crueltie in the doer, & great disobedience and transgression to the king? how then be able to defend it? But seeing ye so impietifullie bere men, cast them in prison, lade them with irons, pine them with famine, contrarie to the rule of nature, contrarie to the kings maiesties lawes, contrarie to God holie ordinaunces, beeing no matter but pretended and faigned gloses, ye be not onelie disobedient to the king like rebels, but withstanding the law of nature like beaſts, and so woorthie to die like dogs, except the kings maiestie, without respect of your deſerving, bee mercifullie grant you of his goodnesse that which you cannot escape by office.

Yet ye being not content with this, as small things enterprise great matters, and as though ye could not satisfie your selues, if ye should leaue anie mischiefed wmdome, haue sought blood with crueltie, and haue flaine of the kings true subiects manie, thinking their murder to be your defense, when as ye haue increased the fault of your vile rebellion, with the horror of bloodshed, and so haue burdened mischief with mischief, whilist it come to an importable weight of mischief. What could we do more, in the horriblest kind of faults, vnto the greatest transgressours and offenders of God and men, than to looke stricte on them by death, and so to rid them out of the common-wealth by severe punishment, whome ye thought vnto worthie to lue among men for their doings? And those who haue not offended the king, but defended his realme, and by obedience of seruice fought to punish the disobedient, and for safegard of euerie man put themselves vnder dutie of law, those haue ye miserable and cruellie flaine, and bathed you in their blood, whose doings ye should haue followed, & not to haue appaied the common-wealth, both by destruction of good men, and also by increase of rebels. And how can that common-wealth by anie means indure, wherin euerie man without authoritie, may vniuersallyd slea whome he list, and that in such case as those who be flaine shew themselves most noble of courage, and most readie to serue the king and the common-wealth, and those as do slea be most vilanous and traitorous rebels that anie common-wealth did ener suffer?

For a citie and a prouince be not the faire houses, and the strong walles, nor the defense of anie engine, but the liuing bodies of men, being able in number and strength to mainteine themselves by god order of iustice, & to serue for all necessarie & prouenable uses in the common-wealth. And then as mans bodie being a part of the whole common-wealth, is wrongfullie toucht anie way, and specially by death, then suffereth the common-wealth great iniurie, and that alwaies so much the more, how honester and nobler he is, who is iniuriously murdered. How was the lord Sheddels handled among you, a noble gentleman, and of god service, both fit for counsell in peace, and for conduct in war, considering either the grauitie of his wisdomme, or the authoritie of his person, or his seruice to the common-wealth, or the hope that all men had in him, or the need that England had of such, or among many notable god, his singular excellencie, or the fauor that all men bare toward him, being loosed of euery man, and hated of no man:

man, and hated of no man:
 Considered ye who should by doctre be the kings
 subiects, either how ye should not haue offended the
 k. or after offence haue received the kings pardon, or
 not to haue refused his goodnesse offered, or at length,
 to haue yielded to his mercie, or not to haue slaine
 those who came for his service, or to haue spared those
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who in danger offered ransome. But all these things forgotten by rage of rebellion, because one madnesse cannot be without infinit vices, ye flew him cruelle, who offered himselfe manslilie, nor would not so much as spare him for ransome, who was worthie for noblesse to haue had honour, & hewed him bare whome ye could not hurt armed, and by flauerie due nobilitie, in deed miserable, in fashion cruelle, in cause diuclihlie. Wh with what cruell spite was violentie sundred so noble a bodie from logodie a mind: Whose death must rather be reuenged than lamented, whose death was no lacke to himselfe, but to his countrie, whose death might euerie way bene better bozne, than at a rebels hand. Violence is in all things hurtfull, but in life horrible. What should I speake of others in the same case, diuerse and notable, whose death for manhood and seruice can want no worthie pzaile, so long as these vglie furters of rebellion can be had in mind. God hath himselfe ioined mans bodie and his soule together, not to be departed asunder, afore he euer disseuer them himselfe, o cause them to be discouered by his minifster.

And shall rebels and heedlesse camps, being armed against God, and in field against their king, thinke it no fault to shed blond of true subiects, hauing neither office of God, nor appointment of minifsters, nor cause of rebellion? He that stealeth anie part of a mans substance, is worthie to lose his life. What shall we thinke then of them, who spoil men of their lives, for the maintenance whereof, not onlie substance & riches be sought for, but also all common welthe be denied? How then, your owne consciences should be made your iudges, & none other set to giue sentence against ye. Seeing ye haue bene such bloudshedders, so heinous manquellers, so horrible murderers, could ye do anie other than plainlie confesse your soule and wicked rebellion to be gracious against God, and traitorous to the king, and hurtfull to the common-wealth? So manie gracious faults meeting together in one sinke, might not one lie haue discouraged, but also giuen to desperation, anie other honest or indifferent mind.

But what fele they, whose hearts so deepe mischæse had hardened, and by vehemencis of affection be made unshamefast, and stop all discourse of reason, to let at large the full scope of their unmeasurable madnesse? What mens goods seme little to your insatiable desires, ye haue wared greedie now upon cities, and haue attempted mightie spoiles, to glut ye (and ye could) your waiking hunger. Oh how much haue they need of, that will neuer be contented, and what riches can suffice anie that will attempt high enterprises aboue their estate? Ye could not mainteine your camps with your priuat goods, with your neighbours portion, but ye must also attempt cities, because ye sought great spoiles, with other mens losses, and had forgotten how ye liued at home honestlie with your owne, and thought them worthie death that would disquiet ye in your house, and plucke awaie that which ye by right of law thought to be your owne. Wherein se what ye would haue done, spoiled the kings maiesties subiects, weakened the kings strength, ouerthrowne his townes, taken awaie his munition, drawne his subiects to like rebellion, yea and as it is among forren enemies in sacking of cities, no doubt thereof, ye would haue fallen to slaughter of men, ransoming of wiues, deslouring of maidens, chopping of children, sacking of houses, beating downe of streets, ouerthrowing of altogither.

For what measure haue men in the increase of madnesse, when they can not at the beginning staie themselves from falling into it. And if the besetting

but of one house to rob if, be inflie damned worthie death: what shall we thinke of them that besiege whole cities for desire of spoile? We liue vnder a king to serue him at all times when he shall need our strength: and shall ye then not onlie withdraw your selues, which ought as much to be obedient as we be, but also violentie plucke other awaie too, fro the dutie vnto the which by Gods commandement all subiects be straitlie bound, and by all lawes eueris nation is naturallie led? The townes be not onlie the ornament of the realme, but also the seat of merchants, the place of handicrafts, that men scattered in villages, and needing diuerse things, made in little rowne know where to find the lacke. To ouerthrow them then, is nothing else but to waist your owne commodities, so that when ye would buie a necessaie thing for monie, ye could not tell where to find the same.

Spunition serueth the king not onlie for the defence of his owne, but also for the inuasion of his enemy. And if ye will then so straitlie deale with him, that ye will not let him so much as defend his owne, ye offer him double iniurie; both that ye let him from doing anie notable fact abroad, and also that ye suffer not him quietlie to inioie his owne at home. But herein hath notable apared what cities haue faithfully serued and suffered extreme danger, not onlie of goods, but also of famine & death, rather than to suffer the kings enemies to enter: and what white liured cities haue not onlie not withstood them, but also with shame fauored them, and with mischief aided them. And I would I might praise herein all cities alike! which I would do, if all were like worthie. For then I might shew more faith in subiects than strength in rebelles, and testifie to men to come, what a generall faith euerie citie bare to the kings maiestie, whose age although it were not fit to rule, yet his subiects hearts were willing to obeie, thinking not onlie of the hope, which all men conceiue hereafter to be in him, but also of the lust kind of gouernment, which in his minority his counsell doth vse among them. And here, how much and how worthie maie Grecester be commended, which being in the middell of rebels, vnittelled, vnfortified, vnprepared for so long a siege, did noble hold out the continuall and dangerous assault of the rebell: For they sustained the violence of the rebell, not onlie they had plentie enough of vittels, but also eleuen or twelue daies after the extreme famine came on them, and liuing without bread, were in courage so manfull, & in dutie so constant, that they thought it yet much better to die the extreme death of hunger, shewing truth to their king, and loue to their countrie, than to giue anie place to the rebell, and fauor him with aid, although they might haue done it with their lesse danger.

Whose example if Norwich had followed, & had not rather giuen place to traitors, than to keepe their dutie; and had not sought more safegard than honestie, and priuat hope more than common quietnesse: they had ended their rebellion sooner, and escaped themselves better, and saued the losse of the worthie lord Shrefeld, in whome was more true seruice for his life, than in them for their goods. And although this can not be spoken against a certeine honest soyt that were amongst them, whose praise was the greater, because they were so few: yet the greater number was such, that they not onlie obeyed the rebell for feare, but also followed him for loue, and did so traitorously order the kings band vnder my lord marquisse, that they suffered more damage out of their houses by the townes men, than they did abroad by the rebelles. Whose fault as the kings maiestie maie pardon, so I would either the example might be forgotten, that no citie might

An argument
from the lesse
to the greater.

The vse and
necessarie ser
uice of townes,
& what it is to
ouerthrow
them.

The vse and
seruice of
munition.

Wherein ap
pared the
faithfull ser
uice of cities.

A god sub
iects with, and
the reason
thereof.

Grecester com
mended for
loue & ioial
seruice to the
king & estate.

Norwich be
traiet with
the example of
Grecester.

Some citie
zens of Nor
wich excusa
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bellion, but
most charge
able therewith
in a high de
gree of disol
utrie.

Exceller no-
ble and true.

might hereafter follow the like, or the deed be so ab-
horred, that others hereafter would avoid the like
shame, & learne to be noble by Exceller, whose trusty
doth not onlie deserue great praises, but also great
reward.

A collection of
beadroll of
certeine out-
rages done
by the rebels.

Who then that would willinglie defend ye, can say
anie thing for ye, which haue so diuerslie faulted, so
traitorously offended, not onlie against priuat men
seuerallie, but also generallie against whole townes,
and that after such a sort, as outward enemies full of
deadlie feud could not more cruellie inuade them?
And thus the kings maiestie dishonored, his counsell
dishonored, the gods of the poze spoiled, the houses of
the wealthie sacked, honest mens bodies imprisoned,
worthie mens personages slaine, cities besieged and
threatened, and all kind of things disordered, can ye
without teares and repentance heare spoken of,
which without honestie and godlinesse ye practised,
and not find in your hearts now to returne to dutie,
which by witchcraft of sedition were poisoned in dis-
order: Have ye not in disorder first grauiously of-
fended God, next traitorously risen against your
king, and so neither worthie euermaking life, as long
as ye so remaine, nor yet ciuill life being in such a
breach of common quietnesse? If euerie one of these
cannot by themselves plucke you backe from this
your lewd and outrageous enterprises, yet let them
altogether stirre ye; or at least be a fearful example to
others, to beware by your vnnecessurable follie, how
they do so far prouoke God, or offend man: and find
by your misemper to be themselves better ordered,
and learne still to obeie, because they would not re-
pent, and so to liue with honestie, that they would
neither willinglie offend Gods law, nor disobey
mans.

Persuasions
to obedience
and honestie.

But and ye were so much bleared, that you did
thinke impossible things, and your reason gaue ye
against all reason, that ye neither displeased God
herein, nor offended the king, yet be ye so blind, that
ye vnderstand not your owne case, nor your neigh-
bors miserie, nor the ruine of the whole common-
wealth, which doth euidentlie folloio your so foule
and detestable sedition? Do ye not see how for the
maintenance of these vngodlie rablements, not on-
lie cities and villages, but also shires and countries
be utterly destroyed? Is not their corne wasted,
their cattell fethed a waie, their houses rised, their
goods spoiled, and all to feed your byrissing without
reason, and to mainteine this tumult of rebellion
invented of the diuell, continued by you, and to be o-
uerthrowen by the power of Gods mightie hand?
And whie should not so hurtfull wasting and harrid-
ing of countries be iustlie punished with great seue-
ritie, seeing robbing of houses, and taking of purfes,
do by law deserue the extremite of death? How
manie suffer iniurie when one hundred of a shire is
spoiled: And what iniurie thinke ye is done; when
not onlie whole shires be destroyed, but also euerie
quarter of the realme touched? Haue ye not brought
vpon vs all povertie, weaknesse, and hatred within
the realme, & discouragement, shame, and damage with-
out the realme? If ye miserable intended not on-
lie to know other, but also to destroy your selues, and
to ouerthrow the whole realme, could ye haue taken
a readier waie to your owne ruine than this is?

The harms &
mischieues
that befall ci-
ties, &c. by
maintaining
rebells.

Rebellion is
worthilie to
be punished,

A further
briefe of the in-
conuenien-
ces byed by
rebellion.

The losse of
haruest.
Warms be
poze mens
storehouses.

And first if ye be anie thing reasonable, list by
your reason, and weigh by wisdom, if not all things,
yet your owne cases, and learne in the beginning of
matters to foresee the end, and iudge aduisedlie yer
ye enter into anie thing basillie. See ye not this
yeare the losse of haruest? And thinke ye can grow
to wealth that yere when ye lose your thrist and pro-
fit? Warns be poze mens storehouses, wherein lieth
a great part of euerie mans owne liuing, his wines

and childrens liuing, wherewith men mainteine their
families, paie their rents: and therefore be alwaies
thought most rich when they haue best crops. And
now when there is neither plentie of haie, nor suffici-
ent of straw, nor corne enough, and that through the
great disorder of your lewd rebellion, can ye thinke
ye do well, when ye vndo your selues, and iudge
it a common-welth when the commons is destroyed,
and seeke your hap by unhappinesse, and extreme your
owne losse to be your owne forwardnes, and by this
iudgement shew your selues, how little ye vnder-
stand other mens matters, when ye can scarcely con-
sider the weightiest of your owne? Hath not the haie
this yeare, as it rose from the ground, so rooted to the
ground againe: and where it was wont by mens
seasonable laboz to be taken in due time, and then
serue for the maintenance of horse and cattell wher-
with we liue, now by your disordered mischefe hath
bene by mens idlenesse and vndutifolnesse let alone
vntouched, and so neither serueth the poze to make
monie of, nor anie cattell to liue with. The corne
was sowne with labour, and the ground filled for it
with labour, and looked to be brought home againe
with labour: and for lacke of honest labozers it is lost
on the ground; the owners being loiterers, and see-
king other mens, haue lost their owne, and hoping
for mounteins, lacked their present thrist, neither ob-
teining that they sought, nor seeking that they
ought.

And how shall men liue when the maintenance
of their prouision is lacking? For labouring and
their old store is wasted by wilfulness of sedition, and
so neither spare the old nor saue the new. How can
men be fed then or beasts liue, when as such wastfull
negligence is miserablie vbled? And mispending the
time of their profit, in shamefull disorder of inobedi-
ence, they care not greatlie what becometh of their
owne, because they intend to liue by other mens:
Haie is gone, corne is wasted, straw is spoiled, what
reckoning of haruest can ye make, either for the aid
of others, or for the releefe of your selues? And thus
haue ye brought in one kind of miserie, which if ye
saw before, as ye be like to see after, although
ye had hated the common-welth, yet for loue of your
selues ye would haue avoided the great enemie
thereof, into the which ye willfullye now haue cast
your selues.

An other no lesse is, that such plentie of vittels
as was abundantie in euerie quarter for the releefe
of vs all, is now wastfullie and vnthriftfullie spent,
in mainteining you vnlatfull rebels, and so with
disorder all is consumed, which with good husbandrie
might long haue indured. For, so much as would
haue serued a whole yeare at home with dili-
gence and skilfull heed of husbandrie, that is willfullye
wasted in a moneth in the campe, through the raueni-
ng spoile of vilanie. For what is vnordered plentie,
but a wastfull spoile, whereof the inconuenience is
so great, as ye be worthie to seele, and bringeth in
more hardnes of liuing, greater dearth of all things,
& occasioneth manie causes of diseases? The price of
things must needs increase much, when the number
of things wareth lesse, and by scarcitie be inhabited, &
compelleth men to abate their liberalitie in house,
both to their owne, and also to strangers. And where
the rich wanteth, what can the poze find, who in a
common scarcitie liueth most scarcilie, and scarcely
quickest the sharpnesse of starving, when enerie
man for lacke is hungerbitten. Which if ye had well
remembred before, as ye now maie after perceiue,
ye would not I thinke so stiffe-neckedlie haue res-
ted and indangered your selues in the scoome of fa-
mine, whereof ye most likeliest must haue the greatest
part, which most subboynlie refused, to your owne
shame

Haie rotting
on the ground.

Losse of corne
for lacke of
reaping.

The losse of
one yeare
haruest bene
hurtfull.

Wastfull spi-
ding of vit-
tels by the
rebells incon-
uenient to the
whole state.

A necessitie
of increasing
the price of
things.

After a great
search com-
meth a great
dearth, a reason
why?

These re-
bells all of
summe of
mischieues is-
suing from re-
bellion.

A great decay
of people.

Rebells can
not preuaile
against the
princes
power.

A necessarie
consequence
that rebells
are encreased
to be punished,
and that such
punishment is
good and ne-
cessarie.

Against too
high price for
bearing and
requiring a
small com-
pensation.

hame and confusion.

Experience teacheth vs, that after a great dearth cometh a great death; for that when men in great want of meat eat much ill meat, they fill their bodies with ill humors, and cast them from their state of health, into a subiection of sicknesse: because the good blood in the bodie is not able to keepe his temper, for the multitude of the ill humors that corrupteth the same. And so grow great & deathly plagues, and destroye great numbers of all sorts, sparing no kind that they light on, neither respecting the poore for mercie, nor the rich with fauour. Can ye therefore thinke herein, when ye see decarie of vittels, the rich pinch, the poore famish, the following of diseases, the greatnesse of death, the mourning of widowes, the pitifulnesse of the fatherlesse, and all this miserie to come thorough your vnnatural misbehaviour, that ye haue not dangerouse hurt the commons of your countrie with a dolefull and vncurable wound? These things being once felt in the common-wealth, as they must needs be, euery man seeth by and by what followeth: euen a great diminishment of the strength of the realme, when the due number that the realme doth mainteine is made lesse, and thereby we be made rather a prey for our enemies, than a safetie for our selues.

And how can there be but a great decarie of people at the length, when some be ouerthrowne in warre, some suffer for punishment, some pine for famine, some die with the campes diet, some be consumed with sicknesse? For although ye thinke your selues able to match with a few vnprepared gentlemen, and put them from their houses, that ye might gaine the spoile: doe ye iudge the refoze your selues strong inough, not onelie to withstand a kings power, but also to ouerthrow it? Is it possible that ye should haue so mad a frensie in your head, that ye should thinke the number ye see so strong, that all ye see should not be able to preuaile to the contrarie? With what reason could ye thinke, that if ye booe the hot brunt of battell, but ye must needs feele the smart, speciallie the kings power comming against you: which if ye feare not, belike ye know not the force thereof? And so much the greater number is lost in the realme, that both the ouercommer and the ouercommen be parties, although vnlike, of one realme: and what losse is not onelie of either side, but of both, that doth plainlie rebound to the whole.

Then where so great and so horrible a fault is committed, as woe can not be mentioned of from the beginning, and bringeth in withall such penurie, such weaknesse, such disorder in the common-wealth, as no mischief besides could do the like: can aie man thinke with iust reason, that all shall escape unpunished that shall escape the sword, and not manie for terrour and examples sake should be looked vnto, who haue bene either great doers in such a disordered bilantie, or great counsellors to such an outrageous mischief: seeing the onelie remedie of redressing wilfull faults is a iust and seuer punishment of such, whose naughtie deeds god men ought to abhorre for duties sake, and ill men maie dread for like punishments sake, and a free licence to do mischief unpunished is so dangerous, that the sufferance of one is the occasion of the fall of a great number, and vmanly pitie to one is a deceitfull crueltie to the whole, inticing them to their owne destruction by sufferance, which would haue auoided the danger by fore punishment.

And in such a barrennesse of vittels, as must needs come after so rauening a spoile, it must needs be, that some (though few) shall be so nipt with egerneesse of famine, that they shall not recover againe themselves out of so fretting a danger. So in a generall

weaknesse, where all shall be feeble, some must needs die, and so diminish the number, and abate such strength as the realme defended it selfe withall befoze. Which occasion of neuer so few, comming of so great a cause, if ye should make iust amends for, not of recompense which ye could not, but of punishment which ye ought; how manie, how diuerse and how cruell deaths ought euery one of ye often suffer? How manie came to the camps from long labour to sudden ease, and from meane fare to strong of vittels; and so fell in a manner vnwares to such a contrarie change, that nature hit selfe abiding neuer great and sudden changes, can not beate it without some grounds entered of diseases to come, which vncircumspect men shall sooner feele than thinke of, and then will scarcelie iudge the cause, when they shall be vexed with the effect.

It is little maruell that idlenesse and meat of another mans charge will sone feed by a fat like men; but it is great maruell if idlenesse and other mens meat doe not abate the same by sicknesse againe, and speciallie comming from the one, and going to the other: contrarie in those who violentlie seeke to turne in a moment the whole realme to the contrarie. For while their mind changeth from obedience to vnrulinesse, and turneth it selfe from honestie to wildnesse, and their bodies go from labour to idlenesse, from small fare to spoile of vittels, and from beds in the night to cabins, and from sweet houses to stinking camps, it must needs be by changing of affections which alter the bodie, and by vning of rest that filleth the bodie, and by glutting of meats which weakeneth the bodie, & with cold in the nights which accreteth the bodie, and with corrupt aire which infecteth the bodie, that there followe some grievous tempest not onelie of contagious sicknesse, but also of present death to the bodie.

The greatest plucke of all is, that behemencie of plague, which naturallie followeth the dunt of hunger, which when it entereth once among men, what darts of pangs, what throules of paines, what shewes of death doth it cast out? How manie fall, not afflicted with the sicknesse, but fretted with the paine: How beateth it downe not onelie small colonies, but also great countries? This when ye see light first on your beasts which lacke fodder, and after fall on men whose bodies gape for it, and see the scarcenesse of men to be by this your soule enterpryse, and not onelie other men touched with plagues, but also your owne house strong with death, and the plague also raised of your rising, to fire your selues: can ye thinke you to be anie other but mankillers of other, and murderers of your selues, and the principals of the ouerthrow of so great a number, as shall either by sword or punishment, famine, or some plague or pestilence be consumed and waisted out of the common-wealth?

And seeing he that decareth the number of cottages or plowes in a towne, seemeth to be an enemy to the common-wealth: shall we not count him, not onelie an enemy, but also a murderer of his countrie, who by harebrazined vnrulinesse causeth vtter ruine and pestilent destruction of so manie thousand men? Grant this folke then and oversight to be such as woorthilie ye maie count it, and I shall go further in declaring of other great incontinencies, which your dangerous and furious misbehaviour hath hurtfullie brought in; seeing diuerse honest and true dealing men, whose lining is by their owne prouision, hath come so before hand by time, that they haue bene able well to line honestlie in their houses, & paie beside the rents of their farmes trulie, and now haue by your crueltie and abhorred insurrections lost their goods, their cattell, their har-

Rebels punishabie with manie deaths.

Idlenesse and meat of other mens charge.

The force of pestilence following famine.

The plague & pestilence occasioned by rebellion.

Rebels enemies a murderers of their countrie.

Further mischiefe of vnrulinesse causing from rebellion.

most, which they had gotten before, and wherewith they intended to live hereafter, & now be brought to this extremitie, that they be neither able to live, as they were wont at home before; nor to paie their accustomed rent at their due time. Whereby they be brought into trouble and unquietnesse, not onlie missing what they have lost by you, but also in danger of losing their holds at their lords hands, except by pitie they shew more mercie, than the right of the law will grant by iustice.

The fruits of honest mens travels long in gathering, quicklie spoiled by rebellion.

And what a griefe is it to an honest man, to labour trulie in youth, and to gaine painefullie by labour, wherewith to live honestlie in age, and to have this, gotten in long time, to be suddenlie caught awaie by the violence of sedition, which name he ought to abhorre by it selfe, although no miserie of losse followed to him thereby. But what greater griefe ought seditious rebels to haue themselves, who if they be not stricken with punishment, yet ought to pine in conscience, and melt awaie with the griefe of their owne faults, when they see innocents and men of true service hindered and burdened with the hurt of their rebellion, & who in a good commonwealth should for honesties sake prosper, they by these rebels onlie meanes be cast so behind the hand, as they can not recouer easilie againe by their owne trust, that which they have lost by those traitors mischiefes. And if unskill men ought not so to be handled at any mans hands, but onelie stand to the order of a law: how much more should true and faithfull subjects, who deserve praise, feele no unquietnesse, nor be vexed with sedition, who be obedientlie in subjection, but rather seeke iust amends at false rebels hands, and by law obtaine that they lost by disorder, and so constrain you to the uttermost, to paie the recompense of wrongfull losses, because ye were the authors of these wrongfull spoiles.

An argument from equitye & bright dealing curia with the unskill.

Then would ye some perceiue the commonwealths hurt, not when other felt it who deserved it not, but when you smarted who caused it, and stand not & looked vpon other mens losses which ye might pitie, but tormented with your owne which ye would lament. Now I am past this mischief, which ye will not hereafter denie, when ye shall praise other mens foresight, rather than your wicked doings, in bewailing the end of your furie, in whose beginning ye now reioise. What saie ye to the number of vagabonds and loitering beggers, which after the overthrow of your campe, and scattering of this seditious number, will swarme in euery corner of the realme, and not onelie lie loitering vnder hedges, but also stand sturdie in cities, and beg boldlie at euery doore, leauing labour which they like not, and following idleness which they should not? For euery man is easilie and naturallie brought from labour to ease, from the better to the worse, from diligence to slothfulness: and after warres it is commonlie seene, that a great number of those which went out honest, returne home againe like roisters, and as though they were burnt to the warts bottom, they haue all their life after an vnauoie smeeke thereof, & smell still toward daiesleepers, pursepickers, highwaie robbers, quarrellmakers, yea and bloodshedders too.

As what shifts soldiers fall after dis-camping and ceasing from warres.

Do we not see commonlie in the end of warres more robbing, more begging, more murdering than before, and those to stand in the high waie to aske their almes, whome ye be affraid to saie naie vnto honestlie, least they take it awaie from you violentlie, and haue more cause to suspect their strength, than pitie their need? Is it not then daile heard, how men be not onelie pursued, but utterlie spoiled, & few make ride safe by the kings highwaie, except they ride strong, not so much for feare of their goods, which

men esteeme lesse, but also for danger of their life, which euery man loueth. Who is vndone at home and loiterers linger in streets, lurke in alehouses, range in highwaies, valiant beggers plate in towns and yet complaine of need, whose staffe if it be once bet in their hand, or sugghness beed in their bosome, they will neuer be allured to labour againe, contenting themselves better with idle beggerie, than with honest and profitable labour. And what more noisome beasts be there in a commonwealth? Prones in hives sucke out the honie, a small matter, but yet to be looked on by good husbands. Caterpillers destroy the fruit, an hurtfull thing, and well distast for by a diligent ouerser. Diuers beermine destroy coine, kill pulleime, engines and snares be made for them.

But what is a loiterer? A sucker of honie, a spoiler of coine, a stroier of fruit, a waister of monie, a spoiler of vittels, a sucker of blood, a breaker of orders, a seeker of bycakes, a queller of life, a basilisk of the commonwealth, which by companie and sight doth poison the whole countrie, and staineth honest minds with the infection of his venome, and so draweth the commonwealth to death and destruction. Such is the fruits of your labour and travell for your pretended commonwealth, which iustice would no man should taste of but your selues, that ye might trulie iudge of your owne mischief, and fraie other by example from presuming the like. When we see a great number of flies in a yeare, we naturally iudge it like to be a great plague, and hauing so great a swarming of loitering vagabonds, ready to beg and biall at euery mans doore, which declare a greater infection, can we not looke for a greuouser and perillous danger than the plague is? Who can therefore other wise deeme, but this one deadlie hurt, wherewith the commonwealth of our nation is wounded, beside all other is so pestilent, that there can be no more hurtfull thing in a well governed estate, nor more thowne into all kind of vice and varulinesse: and therefore this your sedition is not onelie most odious, but also most horrible, that hath spotted the whole countrie with such a staine of idleness.

There can be none end of faults, if a man rehearse all faults that do necessarilie follow this unrulie sturdinesse. For not onelie vagabonds wandering and scattering themselves for mischief, shall run in a mans eyes, but also disorder of euery degree shall enter into a mans mind, and shall behold hereby the commonwealth miserable defaced by you, who should as much as other haue kept your selues in order in it. Neither be the magistrats duly obeyed, nor the lawes iustlie feared, nor degrees of men considered, nor masters well serued, nor parents trulie reuerenced, nor lords remembered of their tenants, nor yet either naturall or ciuill law much regarded. And it is plainlie vnpossible that that countrie shall well stand in gouernement, and the people growe to wealth, where order in euery state is not sitlie obserued: and that bodie cannot be without much griefe of inflammation, where anye left part is out of ioint, or not duellie set in his owne naturall place.

Wherefore order must be kept in the commonwealth like health in the bodie, and all the dist of policie looketh to this end, how this temper may be safely maintained, without anye excess of vnicuersalenesse, either of the one side, or of the other. And easie enough it is to keepe the same, when it is once brought into the meane, and to hold it in the state it is found in: but when it bursteth out once with a vehementie, and hath gotten into an unrulie disorder, it spreadeth so fast, and ouersloweth all honest mens resisting so violentlie, that it will be hard to recouer the breach of long time againe, except with great

Agendizing ring in the ear that cannot awake in the labour.

An argument from equitye from comparison.

People are of all things by reason.

The necessity of order, and therefore the rule of all things be in order.

The light of nature sheweth a yearely succession of a plague which follow.

Labels are given to the same profit.

Equitie of justice.

Disorder in euery degree caused by rebellion.

Agendizing disorder, and neglect of duties in general by rebellion.

Order in euery estate supposed a commonwealth, & contrary to the hurt of disorder.

Labels hurt themselves.

That men are not to in order a reformation.

Against lothe-
ring lubbers
that can not
awaile with
labour.

A soldier
described.

The sight of
manie thies in
a yere a nat-
urall prognos-
ticacion of a
plague like to
follow.

Disorder in
by enerie begre
ho caused by re-
bellion.

Magistrats
disobeyed, and
neglect of
dutie in gene-
rall by rebel-
lion.

Disobeying of
order in enerie
estate suppo-
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great and wise counsell, which no doubt shall be in
season vied, there be wonderfull remedies sought
therefore. And enen as a man falling, is casier hol-
den by by staie, than when he is fallen downe he is
able to rise againe: so is the commonwealth slipping,
by the foresight of wisdom better kept from ruine;
than when it is once fallen into anie kind of miserie,
the same may be called againe to the old and former
state. Now we not euidentlie know, that a man may
better keepe his arme or his leg from breaking or
falling out of joint, afoze hurt come to it; than after
the hurt it may safelie and quietlie be healed, and re-
stored to the former strength and health againe? And
now through your seditious means, things that were
afore quiet and in good order, laws feared and obied,
subiects ruled and kept in dutie, be all now in a great
disorder, and like (if it be not holpen) to grow to wild-
nesse, and a beaslinelie; seeing that neither common
dutie can be kept, which nature prescribeth, nor com-
mon law can be regarded, which policie requireth.

How can yee keepe your owne if yee keepe no order?
Your wines and children, how can they be defended
from other mens violence, if yee will in other things
beate all order? By what reason would yee be obied
of yours as seruants, if yee will not obie the king
as subiects? How would yee haue others deale or-
derlie with you, if yee will vse disorder against all
others? Seeing then there is such a confusion now of
things, such a turmoile of men, such a disorder of fa-
milies; who can loke to liue quietlie a great while,
who can thinke but that yee haue miserable tossed
the commonwealth, and so vexed all men with disor-
der, that the inconuenience hereof cannot onelie nip
others, but also touch you?

But now see how that not onelie these vnlooked
for mischances haue beauslie growne on yee, but also
those commodites, which yee thought to haue holpen
your selues and others by, be not onelie hindered, but
also hurt thereby. The kings maiestie by the abuse,
as intended a iust reformation of all such things as
poore men could trulie shew themselves oppressed
with, thinking equalitie of iustice to be the diademe
of his kingdome, and the safegard of his commons.
Which was not onelie intended by wisdom, but
also set on with speed, and so entered into a due con-
sidering of all states, that none should haue iust cause
to grudge against the other, when as euerie thing
rightfullie had, nothing could be but vnrightfullie
rugged at. And this would haue bene done, not
onelie with your glad and willing assent: but also
bene done by this date almost throughout the whole
realme: so that quietlie it had bene obtained with-
out inconuenience, and speedilie without delaie. And
what sooner had bene done by the kings maiesties
authoritie, that would by right haue remained for e-
uer, and so taken in law, that the contrarie partie
neither could by iustice, neither would by boldnesse
haue enterprised the breach thereof.

But least wicked men should be wealthe, and
they whose hearts be not truelie bent to obedience,
should obtaine at the kings hands that they deser-
ued not in a commonwealth, yee haue maruellouslie
and worthilie hurt your selues, and greuouslie pro-
uoked (except the kings goodnesse be more vnto you
than your owne deserts can claime) that yee be not
so much worthe as to be benefited in anie kind, as
yee be worthe to lose that yee haue on euerie side. Ye
haue thought god to be your owne reformers belike,
not onelie vnnaturallie mistrusting the kings ius-
tices, but also cruellie and vnciuillie dealing with
your owne neighbours. Wherein I would as yee
haue hurt the whole realme, so yee had not enterprised
a thing most dangerous to your selues, & most con-
trarie to the thing yee intended. If yee had let things

alone, thought god by your selues to be redressed,
and dutifullie looked for the performance of that, the
kings maiestie promising reformation, they should
not haue bene vndone at this time, as in a great
sort of honest places they be; nor whole countries, who
for their quietnesse be most worthe to be looked on,
should haue bene vnproviden for at this date. But
this commoditie hath happened by the waie, that it
is euidentlie knowne by your mischance, and others
dutie, who be most true to the king, and most worthe
to be done for, and who be most pernicious and tra-
itorous rebels. And it is not to be doubted, but they
shall be considered with thanks, and find iust redresse
without deserued miserie, & you punished like rebels,
who might haue had both praise & profit like subiects.

For that as yee haue valiantlie done of your
selues, thinke yee it will stand anie longer, than men
feare your rage, which cannot indure long; and that
yee shall not then bide the rigor of the law for your
prouat injuries, as yee vied the furie of your braines
in other mens oppressions: Will men suffer wrong
at your hands, when law can redresse it, & the right of
the commonwealth will mainteine it, and god order
in countries will beare it? Yee amend faults as ill
surgeons heale sores, which when they come to be
whole about, they rankle at the bottome, and so be
saine continuallie to be soze, or else be mended by
new breaking of the skin. Your redresse seemeth to
you perfect and good, yee haue pulled downe such
things as yee would, yee thinke now all is well: yee
consider no further, yee seeke not the bottome, yee see
not the soze, that yee haue done it by no law, yee haue
redressed it by no order, what then? If it be no other,
wise searched than by you, it will not tarie long so:
either it will be after continuallie as it was afore
your coming, or else it must be (when all is done) a-
mended by the king.

Thus haue yee both lacked in the time, and mist
in the doing, and yet besides that ye haue done, which
is by your doing to no purpose. Yee haue done the
things with such inconueniences, as hath bene both
before rehearsed, and shall be after declared; that bet-
ter it had bene for you, neuer to haue enioied the
commoditie, if there be anie, than to suffer the griefs
that will insue, which be verie manie. In euerie
quarter some men (whom yee set by) will be lost, which
euerie one of you (if ye haue loue in ye) would rather
haue lacked the profit of your inclosures, than cause
such destruction of them, as is like by reason & iudge-
ment necessarilie to follow. What commonwealth
is it then, to do such abhominable enterprises after
so vile a sort, that yee hinder that god yee would do,
and bring in that hurt yee would not, and so find that
yee seeke not, and follow that yee lose, and destroy
your selues by follie; rather than yee would be orde-
red by reason, and so haue not so much amended your
old sores, as brought in new plagues, which yee your
selues that deserue them will lament, and we which
haue not deserued them may curse you for? For al-
though the kings maiestie, as intended for your pro-
fits a reformation in his commonwealth: yet his
pleasure was not, nor no reason gaue it, that euerie
subiect should buslie intermeddle with it of their
owne head, but onelie those whose his counsell
thought most meet men for such an honest purpose.

The kings maiestie, as hath goodlie reformed an
uncleane part of religion, and hath brought it to the
true forme of the first church that followed Christ,
thinking that to be truest, not what later mens fan-
cies haue of themselves deuised, but what the apo-
stles and their felowes had at Christs hand receiued,
and willeth the same to be knowne and set abroad to
all his people. Shall euerie man now that listeth and
fantiseth the same, take in hand vncalled, to be a mi-
nister,

The benefit
of rebellion in
one respect.

Reformation
intended by
rebels, like
sores cured by
ill surgeons.

Griefes insue-
ring to the re-
bels upon this
rebellion.

Reformation
ought to be
no priuat
mans but the
princes action

what things
in a well and
iustitie done
matter ought
well to be
weighed.

suffer, and to set forth the same, having no authori-
tie: & aie, though the thing were verie goodlie that
were done, yet the person must needs do ill that en-
terprisseth it, because he doth a good thing after an ill
sort, and looketh but on a little part of dutie, consid-
ring the thing, and leaveth a great part unadvised,
not considering the person: when as in a well and
iustitie done matter, not onelie these two things
ought well to be weighed, but also good occasion of
time, and reasonable cause of the doing, ought also
much to be set before everie doers eyes. Now in this
your deed, the manner is ungodlie, the thing un-
sufferable, the cause wicked, the person seditious, the
time traitorous: and can ye possiblie by anie honest
defense of reason, or anie good conscience religious-
lie grounded, denie that this malicious and horrible
fault, so wickedlie set on, is not onelie sinful afoze
God, and traitorous to the king, but also dradlie and
pestilent to the whole common-wealth of our coun-
trie, and so not onelie overthroweth vs with the mi-
serie, but also overthroweth you with the rage
thereof?

The poke
that rebels
willfullie
bring upon
themselves.

Yet further see and ye be not wearie with the
multitude of miseries, which ye have marvellouslie
moued, what a poke ye willfullie do bring on your
selues, in stirring by this detestable sedition, and so
bring your selues into a further slauerie, if ye vse
your selues into a further slauerie, if ye vse your
selues often thus inobedientlie. When common or-
der of the law can take no place in unrulie and dis-
obedient subiects, and all men will of willfullnesse re-
sist with rage, and thinke their owne violence to be
the best iustice; then be wise magistrats compelled
by necessitie to seeke an extream reme die, where
meane waies helpe not, and bring in the martiall
law where none other law serueth. Then must ye be
contented to bide punishment without processe, con-
demnation without witness, suspicion is then ta-
ken for iudgement, and displeasure may be iust cause
of your execution, and so without fauor ye find strit-
nesse, which without rule seeke violence. Ye thinke it
a hard law and unsufferable. It is so indeed, but yet
good for a medicine.

Desperate re-
medies for
desperate di-
seases.

Rebels whoo-
rthie to suffer
extremities of
punishment.

The greatest
shame that can
come to a com-
mon-wealth.

Desperate sicknesses in physike must haue desper-
ate remedies, for meane medicines will neuer
helpe great griefes. So if ye cast your selues into
such sharpe diseases, ye must needs looke for sharpe
medicines againe at your physicians hands. And
woorthie ye be to suffer the extremitie in a common-
wealth, which seeke to do the extremitie, and by rea-
son must receiue the like ye offer, and so be conten-
tered to bide the end willinglie which set on the begin-
ning willfullie. For no greater shame can come to a
common-wealth, than that those subiects which should
be obedient euen without a law, can not be conten-
ted to be ordered by the law, and by no means kept
within their dutie, which should euerie waie offend
rather than in their dutie. It is a token that the sub-
iects lacke reason, when they forsake law, and thinke
either by their multitude to find pardon, which can-
not iustlie stretch to all, or else by strength to beare
the stroke, which cannot prosper against a king.

They must needs little consider themselves, who
bring in this necessitie, rather to stand to the pleasure
of a mans will, than to abide the reason of the law;
and to be endangered more when an other man li-
seth, than when himselfe offendeth. And this must
necessarilie follow if your rebellion thus continue:
and while ye seeke to throw downe the poke, which ye
sanke your selues burdened withall, ye bring your
selues in a greater bondage, leaning safetie and so-
lowing danger, and putting your selues vnder the
iustice of them whose fauour ye might easilie haue
kept, if ye would willinglie and dutifullie haue ser-

ued. Now the gentlemen be more in trust, because
the commons be unrulie, and they get by seruice,
which ye lose by stubbornnesse, and therefore must
needs, if ye thus continue, haue more authoritie from
the king: because ye would be in lesse subiection to
the king, and that as ye will not do of your selues,
ye must be compelled to do by others, and that ye re-
fuse to do willinglie, thinke ye must be dradlie to
do the same constrainedlie. Which when it cometh
to passe, as wisdometh seeth in your faults that it
must needs, what gaine ye then, or what profit can a-
rise to you by rising, which might haue found ease in
sitting still? And what shall ye be at length the bet-
ter for this turmoil, which beside diuers other in-
commodities rehearsed, shall be thus clogged with
the unsufferable burden of the martiall law.

Yet there is one thing behind, which me thinketh
your selues should not forget, seeing that ye haue gi-
uen the cause, ye should durie looke for the effect. Ye
haue spoiled, imprisoned, and threatened gentlemen
to death, and that with such hatred of mind, as may
not well be borne. The cause therof I speake not on,
which tried, will happilie be not so great: but see the
thing, set murder aside, it is the heinouslest fault to a
princat man. What could more spitefullie haue bene
done against them, than ye haue vied with crueltie?
Can this do anie other but breed in their stomachs
great grudge of displeasure toward you, and ingen-
der such an hatred, as the weaker and the sufferer
must needs beare the smart thereof.

The kings best kind of government is so to rule
his subiects, as a father ordereth his children, and best
life of obedient subiects is one to behaue himselfe to
an other, as were brethren vnder the
king their father. For loue is not the knot onelie of
the common-wealth, whereby diuerse parts be per-
fectlie ioined together in one politike bodie, but also
the strength and might of the same, gathering to-
gether into a small ronne with order, which scattered
would else breed confusion and debate. Dissention
we see in small houses, and thereby may take exam-
ple to great common-wealths, how it not onelie de-
caiethe them from wealth, but also abateth them from
strength. Thinke small examples to take place in
great matters, and the like though not so great to
follow in the both, and there by learne to indge of
great things unknowne, by small things perceived.
When brethren agree not in a house, goeth not the
weakest to the walles; and with whom the father ta-
keth part withall, is not he likeliest to preuaile: As it
not wisdometh for the yonger brother, after the good
will of the parents, to seeke his eldres brothers fa-
uour, who vnder them is most able to do for him: So
seeke them both with honestie is wisdometh, to lose
them both by sullenness is madness.

Haue there not bene daillie benefits from the gen-
tlemen to you, in some more, and in some lesse, but
in none considered, which they haue more friendlie
offered, than you haue gentlie requited? This must
ye lose, when ye will not be thankfull, and learne to
the gaine new good will by desert, when ye forsake the
old friendship vnproouoked. And ye must thinke that
living in a common-wealth together, one kind hath
need of an other: and yet a great sort of you more
need of one gentleman, than one gentleman of a
great sort of you. And though all be parts of one com-
mon-wealth, yet all be not like woorthie parts, but
all being vnder obedience, some kind in more subie-
ction one waie, and some kind in more seruice an-
other waie. And seeing ye be lesse able by monie and
liberalitie to deserue good will than others be, and
your onelie kind of desert is to shew good will, which
honest men do well accept as much woorth as mo-
nie, haue ye not much hindered & hurt your selues
herein,

Gentlemen
more trust
because the
commons are
unruly.

Partiall law
a burden to
sufferable.

Crueltie and
extremities
showed to the
gentlemen by
the rebels.

The kings
best kind of
government.

The fruits of
dissention.

Subiects dis-
ordered.

The rebels
had causes
to beare with
the gentlemen
and to beare
new them.

All the parts
of a countrie
be woorthie
to be serued
of the same
gentlemen
more than
one person.

here
haue
ye o-
ked
I
if ye
that
play
by?
hall
wit
wa-
far-
dise-
stia-
ner
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sti
fo-
fo-
ne
ne
tu

king con-
tained.

Boles little
damned.

Subiects dis-
ordered.

The whole
countrie ill
spoken of.

Nothing re-
mediable by
force or
mercies.

m. 1549

Gentlemen
more trouble
because the
country be
buttable.

m. Reg. 3.

These com-
munes of
the country
from this
country.Gentlemen
a burden
sufferable.Cruelty and
extremity
showed to the
gentlemen by
the rebels.The things
best kind of
government.The fruits of
discipline.The rebels
had cause to
beare with
the gentlemen
and to have
used them.All the parts
of a country
be not
of the same
kind: for
gentlemen
more than
peasants.The whole
country is
one.Gentlemen
be not
of the same
kind.

herein, losing that one kind of humanitie which ye have onlie left, and turning it into crueltie, which ye ought most to abhor, not onlie because it is wicked of it selfe, but also most noisome to you.

I can therefore for my part thinke no lesse herein, if ye follow your stiffenesse still, & must needs iudge that ye have wilfullie brought on your selues such plagues, as the like could not have fallen on you, but by your selues. Seeing then thus manie waies ye have hurt the common-welth of this whole countrie within, by destruction of shires, losing of harvest, waiting of vittells, decaying of manhood, vndermining of farmers, increasing of vagabonds, mainteining of disorders, hindring of redresses, bringing in of martiall law, and breeding continuall hatred among diuerse states: what thinke ye, I praise your Judge ye not that ye have committed an odious and detestable crime against the whole common-wealthe, whose fartherance ye ought to have tendered by dutie, and not to have sought the hurt thereof with your owne damage?

Besides all these inward griefes, which euery one severallie must needs feele with miserie, there happeneth so manie outward mischances among strangers to vs with disdain; that if there were nothing ill within the realme which we should feele, yet the shame which doth touch vs from other countries, should not onlie moue, but also compell you hartlie to forsethinke this your rebellious sedition. For what shall strangers thinke, when they shall heare of the great misorder which is in this realme with such confusion, that no order of law can keepe you vnder, but must be faine to be beaten downe with a kings powder? Shall they not first thinke the kings miserie, in whose mind God hath put so much hope for a child, as we may looke for gifts in a man; either for his age to be little set by, or for lacke of qualities not to be regarded, or for default of loue to be resisted, and no notable grace of God in him considered, nor the worthinesse of his office looked vpon, nor naturall obedience due to him remembred?

Shall they not next suppose, small estimation to be giuen to the rulers, to whom vnder the king we owe due obedience, that can not in iust and lawfull matters be heard, nor men to haue that right iudgement of their wisdomes, as their iustice in rule, and foresight in counsell requireth: but rather prefer their owne fancies before others experience, and deeme their owne reason to be common-wealthe, and other mens wisdomes to be but dreaming? Shall they not trulie saie the subjects to be more vnfaithfull in disobedience, than other subjects were ordeered be; and licence of libertie to make wild heads without order, and that they neither haue reason that vnderstand not the mischiefe of sedition, nor dutie which followeth their beaulinesse, nor loue in them which so little remember the common-wealthe, nor naturall affection which will daile seeke their owne destruction?

Thus the whole countrie lacking the good opinion of other nations, is cast into great shame by your vnkinnesse, and the proceedings of the countrie, be they neuer so goodlie, shall be ill spoken of, as vnfit to be brought into life, and good things hereby that deserve praise, shall bide the rebuke of them that list to speake ill, and all things vntouched shall be boldlie maintained. Nothing may with praise be redressed, where things be measured by changeable disorder, rather than by necessarie life; and that is thought most politike, that men will be best contented to doe, and not that which men should be brought vnto by dutie. And with what dutie or vertue in ye, can ye quench out of memorie this foule enterpryse, or gather a good report againe to this realme, who have so bilie with reproch slandered the same, and

discreetly discredited it among others, and abated the good opinion which was had of the iust government and ruled order used heretofore in this noble realme, which is now most gricuous, because it is now most without cause.

If this outward opinion (without further inconvenience) were all, yet it might well be borne, and would with ease decaye as it grew: but it hath not onlie hurt vs with voice, but endangered vs in deed, and cast vs a great deale behind the hand, where else we might haue had a iollie forebode. For that oportunitie of time which seldome chanceth, and is alwaies to be taken, hath bene by your forward meanes lost this yeare, and so vainlie spent at home for bringing downe of you, which should else profitablie haue bene otherwise bestowed, that it hath bene almost as great a losse to vs abroad, as to lacke that we might haue obtained, as it was combrance at home, to go about the ouerthrow of you, whose sedition is to be abhorred. And we might both conuenientlie haue inuaded some, if they would not reasonably haue growne to some kind of friendship, and also defended others which would beside promise for times sake vniuersally set vpon vs, and easilie haue made this stormie time a faire yeare vnto vs, if our men had bene so happy at home, as our likelihood abroad was fortunat.

But what is it I praise you either to let slip such an occasion by negligence, or to stop it by stubbornnesse, which once past awaie, can be by no means recovered; no not though with diligence ye go about to re-inforce the same againe? If ye would with wickednes haue forsaken your faith to your naturall countrie, and haue sought craftie means to haue vtterlie betrayed it to our common enemies: could ye haue had any other speedier waie than this is, both to make our strength weake, and their weakenesse strong? If ye would haue sought to haue spited your countrie, and to haue pleased your enemies, and followed their counsell for our hinderance: could ye haue had deuised of them any thing more shamefull for vs, and ioisfull to them? If they which lie like spiels, and hearken after likelihoods of things to come, because they declare oportunitie of times to the enemies, are to be iudged common enemies of the countrie; what shall we reasonable thinke of you, who do not secretlie bewaile the counsels of other, but openly betraye the common-wealthe with your owne deeds, and haue as much as lieth in you, sought the ouerthrow of it at home: which if ye had obtained at Gods hand, as he neuer alloweth so horrible an enterpryse, how could ye haue defended it from the ouerthrow of others abroad?

For is your vnderstanding of things so small, that although ye see your selues not vnfit to get the upper hand of a few gentlemen, that ye be able to beat downe afore the kings power: ye and by chance ye were able to do that, would ye iudge your selues by strength mightie enough, to resist the power of outward nations, that for praise sake would invade ye? I saie, thinke trulie with your selues, that if ye do overcome, ye be vnafire both by strength abroad, and displeasure of honest men at home, and by the punishment of God above. And now ye haue not yet gotten in deed, that your vaine hope looketh for by fanthe: thinke how certeinly ye haue wounded the common-wealthe with a sore stroke, in procuring our enemies by our weakenesse to seeke outward glorie with inward dishonour. Which howsoever they get, thinke it to be long of you, who haue offered them victorie before they began warre: because ye would declare to men hereafter (belike) how dangerous it is to make sturres at home, when they do not onlie make our

Further one-
ward hurt be-
cause voice in
gentlemen of
rebellious.

He meaneth
the Scots &
French with
whome we
haue had al-
waies incom-
brance.

Note in a few
words of force
the dangerous
quality of
rebellion.

A reason
drawne from
the lesse to the
greater.

Rebellion may
be a passage
to foreign ma-
son, & it es-
cues us from
our owne
region.

A l i l l i f.

Rebellion am-
naced the
papists, & each
one belide that
is offended at
true religion.

selues weak, but also our enemies strong.

Beside this, there is another sort of men desirous of advantage, and disdainfull of our wealth, whose greife is most our greatest hap, and be offend with religion, because they be drowned in superstition, men zealous toward God, but not fit to iudge, meaning better without knowledge, than they iudge by their meaning, worthier whose ignorance should be taken awaie, than their will should be followed; whome we should more rebuke for their stubbornesse, than despise for their ignorance. These seeing superstition beaten downe, and religion set by, Gods word taking place, traditions kept in their kind, difference made betwene Gods commandements and mans learning, the truth of things sought out according to Christs institution, examples taken of the primitive churches use, not at the bishop of Romes ordinance, and true worship taught, and wil-worship refused, do by blindness rebuke that as by truth they should follow, and by affection follow that as by knowledge they should abhorre, thinking vantage to be truth, and scripture to be error, not weieing by the word, but misconstruing by custome.

Religion bea-
reth the blame
and is counted
the cause of
rebellion, but
amisse.

And now things be changed to the better, and religion trulier appointed, they see matters go awry, which hurteth the whole realme, and they reioice in this mischance as a thing worthilie happened, mistaking the cause, and slandering religion, as though there were no cause why God might haue punished, if their used profession might still haue taken place. They see not that where Gods glorie is truest set forth, there the diuell is most busie for his part, and labourereth to corrupt by lewdnesse, that as is gotten out by the truth, thinking that if it were not blemished at the first, the residue of his falsehood should after lesse preuaile. So he troubleth by bitwaies, that he cannot plainlie withstand, and vseth subtiltie of sophistrie, where plaine reason faileth, and persuadeth simple men that to be a cause, which in deed can not be tried and taken for a cause. So he causeth religion which teacheth obedience, to be iudged the cause of sedition; & the doctrine of loue, the seed of dissention; mistaking the thing, but persuading mens minds, and abusing the plaine meaning of the honest to a wicked end of religions overthrow.

The diuels
sophistrie.

Examples.

The husbandman had not so sone thowne seed in his ground, but steppeth by the enemy, and he soweth cockle too, and maketh men doubt whether the good husband had done well or no, and whether he had sowne there good seed or bad. The farsifull Jewes in Egypt would not beleue Jeremie, but thought their plague and their miserie to come by his means; and learning of idolatrie to be the cause of penurie, wherefore by willfull aduise they intended to forsake the prophets counsell, and thought to serue God most trulie by their rooted & accustomed idolatrie. When the christian men were persecuted in the primitive church, & daillie suffered martyrdom for Christs profession, such faire season of weather was for three or foure peares together, that the heathen lodged thereupon God to be delighted with their cruelty, and so were persuaded that with the blood of the martyrs they pleased God highlie. Such fantasies light now in papists, and irreligious mens heads, and soine things by chance happening together, and conclude the one to be the cause of the other, and then delight in true worshippers hurt, because they iudge curiously the god to be bad, and therefore reioice in the punishment of the goodlie. For they being fleshlie, iudge by outward things, and perceiue not the inward, for that they lacke the spirit and so iudge amiss, not understanding God, what diuersitie he suffereth to blind still the willfull, and how thorough all dangers he saucth his chosen.

The Jewes
ascribe their
miserie to a
false cause.

The heathens
fond opinion
of gods fauour-
ing their cru-
elty against
christians.

And thus haue ye giuen a large occasion to stubborne papists, both to iudge amisse, and also to reioice in this wicked chance, contented with our mischance, not liking our religion, and thinking God doth punish for this better change, and haue thereby an euill opinion of Gods holie truth, confirmed in them by no sure scripture, but by following of mischance, which they ought to thinke to come for the pride and stubbornnesse of the people, who doth not accept Gods glorie in good part, nor giue no due praise to their Lord and maker. What should I saie more? Ie hurt euerie waie, the dangers be so great, and the perils so manie, which do daillie follow poor diuillish enterpryse, that the more I seeke in the matter, the more I continually see to faile. And what words can worthilie declare this miserable beaklines of poyrs, which haue intended to diuide the realme, and arme the one part for the killing of the other? For euen as concord is not onelie the health, but also the strength of the realme; so is sedition not onelie the weaknesse, but also the apostume of the realme, which when it breaketh inwardlie, putteth the state in great danger of recouerie, and corrupteth the whole commonwealth with the rotten surie that it hath bene long putrified withall. For it is not in sedition as in other faults, which being mischievous of themselves, haue some notable hurt alwaies fast adioined to them: but in this one is there a whole hell of faults, not seuerallie scattered, but clustered on a lump together, and coming on so thicke, that it is impossible for a region armed with all kinds of wisdom, and strength thereto, to auoid the dangers that issue out thereof.

When sedition once breaketh out, see ye not the lawes overthrowne, the magistrates despised, spoiling of houses, murdering of men, wasting of countries, increase of disorder, diminishing of the realms strength, swarming of vagabonds, scarcity of laborers, and all those mischiefs plentifully brought in, which God is wont to scourge seuerelie withall, warre, dearth, and pestilence? And seeing ye haue these & murder, plague & famine, confusion and solennelie linked together, can ye looke for anie more mischance in one shamefull enterpryse, than ye euidentlie see to grow herein? As for warre, although it be miserable, yet the one part getteth somewhat, and reioiceth in the spoile, and so goeth luckier awaie: and either increaseth his countrie with riches, or inhabits himselfe with glorie: but in sedition both parts lose, the ouercommer cannot die, the ouercommed cannot spoile; the more the winner winneth, the more he loseth; the more that escape, the more infamous men liue; all that is gained is scarcelye saved; the winning is losse, the losse is destruction, both waste themselves, and the whole most wasted; the strengthening of themselves, the decaye of the countrie; the striving for the victorie, is a peece to the enemy: and thortlie to saie, the bellish turmoile of sedition so farre passeth the common miserie of warre, as to saie himselfe is more heinous, than to be slaine of another.

A noble peace, that wealth bringeth thou in, how do all things flourish in field and in towne, what forwardnesse of religion, what increase of learning, what grauitie in counsell, what deuise of wit, what order of maners, what obedience of laws, what reuerence of states, what safeguard of houses, what quietnesse of life, what honoz of countries, what friendship of minds, what honestie of pleasure hast thou alwaies mainteined, whose happinesse we knew not, while now we see thy lacke, and shall learne by miserie to vnderstand plentie, and so to auoid mischance by the hurt that it bringeth, and learne to serue better, where rebellion is once known; and so to liue true,

The hurt of
sedition
is more
than warre.

Concord
is the
strength
of the
realme.

The mischiefs
springing
of
sedition.

For
warre
is better
than
sedition
at home.

The people
and
benefits
of
peace.

The rebels
neglect the
right meaning
of religion,
and follow
their owne
fancies.

The state
is
in
danger
of
ruine
from
sedition
and
warre.

Rebels
f
with
draw
from
their
enter-
prise
of
rebel-
lion,
and
re-
store
their
loyalty.

I
conclude
peremptor-
ily
against
their
wicked
re-
bels.

As
Fl.
ex-
presseth
the
un-
certaintie
of
the
future.

at
re-
ni-
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ni-
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et-
ine
lie,

Conclusion
proprioceptive
input irre-
versible re-

¶ Thus far this necessarie treatise touching rebellion, penned by sir John Cheke, a gentleman euerie waie in complet sort satisfieng the report: blayed abroad of him. For if there were no more testimonies extant in the world, but this onelie treatise discourfing Betts rebellion; it were enough to warrant no lesse true, than in common speech and writing is left witnessed of him. And suerlie it appereth, that as in this gentleman there was an extraordinary heape of laudable gifts; so was there also in him the right use of them all. Wherby he grew in such fauor with king Henrie the eight, that partlie for his absolute knowledge in tongues, speciallie the Greeke and Latine, and also for his integritie of life and religion; he was chosen scholemaster to yong prince Edward, to traine him by in the right vnderstanding, both of forein languages, & the purenes of Gods seruice. Insomuch that by his industrie such effects folloved (God above prospering his actions) that the yong prince, when he came to the kingdom was mindefull of him, and among other (I will not saie gratuities, there cause of desert maketh chal

*Ad libellum, ut
Ioanni Checo
Grantano place-
re studeat.*

The French king purposed to surprize Gerneseire and Nerseire, but is repelled.

The French king is alarmed that any report should pass of his own success.

In this place he caused trenches to be cast about a plot of ground, after the manner of a fortreffe, within the which he left certaine bands of men of war to be a safeguard unto such as should passe to or fro with vittells to furnish his campe. He feared not there past a daie & a halfe, but remoued to Ardennes

The French king perseuereth in his former purpose, and maintains his pretensions.

Charles
Sturton, and
George Wil-
loughbie.
The chroniques
de Aquitaine.
The fort cal-
led Almaine
campe downe.

The lord
Greie.

The castell of
Hambleteuue
lost.

Hambleteuue
summoned.

Hambleteuue
rendered to
the French
king.

The French
writers re-
port of their
owne coun-
triemens cru-
eltie and sa-
uagenesse.

a mile or little more beyond Margulsen; from thence he came with his armie, and lodged on a hill, some what more than a mile & a halfe from Hambleteuue. The French king hauing viewed the forts, caused five and twentie peeces of artillerie to be planted against that fort, which was built in a place called the Almaine campe, but the Frenchmen named it *Le fort de Selague*, distant from Hambleteuue about a quarter of a mile. The artillerie had not gone off little more than the space of two houres, but that Charles Sturton capteine of that peece, and George Willoughbie a gentleman associat with him, came forth to parlee with the Constable, offering to yeld the fort into his hands, vpon condition they might depart with bag and baggage. But as they were thus in hand to make their composition, the Frenchmen thrust forward to the rampiers, and entered in plumps into the fortresse, slue fourescore persons, & toke the rest prisoners. There might be in all within that peece two hundred and thirtie persons, men and women. This happened the foure and twentieth of August, being Bartholomeu daie.

This done, the king caused part of the artillerie to be planted against the castell of Hambleteuue, situated at the one end of the towne nere to the sea side. Towards night monsieur de Gladosme gaue an approach to the said castell, and they within by commandement of the lord Greie retired to the maine fort to helpe to furnish the same, wanting numbers sufficient to defend it. The next daie being the five and twentieth of August, the king caused approaches to be made vnto the great fort, and the morrow after the batterie began most furiously. The same daie after dinner, the king summoned them within to yeld; but the lord John Greie being generall (although he saw how weake the peece was of it selfe, & the lacke of sufficient numbers of men to resist such a puissant force, as the French king had there with him) would not yet hearken vnto anie talke, nor suffer the herald to come nere; for that he should not perceiue the weakenesse of the peece: and so he was commanded to get him thence with speed, or else they would cause him to be packing smallie to his case. The French king soe offended here with, that his herald was so vncourteouslie vied, caused the batterie to be reinforced with great diligence, which dismounting their ordinaunce within, and beating downe their rampiers, made such breaches, that my lord John and the capteins within perceiued they were not able by anie meanes to defend the place any longer. Wherevpon they offered to render the fort to the king vpon composition: which in the end fell out to be thus, that the souldiers should depart with their liues saued, and that the generall (for honor sake) should haue one horse to ride on in his cosset, without sword or dagger, and likewise two other capteins with him: but as for the other souldiers, with the women and children, should depart on foot in their shirts, leauing all their goods and substance behind them. After it was agreed that the fort should be thus surrendered, there entered monsieur de Chatillon that was after admerall of France, and monsieur de Delle, latelie returned out of Scotland. The French souldiers entring by stealth into the fort by the breaches, committed foule disorders, not onelie in ransacking the houses, but also in spoiling the souldiers by force, intreating them in most rigorous manner.

The French writers confesse, that it was pittie to see the poore men and women so miserable handled and abused as they were by the ontragious souldiers that thus entered the fort, and sacked all that they could laie hands vpon. Monsieur de Delle saued a great number of women and yong maidens from

the cruell hands of their aduersaries, causing them to passe forth by the breach, and presented them to the king, who appointed that they should be conducted in safetie, with all that they had about them, till they had gotten out of danger. Monsieur de Chatillon, by the kings commandement, caused all the rest within the fort to come forth, who passing thre and thre in a range came before the king, who stood there to behold them, with the whole armie placed so in order on either side the waie as they should come, that they might passe betwixt their ranks, as it were through a lane. They that came forth in this fort might be (as the French writers record) about seven or eight hundred in all of men and women, wherof there were manie hurt and mained; some with halfe a shirt on to couer them, and diuerse stark naked. The lord John Greie being mounted on a curtaile, passing by the French king, and saluting him, was courteouslie of him embraced.

The morrow after was the fort of Blacknesse or Blaconnesse rendered to the French king, with like conditions as they of Hambleteuue had rendered theirs. This was on the tuesday the seven and twentieth of August. The nine and twentieth of August sir Nicholas Arnault conueieng all the artillerie, munition, vittels, and goods out of Bullongne berg, caused fire to be set on that fort, and retired with all his souldiers and other people vnto Bullongne. Wherevpon shortly after the Frenchmen seized vpon the said place of Bullongne berg, & kept it. The French king leauing monsieur de Chatillon within Hambleteuue with the old hands of the French footmen, returned towards Bullongne, & approaching within a mile and a halfe of the old man, meant to build there a fort on the sea side: but what through such sharpe skirmishes as the Englishmen continually were redie to make with his men, and what through the abundance of raine which fell in that season, he was constrained to breake by his campe, and leauing strong garrisons both of horsemen and footmen in all those places, which he had in that season wone out of the Englishmens hands, he returned himselfe with the princes of his blood into France.

In this meane time whilst the French king was thus occupied, to vse the oportunitie of time in recovering of those fortresses in Bullongnois out of the Englishmens hands, the kings maiestie and his counsell were busie still in quieting his rebellious subjects here in England: and finally for meane of a full pacification, and to set all things in good frame and quiet rest, the king published his graces most generall and free pardon to all rebelles, so that they would forthwith (vpon publication of the same pardon) returne euerie man to his house and countrey; which they gladlie did: and so these seditious and most dangerous troubles were brought to end and pacified.

Also in this busie time Marie Steward queene of Scots was conueied by sea out of Scotland into France, and there on the nineteenth daie of April 1549, was married in our ladie church in Paris (with great triumph and solemnitie) to Francis the Dolphin, eldest sonne vnto king Henrie the second of that name French king. This conueieng of the yong queene is reported by one to haue bene prouoked, at such time as the counsell of England were in some expectation and hope to obtaine hir. Nevertheless the subtiltie of the Scots, bitter and trecherous forwardnesse of the Scots, offerre lie disappointed the honest and honorable purpose of the English. Now when the yong queene and hir traine, with the gard of hir person (be they whom you will) were vnder saile, the English nauie was abroade, and lieng in wait to haue intercepted hir course,

The number
that came
forth of Ham-
bleteuue.

July 104

The court
withdrew
themselves
into Paris
conference
about the
parce of
displaciny

Cause that
compelled the
French king
to breake by
his campe.

The kings
generall par-
don.

The pro-
monition
that was
sent to
the
king.

Abt. The
reuerend
father
Ham.

John Fe-
the 34th
of June
1549
was pro-
posed to
be the
last.

n. 1549.

An. Reg. 3.

course, meant not onlie to sketm. g. but also to reco-
uer the yong queene from the French in spite of their
hearts, had not the king of England and the most of
his counsell flatte forbidden them to attempt anie
warlike incounter, for certeine iust and weightie
causes to them knowne. But the Scots smarted
for this their vaine lightnesse, as in former times for
like practises of their vile lewdnesse, as C. O. sayth:

*Sic lentior leui pluma promissa scotorum
Infamem reddunt gentem, dant sanguine panas
Perfidie quandoq. sua velut ante dederunt.*

In this troublesome yere also Edmund Bonner
bishop of London preached a sermon at Pauls
croffe, for the which he was accus. bnto the counsell
by William Latimer parson of saint Laurence
Dountneie, and John Hoper sometime a white
monke, and so conuented before the archbishop of
Canturburie, and other commissioners at Lambeth,
on the twentieth daie of that same moneth, and sent
to the sparthalea. On the first of October he was
deprived of his bishoprike, for disobeying the kings
order in religion.]

Now after that these hurle burlies were through-
lie quieted, manie of the lords of the realme, as well
counsellors as other, mistaking the government of
the protector, began to withdraw themselves from
the court, and resorting to London, fell to secret con-
sultation for redresse of things, but namelie for the
displacing of the lord protector. And suddenlie upon
what occasion manie marvelled, but few knew. C.
uerie lord and counsellor went through the citie
weaponed, and had their seruants likewise weapo-
ned, attending upon them in new lineries, to the
great wondering of manie. And at the last a great
assemble of the said counsellors was made at the
earle of Warwicks lodging, which was then at Elie
place in Holborne, whither all the confederats in this
matter came pynlie armed; and finally concluded
to possesse the towne of London, which by the policie
of sir William Paulet lord treasurer of England
was peaceable obtained, & who by order of the said
confederats immediatlie removed sir John Spar-
ham then lieutenant of the towne, and placed in that
rowe sir Leonard Chamberleine. And after that
the said counsell was broken by at Elie place, the
earle of Warwicke removed forthwith into the citie
of London, and late in the house of one John Worke
a citizen of London, who was then chiefe maister of
the mint, kept at Suffolke place in Southwarke.
The lord protector hearing of the maner of the as-
semble of this counsell, and of the taking of the
towne, which seemed to him verie strange and doubt-
full, did presentlie the said night remove fro Hamp-
ton court, taking the king with him, unto the castell
of Windsoze, and there began to fortifie the same,
and withall wrote a letter to that noble gentleman
the lord Russell lord priuie seale remaining as yet in
the west countrie, aduertising him of these troubles
as followeth.

A letter of the lord protectors to the
lord Russell lord priuie seale, concerning
troubles working against him.

After our right hartie commendations
to your good lordship. Here hath of late ri-
sen such a conspiracie against the kings
maiestie & vs, as neuer hath bene sene,
the which they can not mainteine, with such vaine
letters and false tales furnished, as was neuer ment
nor intended on vs. They pretend and saie, that we
haue sold Bullongne to the French, and that we do
withhold wages from the soldiers, & other such tales
and letters they do spread abroad (of the which if anie

one thing were true, we would not toly to liue) the
matter now being brought to a marvellous extre-
mitie, such as we would neuer haue thought it could
haue come vnto, especiallie of those men towards
the kings maiestie and vs, of whome we haue deser-
ued no such thing, but rather much fauour and loue.
But the case being as it is, this is to requyre & praise
you, to hasten you hither to the defense of the kings
maiestie, in such force and polver as you maie, to
shew the part of a true gentleman, and of a verie
friend: the which thing we trust God shall reward,
and the kings maiestie in time to come, and we shall
neuer be vnmindfull of it to. We are sure you shall
haue other letters from them, but as ye tender your
dutie to the kings maiestie, we requyre you to make
no faie, but immediatlie repaire with such force as
ye haue to his highnesse in his castell of Windsoz,
and cause the rest of such force as ye maie make to
follow you. And so we bid you right hartlie fare-
well. From Hampton court the first of October.

Your lordships assured loving friend
Edward Summerset.

An answer to the lord protectors
letter.

This letter of the lord protectors sent
the first of October, the lord Russell re-
turning answer againe vpon the eight
of the said moneth, first lamented the
heauie dissolution fallen betwene the nobilitie and
him, which he toke for such a plague, as a greater
could not be sent of almighty God vpon this realme
being the next waie (said he) to make vs of conque-
rors, slaues; and like to induce vpon the whole realme
an vniuersall thraldome and calamitie, vntil the
mercifull godnesse of the Lord do helpe, and some
wise order be taken in staing these great extreni-
ties. And as touching the dukes request in his let-
ters, so much as he had heard before of the boile of
the lords, and feared least some conspiracie had bene
meant against the kings person, he hastied forward
with such companie as he could make, for the succie
of the king as to him appertained. Now perceiving
by the lords letters sent vnto him the same first daie
of October, these tumults to rise vpon priuie causes
betwene him and them, he therefore thought it expe-
dient, that a conuenient polver should be leuied,
to be in a readinesse to withstand the worst (what perils
soeuer might insue) for the preservation both of the
king and state of the realme from inuasion of forreyn
enemies, and also for the staing of bloodshed, if anie
such thing should be intended betwixt the parties in
the heat of this faction. And this he thinking best for
the discharge of his allegiance, humbly besought
his grace to haue the same also in speciall regard and
consideration; first, that the kings maiestie be put in
no feare; and that if there be anie such thing, wherein
he hath given iust cause to them thus to proceed, he
would so conforme himselfe, as no such priuie quar-
rels do redound to the publike disturbance of the
realme: certifieng moreouer the duke, that if it
were true which he vnderstood by the letters of the
lords, that he should send about proclamations and
letters for raising vp of the commons, he liked not
the same. Notwithstanding he trusted well that his
wisdomme would take such a waie, as no effusion of
blood should follow.

And thus much being contained in his forther let-
ters the eight of October, in his next letters againe
written the eleuenth of October, the said lord Russell
reioysing to heare of the most reasonable offers of the
lord protector made to the lords, wrote vnto him
and

The effect
of the lord Rus-
sells letter an-
swering the
lord protectors.

The contents
of the second
answer of the
lord Russell to
the lord pro-
tectors.

The number
that came
forth of Ham-
bletewe.

Canes that
compelled the
French king
to breake by
his campe.

The kings
generall par-
ty don.

Abt. Fl. et. 1549.
translating with
Francis.

The counsell
withdrew
themselves
from the
court, and
resorted to
London.

The protector
removed
from Hamp-
ton court
to Windsoz.

The lord
Russell
received
the letter
of the
lord pro-
tectors.

and promised to do, what in the uttermost power of him (and likewise of sir William Herbert joined together with him) did lie, to worke some honorable reconciliation betwene him & them: so as his said offers being accepted and satisfied, some good conclusion might insue, according to their god hope and expectation: signifieng moreover, that as touching the leueng of men, they had resolved to haue the same in readinesse for the benefit of the realme, to occurre all inconueniences whatsoeuer, that either by forren inuasion or otherwise might happen: & so hauing their power at hand to draw nere, wherby they might haue the better oportunitie to be solicitous and meanes for this reformation on both parts, &c. And thus much for the answer of the lord Russell to the lord protectors letters.

The god lord Russell a solicitor for peace betwene the lord protectors and the lords.

The lords of the council assembled against the lord protector.

But now to proceed and go forward with the matter of the lords, who together with the earle of Warwike (upon what occasion God knoweth) were assembled at London (as ye haue heard) against the lord protector. When the king with his council at Hampton court heard thereof, first secretarie Peter with the kings message was sent vnto them, whome the lords notwithstanding detained still with them, making as yet no answer to the message. Whereupon the lord protector wrote as followeth.

A letter of the lord protectors to the council at London.

The protectors letter to the lords.

MY lords we commend vs heartlie vnto you. And whereas the kings maiestie was informed that you were assembled in such sort as you do, and now remaine, and was aduised by vs and such other of his council as were then here about his person, to send master secretarie Peter vnto you with such a message, as whereby might haue insued the suertie of his maiesties person, with the preservation of his realme and subjects, and the quiet both of vs and your selues, as master secretarie can well declare to you: his maiestie and we of his council here do not a little maruell, that you staie still with you the said master secretarie, & haue not as it were vouchsafed to send answer to his maiestie, neither by him nor yet by anie other. And for our selues we do much more maruell and are sorie, as both we and you haue god cause to be, to see the manner of your doings bent with force of violence, to bring the kings maiestie & vs to these extremities.

No word hitherto sent from the lords to the lord protector what they required of him to do.

Which as we intend, if you will take no other waie but violence, to defend (as nature and allegiance doth bind vs) to extremitie of death, and to put all to Gods hand, who giueth victorie as it pleaseth him: so if that anie reasonable conditions & offers would take place (as hitherto none hath bene signified vnto vs from you, nor we do not vnderstand, what you do require or seeke, or what you do meane) and that you do seeke no hurt to the kings maiesties person, as touching all other priuat matters, to auoid the effusion of christian blood, and to preserve the kings maiesties person, his realme and subjects, you shall find vs agreeable vnto anie reasonable conditions that you will require. For we do esteeme the kings wealth and tranquillitie of the realme more than all other worldly things, yea than our owne life. Thus praieing you to send vs your determinate answer herein by master secretarie Peter, or if you will not let him go, by this bearer, we beseech God to giue both you and vs grace to determinate this matter, as maie be to Gods honor, the preservation of the king, and the quiet of vs all: which maie be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you most hartlie

farewell. From the kings maiesties castell of Windsor the seuenth of October, 1549.

Your lordships loving friend
Edward Summerson.

After the receipt of these letters, the lords seming not greatlie to regard the offers contayned therein, persisted in their intended purpose; and continuing still in London conferred with the maior of London and his brethren, first willing them to cause a god and substantiall watch by night, and a god ward by daie to be kept for the safeguard of the citie, and the ports and gates thereof: which was consented vnto, and the companies of London in their turnes warned to watch and ward accordingly. Then the said lords and counsellors demanded of the lord maior and his brethren five hundred men to aid them, to fetch the lord protector out of Windsor from the king. But therevnto the maior answered, that he could grant no aid without the assent of the common council of the citie: wherupon the next daie a common council was summoned to the Guildhall in London. But in this meane time the said lords of the council assembled themselves at the lord maiors house in London, who was then sir Henrie Amcotes fishmonger, and John Wolfe and Richard Turke shiriffes of the said citie. And there the said council agreed and published forthwith a proclamation against the lord protector, the effect of which proclamation was as followeth.

The lords continue in their intended purpose against the lord protector.

The council of the king enmit the lord protector.

George Sted the citizen of London maior sent order London be quiet and applye.

A proclamation on published against the lord protector.

- 1 That the lord protector, by his malicious and euill gouernement, was the occasion of all the sedition that of late hath happened within the realme.
- 2 The losse of the kings peaces in France.
- 3 That he was ambitious and sought his owne glorie, as appeared by his building of most sumptuous and costlie buildings, and speciallie in the time of the kings warres, and the kings soldiers vnpayed.
- 4 That he esteemed nothing the graue council of the counsellors.
- 5 That he sowed sedition betwene the nobles, the gentlemen, and commons.
- 6 That the nobles assembled themselves together at London, for none other purpose, but to haue caused the protector to haue liued within his limits, and to haue put such order for the kings maiestie as appertained, whatsoeuer the protectors doings were, which (as they said) were vnnaturall, ingrate, and traitorous.
- 7 That the protector flattered the council to the king, and did that in him late to cause variance betwene the king and his nobles.
- 8 That he was a great traitor, and therefore the lords desired the citie and commons to aid them to take him from the king. And in witnesse and testimony of the contents of the said proclamation the lords subscribed their names and titles as followeth.

The lord Rich lord chancellor, the lord S. John lord great maister and president of the council, the lord re. Juelle of Northampton, the earle of Warwike lord great chamberleine, the earle of Arundell lord chamberleine, the earle of Shrewsburie, the earle of Southampton Marquisse, sir Thomas Cheinie knight treasurer of the kings house and lord warden of the cinque ports, sir John Cage knight constable of the tower, sir William Peter knight secretarie, sir Edward North knight, sir Edward Montague cheife iustice of the common pleas, sir Rafe Sadler, sir John Baker, sir Edward Watton, doctor Whotton deane of Canturburie, sir Richard Southwell.

What it is to bring the king by the grace.

The maior of George Sted.

His Philip his sent the king by the lords.

The lords continue in their intention purpose against the lord protector

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A proclama- on published against the lord protec- tor.

and ed- e.

one ptu- time sed. icell

les,

og- aus nts, e as ere, and

the be-

the n to elst- the 2eth. John the Har- doell, the mas and sage veler Co- less, Wat- : He

med, teng, dur- ring

Reg. 3.

the time that the lord maioz and his brethren sat in their court or inner chamber, and entered and continued a long while with them, and at the last the maioz and his brethren came forth vnto the common counsell, where was read the kings letter sent vnto the maioz and citizens, commanding them to aid him with a thousand men, as hath maister Fox, and to send the same to his castell at Windsoze: and to the same letter was adioined the kings hand, and the lord protector. On the other side, by the mouth of the recorder it was requested, that the citizens would grant their aid rather vnto the lords: for that the protector had abused both the kings maiestie, and the whole realme, and without that he were taken from the king, made to vnderstand his follie, this realme was in a great hazard: and therefore required that the citizens would willingly assent to aid the lords with five hundred men: herevnto was none other answer made but silence. But the recorder (who at that time was a worthie gentleman called maister Brooke) still cried vpon them for answer.

the lord maioz and his brethren

the lord maioz and his brethren

the lord maioz and his brethren

the lord maioz and his brethren

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the lord maioz and his brethren

the lord maioz and his brethren

the lord maioz and his brethren

At the last stepped by a wise and good citizen, named (as maister Fox saith) George Stablow, and said thus. In this case it is good for vs to thinke of things past to avoid the danger of things to come. I remember (saith he) in a storie written in Fabians chronicle, of the warre betwene the king and his barons, which was in the time of king Henrie the third, and the same time the barons (as our lords do now) commanded aid of the maioz and citie of London, and that in a rightfull cause for the common weale, which was for the execution of diuerse good lawes, wherevnto the king before had given his consent, and after would not suffer them to take place, and the citie did aid the lords. Now it came to an open battell, wherein the lords prevailed, and took the king and his sonne prisoners, and vpon certaine conditions the lords restored againe the king and his sonne to their liberties. And among all other conditions, this was one, that the king should not onlie grant his pardon to the lords, but also to the citizens of London, which was granted, yea and the same ratified by act of parlement. But what followed?

Was it forgotten? No surly, no; yet forgotten during the kings life. The liberties of the citie were taken awaie, strangers appointed to be our heads and gouernours, the citizens given awaie bodie and goods, and from one persecution to another were most miserably afflicted: such it is to enter into the wrath of a prince, as Salomon saith; The wrath and indignation of a prince is death. Wherefore forso much as this aid is required of the kings maiestie, whose voice we ought to hearken vnto (for he is our high shephard) rather than vnto the lords: and yet I would not wish the lords to be clearlie shaken off, but that they with vs, and we with them may loine in suite, and make our most humble petition to the kings maiestie, that it would please his highnesse, to heare such complaint against the gouernement of the lord protector as may be iustlie alledged and proued. And I doubt not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither shall the king nor yet the lords haue cause to seeke for further aid, neither we to offend any of them both. After this tale the commons staid, and the lord maioz and his brethren for that time brake vp, and after ward communed with the lords.

The lords sat the next daie in counsell in the Star chamber, and from thence they sent sir Philip Hobbie with their letters of credence to the kings maiestie, beseeching his highnesse to giue credit to that which the said Philip should declare vnto his maiestie in their names: the king gaue him libertie to speake, and most gentlie heard all that he had to saie. And truly he did so wiselie declare his message, and so

grauelie told his tale in the name of the lords, yea therewithall so vehementlie and grauenouslie against the protector, who was also there present by the king, that in the end, the lord protector was commanded from the kings presence, and shortly was committed to ward in a tower within the castell of Windsoze called Beauchamps tower. And sone after were staied sir Thomas Smith, sir Michaell Stanhope, and sir John Thyn knights, maister Challeie, maister Fisher, Maister of the priuie chamber, Craie of Reading, and diuers other gentlemen that attended vpon the lord protector. And the same daie the lords of the counsell came to Windsoze to the king, and the next daie they brought from thence the lord protector, and the other that were there staied, and conueied them through the citie of London, with as much wonderment as might be, vnto the tower, where they remained prisoners.

Touching the manner of the dukes comming to the tower from Windsoze, I find that it was on the fourteenth of October in the after none, at which time he was brought on horsebacke through Holburne, in at Newgate, and so to the tower of London, accompanied with diuerse lords and gentlemen with three hundred horse: the lord maioz, sir Raife Warren, sir John Gresham, maister recorder, sir William Locke, and both the shiriffes, and other knights, sitting on their horses against Soper lane, with all the officers with halberds, and from Holburne bydage to the tower, certaine aldermen or their deputies on horsebacke in euerie street, with a number of householders standing with billes as he passed. Shortly after the lords refoited to the tower, and there charged the protector with sundrie articles, as followeth.

The lord protector committed to prison.

Abr. Fl. ex I. Stow, 1044.

The lord protector committed to the tower.

Articles obiected against the lord protector.

In primis, you toke vpon you the office of a protector and gouernour, vpon condition, expresselie and speciallie, that you would do nothing in the kings affaires publicke or priuatlie, but by the assent of the late kings executors.

2 Also you, contrarie to the said condition, of your owne authoritie, did staie and let iustice, and subuerted the lawes, as well by your letters as by your commandements.

3 Also you caused diuerse persons, being arrested and imprisoned for treason, murther, manslaughter and felonie, to be discharged and set at large, against the kings lawes and statutes of this realme.

4 Also you haue made and ordeined lieutenants for the kings armies, and other weightie affaires vnder your owne writing and seale.

5 Also you haue communed with the ambassadors of other realmes, discourting alone with them in the weightie causes of this realme.

6 Also you haue sometime rebuked, checked and talunted, as well priuatlie as openlie, diuerse of the kings most honorable counsellors, for shewing and declaring their aduises and opinions against your purposes in the kings weightie affaires, saleng sometimes to them, that you need not to open matters vnto them, and would therefore be otherwise aduised: and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take other at your pleasure.

7 Also you had and held against the law in your owne house, a court of requests, and thereby did enforce diuerse the kings subiects to answer for their free holds and goods, and determined the same to the subuer-

Dom. 1549

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fourteen dates. He gave to the hospitall of Christ's church in London in his life time five hundred pounds in readie monie, and a hundred pounds at his decesse.]

But now to returne to other doings. Whilſt theſe huris and tumults were in hand, to the danger of the whole ſtate, the wars againſt the Scots were nothing followed, according to the former purpoſed meaning of the counsell: ſo that it ſeemed neceſſarie to give over the keeping of Hadington, the ſame being in deed more chargeable (as was thought) than profitable, ſith the garrifon there could not be bitteled but with a great power to conduct the cariages in ſafetie, the enimies being ſtill readie to take their advantage to diſtreſſe them upon anie opportunitie offered. It was therefore reſolved, that the earle of Rutland ſhould go thither to ſee the fortifications raſed, and to conduct from thence the men & ordinance in ſafetie home into England. Whereupon the ſaid earle with the Almans, and other ſouldiours then remaining on the borders, marched thither, and cauſed the bulwarks, rampiers, and trenches to be raiſed and filled flat with the ground, and bringing from thence all the men, artillerie and munition, bag and baggage returned into Barwicke without encounter, in peaceable and quiet maner.

Shortlie after this, the kings maiestie called his high court of parlement, which began at Weſtmiſter, the foure and twentieth daie of November in this third yeare of his reigne, and there continued the ſame untill the firſt daie of Februarye next following, which was in the beginning of the fourth yeare of his reigne. And among other things there enacted and concluded, one ſtatute was made for the puniſhment of rebels, and unlawfull aſſemblies: the which law was made by occaſion of the late rebellion that happened in manner through the realme the yeare paſſed, & was not thought nor meant to have touched anie noble man, ſpeciallie ſuch as the duke of Sumnerſet was, which after (as it ſhall appeare) it did, and by that ſtatute he was condemned within two yeares next after.

The nineteenth of Januarye, ſir John Russell lord priſtue ſcale, was created earle of Bedford: and lord ſaint John Lord great maſter, was created earle of Wilſhire: and ſir William Paget, comptroller of the kings houſe, was made lord Paget. On the ſame daie at night, were murdered by ſaint Pauls church againſt the kings head without ſetwage of London two capteins, that had ſerved the king of Bullongne and elſe where, the one was ſir Peter Gambo, the other ſilicirga. Which murder was committed by Charles Gauaro a Flemming, who came poſſ from Barwicke to do that act. On the morrow, he with three of his companie was taken in Smithfield by the lord Paget, and ſent to ſetwage, and the foure and twentieth of Januarye they were all foure, Charles Gauaro, Balthazar Gauaro, Nicholas Diſalueron, and Francis Deuallaco, had in a cart to Smithfield. And by the waie at the place where the murder was done, Charles Gauaro had his right hand ſtricken off on the cart whele, and then all hanged in Smithfield; who being exhorted to reconcile himſelfe to God and the world by confeſſing his fault, by repenting himſelfe of the offense, and aſking forgiveness, that he might with a diſburthened conſcience reſigne his ſoule into the hands of God, obſtinacie and deſperacie answered, that he would neuer repent him of the deed.]

About the ſame time, monſieur de Thermes that ſucceeded monſieur de Weſſe in gouvernement as general of the French forces in Scotland, came before Broughtierag, where he did ſo much by batterie & other kinds of inſoſement, that giving an aſſault

both with his Frenchmen and certeine Scots ſolned with him, the twentieth of Februarye, the fort was entered by ſine force, and all within it either taken or ſlaine. Sir John Lutterell gouvernour of that pece remained priſoner amongſt the Frenchmen. Moreover, now after the end of the parlement, the earle of Marlowe, having then higheſt authoritie, and the reſt of the lords of the counsell, calling to remembrance how the laſt yeare in the time of rebellion, the French king had entered Bullongnois, and waſone diuerſe of the Engliſh ſorts there, being of great importance for deſenſe of the towne and countrie, the deſault whereof was imputed to the negligent government of the lord protector: and for ſo much as they well underſtood that the French king upon further practice had placed a capteine called the Keingraue, with diuerſe regiments of Almaine lancequenets, and certeine enſignes alſo of Frenchmen, to the number of foure or five thouſand at the towne of Hoguifon, being the midwaie betwene Bullongne and Calis, to the great perill and danger as well of the countie of Bullongnois, as alſo of Calis, Guſnes, and all the low countrie.

The king therefore for the deſenſe of the ſaid frontiers, cauſed all the ſtrangers which had ſerved that yeare againſt the rebels, being to the number of two thouſand, to be tranſported ouer the ſea to the marches of Calis. And now at Chriſtmas laſt paſſ, by order of the ſaid earle, and of the counſellors aforeſaid, Francis earle of Huntington, and ſir Edward Hastings his brother, ſir James Croft, ſir Leonard Chamberleine, and diuerſe other capteins and ſouldiers, to the number of three thouſand, were ſet over to the marches of Calis, to ſoine with the ſaid ſtrangers, minding with as conuenient ſpeed as they might, to remove the campe, and otherwiſe to annoie the French. But in the meane time through the diligent trauell of certeine perſons, ſpeciallie of one Guidotti an Italian, and a Florentine bozne, there was a motion made for a treatie to be had by certeine commiſſioners, appointed betwixt the kings of England and France, for the concluſion of ſome peace, upon ſuch reaſonable conditions and articles as might be thought expedient for the preſent time; and to ſtand with the honor and commoditie of both the princes.

This motion toke ſuch effect, that about the ſeventh daie of Februarye, certeine commiſſioners, appointed for this treatie, that is to wit, John the earle of Bedford, the lord Paget, ſir William Peter the kings cheſe ſecretarie, and ſir John Paſon, arrived at Calis: by reaſon of whole coming, the earle of Huntington, and the armie ſent ouer before for the deſenſe of the frontiers were countermanded from anie attempt, ſo that little or nothing was done in that voiage, ſaving certeine ſkirmiſhes at diuerſe times, not much materiall to be witten of. Theſe commiſſioners being thus arrived, paſſed from Calis to Bullongne, there to meet with the commiſſioners appointed for the French king, where as a certeine houſe was newlie erected for the ſaid treatie to be had, which was upon the ſide of Bullongne haven next to France, where after diuerſe meetings & conferences of the commiſſioners of either partie, a ſmall peace was at laſt concluded betwixt both the realmes. But theſe among other things, for the reſtitution of Bullongne and Bullongnois to the Frenchmen, which were upon certeine conditions following.

Firſt, that the French king ſhould yeld and paie to the king of England a certeine ſumme of monie, and the ſame to be paid at two payments, as it was then agreed: and for the ſame ſumme the king of England ſhould render the towne of Bullongne,

Sir John Lutterell priſoner.

Erle of warwick in high-est authoritie.

Hoguifon the midwaie between Bullen and Calis.

It is agreed among the lords to ſink it and annoie the French.

Commissioners sent to treat of peace.

A peace concluded with France upon certeine conditions.

and

Bullongne
given up to
the French.

He entereth.

Abr. Fl. ex
L.S. pag. 1046.
How officers
created of the
nobilitie.

The liberties
of South-
wiche pur-
chased.

The duke of
Summerfet
delivered out
of the tower.

A marriage to
compose strife
and establish
amitie.

Rich. Grafton.
Rebellion in
Kent execu-
ted.

Pzests chil-
dren legiti-
mate.
Wherie for-
bidden.

Abr. Fl. ex L.S.
pag. 1047, 1048
Alderman of
Southwiche.

and all the forts thereto adjoining, which he then in-
toied, with all such artillerie and munition as was
there found at the taking of the same to the French
king. And for the sure payment of the said sum, the
French king sent into England for hostages and
pledges, the counte de Anguicourt, Lewis the duke of
Clansome his brother, the Vidame of Chartres, and
the duke de Anmale and others. And on S. Parkes
daie next following, being the five and twentieth daie
of April, about eight of the clocke in the morning,
the Englishmen did deliver to the Frenchmen the
possession of Bullongne, and the castles and forts in
the countie of Bullognois, according to the agree-
ments and articles of peace afore mentioned. And
the fifteenth daie next following the French king en-
tered into the said towne of Bullongne with trum-
pets blowne, & with all the roiall triumph that might
be, where he offered one great image of silver of our
ladie in the church there, which was called our ladie
church: the which image he had caused speciallie to
be made in the honoz of the said ladie, and caused the
same to be set up in the place where the like image
before did stand, the which before was taken awaie
by the Englishmen at the winning of the towne.

¶ On Candlemasse daie, William lord S. John
earle of Willshire, lord great maister, and president
of the counsell, was made lord treasurer. John Dud-
leie earle of Warwike, lord great chamberleine,
was made lord great maister. William Parre mar-
quess of Dorsethampton, was made lord great cham-
berleine. Lord Wentworth was made lord cham-
berleine of the household. Sir Anthoine Wingfield
capitaine of the gard, was made comptrollor of the
kings house. And sir Thomas Warcie knight, was
made vicechamberleine & capitaine of the gard. And
the earle of Arundell late lord chamberleine, with
the earle of Southampton were put off the counsell,
and commanded to keepe their houses in London.
¶ On the 10 of Februarie, one Well a Suffolke man
was hanged and quartered at Tyburne, for moving
a new rebellion in Suffolke and Essex. This time,
the lord maiorz of London and the aldermen purcha-
sed all the liberties of Southwiche, which were in
the kings hands.]

¶ Some after the aforesaid agreement betwene
England and France was concluded, upon the fore-
remembered capitulations, because of suspicion of
displeasure and hatred that was thought to remaine
betwene the earle of Warwike and the duke of
Summerfet, latelie before delivered out of the
tower, a meane was found that their friendship
should be renewed through alliance, and a marriage
was concluded betwene the earle of Warwikes
eldest sonne, and the duke of Summerfets eldest
daughter: the which marriage was solemnized at
Shene, the king being then present. After the sole-
mnitie of this marriage, there appeared outwardlie to
the world great love and friendship betwene the
duke and the earle, but by reason of carietales and
flatterers, the love continued not long, howbeit ma-
nie did verie earnestlie wish love and amitie to con-
tinue betwene them. ¶ About this time was a
new rebellion in Kent, but it was soon suppressed,
and certeine of the chiefe were apprehended and put
to death, namelie Richard Lion, Goddard Coxrain,
and Richard Ireland. This yeare was a parlement
holden at Westminster, where among other things
by the authoritie of the said parlement, pzests chil-
dren were made legitimate, and blurie for the loane
of monie forbidden.]

¶ On wednesdaie in Whitsuneweke, at a court of
aldermen kept at the Guildhall, sir John Aliske
knight, and maister of Blackwell hall, was sworn
alderman of the Bridge ward without, to have iuris-

diction of the borough of Southwiche, and thus was
he the first alderman that ever was there, who made
up the number of six and twentie aldermen of Lon-
don, whereas before that time had bene but five and
twentie. ¶ Trinitie tearme was adourned till spi-
chaelmasse, for that the gentlemen should keepe the
commons from commotion. The cleventh of June
being S. Barnabies daie, was kept hollidaie all
London over: and the same daie at night, the high
altar in Paules church was pulled downe, and a
table set where the altar stood, with a veile drawne
beneath the steps; and on the sondaie next a commu-
nion was song at the same table; and shortly after
all the altars in London were taken downe, and
tables placed in their rooms. This yeare was no
such watch at Whitsunmer as had bene accustomed.

The thirtieth of Julie Thomas lord Wriothesleie
erle of Southampton, knight of the garter, and one
of the executors to king Henrie the eight, deceased
at Lincoln place in Holborne, and was buried in
S. Andzews church there. Sir Andzews Jude for
this yeare maiorz of London, and Skinner, created one
notable frechcole at Tunbridge in Kent, wherein he
brought up and nourished in learning great store of
youth, as well bred in that shire, as brought from o-
ther countries adjoining. A noble act and correspon-
dent to those that have bene done by like worthi-
full men, and other in old time within the same citie
of London. He also builded almshouses for six
pore almshouse people, nigh to the parish church of saint
Helens within Bishopsgate of London, a gaveland
to the companie of the skinners in the same citie, a-
mounting to the value of threescore pounds three shil-
lings eight pence the yeare: for the which they be
bound to paie twentie pounds to the scholemaister,
and eight pounds to the vther of his frechcole at
Tunbridge yearelie for ever, and foure shillings the
weeke to the six pore almshouse people at S. Helens
aforesaid, eight pence the pace weekelie, and five and
twentie shillings foure pence the yeare in coles a-
mongst them for ever.]

About this time there was at Feuerham in Kent
a gentleman named Arden, most cruelle murde-
red and slaine by the procurement of his olone wife.
The which murder, for the horriblenesse thereof, al-
though otherwise it may seeme to be but a private
matter, and therefore as it were impertinent to this
historie, I have thought good to set it forth somewhat
at large, having the instructions delivered to me by
them, that have used some diligence to gather the
true understanding of the circumstances. This Ar-
den was a man of a tall and comelie personage, and
matched in marriage with a gentlewoman, young,
tall, and well favoured of shape and countenance,
who chancing to fall in familiaritie with one Apollie
a tailor by occupation, a blacke swart man, servant
to the lord Poze, it happened this Apollie upon some
mislaking to fall out with hir: but the being desirous
to be in favour with him againe, sent him a paire of
silver dice by one Adam Foule dwelling at the
Fleure de lice in Feuerham.

After which he resorted to hir againe, and often-
times laie in Ardens house: in somuch that within
two yeares after, he obtained such favour at hir
hands, that he laie with hir, or (as the p. terme it) kept
hir, in abusing hir bodie. And although (as it was
said) Arden perceived right well their mutuall fa-
miliaritie to be much greater than their honestie, yet
because he would not offend hir, and so lose the bene-
fit which he hoped to gaine at some of hir fathers
hands in bearing with hir lewenesse, which he might
have lost if he should have fallen out with hir: he
was contented to wink at hir filthie disorder, and
both permitted, and also invited Apollie verie often

Termes
toured.

S. Barnabie
kept holi-
daie all
high alder-
man's pul-
pit downe.

No watch
at Whitsun-
mer.

Earle of
Southamp-
ton deceased.

Charitable
deeds of An-
drew Jude,
frechcole of
Tunbridge.

Times
houses.

I 551
Anno Reg.
Arden mur-
dered.

Arden de-
scribed.

One and
half.

A paire of di-
ces sent by
Foule much
mischiefe.

Arden first
kept at his
house, and
afterwards
at the
Fleure de lice.

Arden's wife
arranger
means to
make swaie
her husband.

Arden's pol-
luted by his
wife but reco-
vereth.

She desired
another swaie
to dispatch her
husband Ar-
den.

A notorious
murdering
cuckold.

Marke how
the devil will
not let his or-
gans or in-
struments let
any either oc-
casion of oppo-
sition to com-
mit most he-
nous wicked-
nesse.

Forperat
bawne.

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Some wife
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to lodge in his house. And thus it continued a good space, before any practise was begun by them against master Arden. She at length inflamed in love with Posbie, and loathing his husband, wished and after practised the means how to hasten his end.

There was a painter dwelling in Feuertham, who had skill of poisons, as was reported. She therefore demanded of him, whether it were true that he had such skill in that feat or not: And he denied not but that he had indeed. Psea (said she) but I would have such a one made, as should have most vehement and speedie operation to dispatch the eater thereof. That can I do (quoth he) and forthwith made him such a one, and willed him to put it into the bottome of a porringer, & then after to pottle milke on it. Which circumstance she forgetting, did cleane contrarie, putting in the milke first; and afterward the poison. Now master Arden purposing that daie to ride to Canturburie, his wife brought him his breakefast, which was wont to be milke and butter. He having received a spoonfull or two of the milke, mistooke the taste and colour thereof, and said to his wife, mistresse Arden what milke have you given me here? Where-withall she tilted it over with her hand, saying, I weene nothing can please you. Then he took his horse and road towards Canturburie, and by the waie fell into extreme purging bywards and downewards, and so escaped for that time.

After this, his wife fell in acquaintance with one Græne of Feuertham, servant to sir Anthonie Arger, from which Græne master Arden had possessed a peece of ground on the backside of the abbete of Feuertham, and there had blowes and great threats passed betwixt them about that matter. Therefore she knowing that Græne hated his husband, began to practise with him how to make him a waie; and concluded, that if he could get any that would kill him, he should have ten pounds for a reward. This Græne having doings for his master sir Anthonie Arger, had occasion to go up to London, where his master then late, and having some charge up with him, desired one Bradshaw a goldsmith of Feuertham that was his neighbor, to accompany him to Grauesend, and he would content him for his pains. This Bradshaw, being a verie honest man, was content, and road with him. And when they came to Rainham downe, they chanced to see three or foure servingmen that were coming from Leeds: and therewith Bradshaw espied comming up the hill from Rochester, one blacke Will, a terrible cruell ruffian with a sword and a buckler, and an other with a great staffe on his necke.

Then said Bradshaw to Græne: We are happy that here cometh some companie from Leeds, for here cometh by against us as murdering a knave as any is in England: if it were not for them we might chance hardlie to escape without losse of our monie and livers. Psea thought Græne (as he after confessed) such a one is for my purpose, and therefore asked: Which is he? Ponder is he quoth Bradshaw, the same that hath the sword and buckler: his name is blacke Will. How know you that, said Græne? Bradshaw answered, I knew him at Bullongne, where we both served, he was a soldier, and I was sir Richard Cauendishes man, and there he committed manie robberies and heinous murders on such as travelled betwixt Bullongne and France.

By this time the other companie of servingmen came to them, and they going all together, met with blacke Will and his fellow. The servingmen knew blacke Will, & saluting him, demanded of him whether he went: He answered, By his blood (for his life was to sweare almost at euery word) I know not, nor care not, but set by my staffe, and such as it fall

leth I go. If thou (quoth they) wilt go backe againe to Grauesend, we will giue thee thy supper. By his blood (said he) I care not, I am content, haue with you: and so he returned againe with them. When blacke Will took acquaintance of Bradshaw, saying, fellow Bradshaw how dost thou? Bradshaw unwilling to renew acquaintance, or to haue ought to do with so shameles a ruffian, said: Why doe ye know me? Psea that I do (quoth he) did not we serue in Bullongne together? But ye must pardon me (quoth Bradshaw) for I haue forgotten you.

Then Græne talked with blacke Will, and said: When ye haue supped, come to mine hosts house at such a signe, and I will giue you the sacke and sugar. By his blood (said he) I thanke you, I will come and take it I warrant you. According to his promise he came, and there they made good cheare. Then blacke Will & Græne went and talked apart from Bradshaw, and there concluded together, that if he would kill master Arden, he should haue ten pounds for his labor. Then he answered, By his wounds that I will if I maie know him. Psea to morrow in Poules I will shew him thee, said Græne. Then they left their talke, & Græne bad him go home to his hosts house. Then Græne wrote a letter to mistresse Arden, & among other things put in these words: We haue got a man for our purpose, we maie thanke my brother Bradshaw. Now Bradshaw not knowing any thing of this, took the letter of him, and in the morning departed home againe, and deliuered the letter to mistresse Arden, and Græne & blacke Will went by to London at the tide.

At the time appointed, Græne shewed blacke Will master Arden walking in Poules. Then said blacke Will, what is he that goeth after him? Psea said Græne, one of his men. By his blood (said blacke Will) I will kill them both. Psea (said Græne) do not so, for he is of counsell with us in this matter. By his blood (said he) I care not for that, I will kill them both. Psea said Græne in any wise do not so. Then blacke Will thought to haue killed master Arden in Poules churchyard, but there were so manie gentle men that accompanied him to dinner, that he mistook of his purpose. Græne shewed all this talke to master Ardens man, whose name was Michaele, which euer after stood in doubt of blacke Will, lest he should kill him. The cause that this Michaele conspired with the rest against his master, was: for that it was determined, that he should marrie a kinswoman of Posbies.

After this, master Arden late at a certeine parsonage which he held in London, and therefore his man Michaele and Græne agreed, that blacke Will should come in the night to the parsonage, where he should find the doores left open, that he might come in and murder master Arden. This Michaele having his master to bed, left open the doores according to the appointment. His master then being in bed, asked him if he had shut fast the doores, and he said yea: but yet afterwards, fearing lest blacke Will would kill him as well as his master, after he was in bed himselfe, he rose againe and shut the doores, bolting them fast. So that blacke Will coming thither, and finding the doores shut, departed, being disappointed at that time. The next daie blacke Will came to Græne in a great chafe, swearing and flaring because he was so deceived, and with manie terrible oaths threatened to kill master Ardens man first, whereouer he met him. No (said Græne) do not so, I will first know the cause of quitting the doores.

Then Græne met and talked with Ardens man, and asked of him, why he did not leaue open the doores, according to his promise: Psea (said Michaele) I

An honest
man is asha-
med to re-
new old ac-
quaintance
with a knaue.

The match
made to mur-
der Arden.

Simplicitie
abused.

Blacke Will
maketh no
conscience of
bloodshed and
murder.

Why Ardens
man conspired
with the rest
to kill his
master.

One murder-
ring mind
mistrusting an-
other, do
hinder the ex-
ecution where-
about they
agreed.

h h h h h.

The fourth
attempt to
make Arden
awake disap-
pointed.

Blacke will
misleth his
purpose.

Ardens wife
disleth, suc-
coureth, em-
boldeneth, and
directeth black
will at: how
to accomplish
his bloody
purpose.

Note here the
force of feare
and a troubled
conscience.

Blacke will
yet againe
disappointed.

Arden's con-
spirators
quarrell against
Arden by the
conspirators.

will shew you the cause. My maister yesternight did
that he neuer did before: for after I was in bed, he
rose up and shut the doores, and in the morning rated
me for leauing them vnshut. And herewith Greene &
blacke Will were pacified. Arden being redie to go
home wards, his maid came to Greene & said; This
night will my maister go downe. Whereupon it was
agreed that blacke Will should kill him on Reineam
downe. When maister Arden came to Rochester, his
man still fearing that blacke Will would kill him
with his maister, picked his horse of purpose, and
made him to halt, to the end he might protrae the
time, and tarie behind. His maister asked him why
his horse halted, he said, I know not. Well (quoth
his maister) when ye come at the smith here before
(betwene Rochester and the hill foot ouer against
Chetam) remoue his shoe, and searh him, and then
come after me. So maister Arden rode on: and per
he came at the place where blacke Will laie in wait
for him, there ouertoke him diuerse gentlemen of
his acquaintance, who kept him companie: so that
blacke Will mist here also of his purpose.

After that maister Arden was come home, he
sent (as he vsuallie did) his man to Sheprie to sir Tho-
mas Cheinie, then lord warden of the cinque ports,
about certeine businesse, and at his comming awaie,
he had a letter deliuered sent by sir Thomas Cheinie
to his maister. When he came home, his mistresse
toke the letter and kept it, willing her man to tell his
maister, that he had a letter deliuered him by sir
Thomas Cheinie, and that he had lost it, adding that
he thought it best that his maister should go the next
morning to sir Thomas, because he knew not the
matter: he said he would, and therefore he willed his
man to be stirring betimes. In this meane while,
blacke Will, and one George Shakesbag his compa-
nion, were kept in a storehouse of sir Anthoine A-
gers at Dzeffon, by Greene's appointment: and thi-
ther came mistresse Arden to see him, bringing and
senting him meat and drinke manie times. He ther-
fore lurking there, and watching some opportunitie
for his purpose, was willed in anie wise to be vp
early in the morning, to lie in wait for maister Ar-
den in a certeine brome close, betwixt Feuertham &
the ferrie (which close he must needs passe) there to doe
his feat. Now blacke Will stirred in the morning be-
times, but mist the waie, & taried in a wrong place.

Maister Arden & his man comming on their waie
early in the morning towards Shorneham, where sir
Thomas Cheinie laie: as they were almost come to
the brome close, his man alwaies fearing that
blacke Will would kill him with his maister, feined
that he had lost his purse; Why said his maister, thou
folly knaue, couldst thou not looke to thy purse but
lose it? What was in it? Whye pounds said he. Why
then go thy waies backe againe like a knaue (said
his maister) and seeke it, for being so earlie as it is,
there is no man stirring, and therefore thou maist be
sure to find it, and then conie and ouertake me at the
ferrie. But neuerthelesse, by reason that blacke Will
lost his way, maister Arden escaped yet once againe.
At that time, blacke Will yet thought he should
haue bene sure to haue met him homewards: but
whether that some of the lord wardens men accom-
panied him backe to Feuertham, or that being in
doubt, for that it was late to go through the brome
close, and therefore toke another waie, blacke Will
was disappointed then also.

But now saint Valentines faire being at hand,
the conspirators thought to dispatch their diuclish in-
tention at that time. Spobie minded to picke some
quarrell to maister Arden at the faire to fight with
him; for he said he could not find in his heart to mur-
ther a gentleman in that sort as his wife wished: al-

though he had made a solemne promise to him, and
he againe to him, to be in all points as man and wife
together, and thereupon they both receiued the sacra-
ment on a sundaie at London, openlie in a church
there. But this deuile to fight with him would not
serue, for maister Arden both then and at other times
had bene greatlie prouoked by Spobie to fight with
him, but he would not. Now Spobie had a sister that
dwelt in a tenement of maister Ardens nere to his
house in Feuertham: and on the faire euen, blacke
Will was sent for to come thither, and Greene bin-
ging him thither, met there with mistresse Arden, ac-
companied with Michaelel her man, and one of her
maids. There were also Spobie and George Shakes-
bag, and there they deuised to haue killed him in ma-
ner as after wards he was. But yet Spobie at the
first would not agree to that cowardlie murdering
of him, but in a furie slong awaie, and went by the
abbie street toward the Solwer be lice, the house of
the aforesaid Adam Froule, where he did often
hoft. But before he came thither now at this time, a
messenger ouertoke him, that was sent from mi-
stres Arden, desiring him of all loues to come backe
againe to helpe to accomplish the mater he knew of.
Whereupon he returned to his againe, and at his com-
ming backe, he fell downe upon his knees to him,
and besought him to go through with the matter, as
if he loved him he would be content to doe, with as the
had diuerse times told him, he needed not to doubt,
for there was not anie that would care for his death,
nor make anie great inquirie for them that should
dispatch him.

Thus he being earnest with him, at length he
was contented to agree vnto that horrible deuile,
and thereupon they conueied blacke Will into mai-
ster Ardens house, putting him into a closet at the
end of his parlour. Before this, they had sent out of
the house all the seruants, those excepted which were
pruiue to the deuised murder. Then went Spobie to
the doze, and there stood in a night gowne of silke gir-
ded about him, and this was betwixt six and seven of
the clocke at night. Maister Arden hauing bene at a
neighbors house of his, named Dumphin, & hauing
cleared certeine reckonings betwixt them, came
home: and finding Spobie standing at the doze, as-
ked him if it were supper time: I thinke not (quoth
Spobie) it is not yet readie. Then let vs go and plaie
a game at the tables in the meane season, said mai-
ster Arden. And so they went straight into the parlo-
and as they came by through the hall, his wife was
walking there, and maister Arden said; How now
mistresse Ales? But she made small answer to him.
In the meane time one cheined the wicked doze of the
entrie. When they came into the parloz, Spobie sat
downe on the bench, hauing his face toward the
place where blacke Will stood. When Michaelel mai-
ster Ardens man stood at his masters backe, holding
a candle in his hand, to shadow blacke Will, that
Arden might by no meanes perceiue him comming
forth. In their plate Spobie said thus (which seemed
to be the watchword for blacke Wills comming
forth) Now mate I take you sir if I will. Take me
(quoth maister Arden) which waie? With that blacke
Will slept forth, and cast a towell about his necke,
so to stop his breath and strangle him. Then Spobie
hauing at his girdle a pressing iron of fourteen
pounds weight, stroke him on the hed with the same,
so that he fell downe, and gaue a great grone, insa-
much that they thought he had bene killed.

Then they bare him awaie, to laie him in the coun-
ting house, & as they were about to laie him downe,
Arden saie
the pangs of death comming on him, he gaue a
great grone, and stretched himselfe, and then blacke
Will gaue him a great gash in the face, and so kil-
led

blacke will
receiued ten
pounds for
his reward of
Ardens wife,
for murdering
her husband.

Spobie's hot
continencie
in innocencie
and ignorance
the more after
the murder-
ing of his
husband.

The parallel
to Will Arden
is now let
abrook.

Here the con-
spirators were
their granicle

This he did
to colour his
blacke conuile
which by no
means was
credible.

The watch-
word to the
principal
murderer.

Arden's con-
spirators
and a
murderer of
his priuat
purs: b: fore
common
false.

Ardens wife, blacke will, & the knot of vilians meet and conclude upon their former preperio mischief.

Disposytionate & bloudie minded strumpet!

The ppeadile to kill Arden is now set abroch.

Here the confederats come their pparities

The watchword to the principall murderers.

Arden slain outright.

Ardens wife, blacke will, & the knot of vilians meet and conclude upon their former preperio mischief.

Disposytionate & bloudie minded strumpet!

The ppeadile to kill Arden is now set abroch.

The watchword to the principall murderers.

Arden slain outright.

led him out of hand, laid him along, toke the monie out of his purse, and the rings from his fingers, and then comming out of the counting house, said; Now the feat is done, give me my monie. So mistres Arden gaue him ten pounds: and he comming to Grene, had a horse of him, and so rode his waies. After that blacke Will was gone, mistresse Arden came into the counting house, and with a knife gaue him seven or eight picks into the brest. Then they made cleane the parlor, toke a clout, and wiped where it was bloudie, and strewed againe the rushes that were thrust with struggling, and cast the clout with which they wiped the blood, and the knife that was bloudie, wherewith she had wounded hir husband, into a tub by the wel side; where afterwards both the same clout and knife were found. Thus this wicked woman, with hir complices, most shamefullie murdered hir owne husband, who most entirly loved hir all his life time. When she sent for two Londoners to supper, the one named Paine, and the other Cole, that were grocers, which before the murder was committed, were bidden to supper. When they came, she said: I maruell where maister Arden is; he will not tarie for him, come ye and sit downe, for he will not be long. Then Possibies sister was sent for, she came and sat downe, and so they were merie.

After supper, mistres Arden caused hir daughter to plaie on the virginals, and they dancied, and she with them, and so seemed to protract time as it were, till maister Arden should come, and she said, I maruell where he is so long; well, he will come anon I am sure, I praie you in the meane while let vs plaie a game at the tables. But the Londoners said, they must go to their holls house, or else they should be shut out at doores, and so taking their leaue, departed. When they were gone, the seruants that were not psside to the murder, were sent abroad into the towne; some to seeke their maister, and some of other errands, all sauing Michaell and a maid, Possibies sister, and one of mistres Ardens owne daughters. When they toke the dead bodie, and caried it out, to laie it in a field next to the church-yard, and so coming to his garden wall, through the which he went to the church. In the meane time it began to snow, and when they came to the garden gate, they remembered that they had forgotten the key, and one went in for it, and finding it, at length brought it, opened the gate, and caried the corps into the same field, as it were ten pases from the garden gate, and laid him downe on his backe streight in his night gowne, with his slippers on: and betwene one of his slippers and his foot, a long rush or two remained. When they had thus laid him downe, they returned the same way they came through the garden into the house.

They being returned thus backe againe into the house, the doores were opened, and the seruants returned home that had bene sent abroad: and being now verie late, she sent forth hir folks againe to make inqurie for him in diuerse places; namely, among the best in the towne where he was wont to be, who made answer, that they could tell nothing of him. When she began to make an outcrie, and said; Fewer woman had such neighbors as I haue, and herewith wept: in somuch that hir neighbors came in, and found hir making great lamentation, pretending to maruell what was become of hir husband. Whereupon, the maior and others came to make search for him. The satire was wont to be kept partlie in the towne, and partlie in the abbey; but Arden for his owne priuat lucre & couetous gaine had this present yeare procured it to be wholie kept within the abbey ground which he had purchased; &

so reaping all the gaires to himselfe, and breauing the towne of that portion which was wont to come to the inhabitants, got manie a bitter curse. The maior going about the satire in this search, at length came to the ground where Arden laie: and as it happened, Paine the groser getting sight of him, first said; Staie, for me thinke I see one lie here. And so they looking and beholding the bodie, found that it was maister Arden, lieng there throughlie dead, and viewing diligentlie the maner of his bodie & hurts, found the rushes sticking in his slippers, and marking further, espied certeine footsteps, by reason of the snow, betwixt the place where he laie, and the garden doze.

When the maior commanded euerie man to staie, and herewith appointed some to go about, & to come in at the inner side of the house through the garden as the waie laie, to the place where maister Ardens dead bodie did lie; who all the waie as they came, perceived footings still before them in the snow: and so it appeared plainlie that he was brought along that waie from the house through the garden, and so into the field where he laie. When the maior and his companie that were with him went into the house, and knowing hir euill demeanour in times past, examined hir of the matter: but she desired them and said, I would you should know I am no such woman. Then they examined hir seruants, and in the examination, by reason of a peece of his heare and blood found nere to the house in the waie, by the which they caried him forth, and likewise by the knife with which he had thrust him into the brest, and the clout wherewith they wiped the blood awaie which they found in the tub, into the which the same were thrown; they all confessed the matter, and hir selfe beholding hir husbands blood, said; Oh the blood of God helpe, for this blood haue I shed.

Then were they all attached, and committed to prison, and the maior with others went presentlie to the flower de lise, where they found Possibie in bed: and as they came towards him, they espied his hose and purse stained with some of maister Ardens blood. And when he asked what they meant by their comming in such sort, they said; See, here ye may vnderstand wherefore, by these tokens, shewing him the blood on his hose and purse. Then he confessed the deed, and so he and all the other that had conspired the murder, were apprehended and laid in prison, except Grene, blacke Will, and the painter, which painter and George Shakebag, that was also fled before, were neuer heard of. Shortlie were the sessions kept at Feuerham, where all the prisoners were acceigned and condemned. And thereupon being examined whether they had anie other complices, mistres Arden accused Bradshaw, upon occasion of the letter sent by Grene from Grene end, (as before ye haue heard) which words had none other meaning, but onelie by Bradshaws describing of blacke Wills qualities; Grene iudged him a mate instrument for the erection of their pretended murder. Where to notwithstanding (as Grene confessed at his death certeine yeares after) this Bradshaw was neuer made priuie; howbeit he was vpon this accusation of mistres Arden, immediately sent for to the sessions, and indicted, and declaration made against him, as a procurer of blacke Will to kill maister Arden, which proceeded wholie by misunderstanding of the words contained in the letter which he brought from Grene.

When he desired to talke with the persons condemned, and his request was granted. He therefore demanded of them if they knew him, or ever had anie conuersation with him, & they all said no. Then the letter being shewed and read, he declared the be-

Ardens dead bodie is described by one of his acquaintances.

Footsteps all alongt from the dead bodie of Arden to his dwelling house.

A peece of Ardens heare and his blood spilt in the house espied, as also a bloudie knife and a clout found.

Some of Ardens blood vpon Possibies purse.

The principals of this murder fled awaie.

Bradshaw as vniuall accusor, as his simplicity was shamefull abuse.

Innocencie
no barre a-
gainst execu-
tion.

Note how
these maiesties
suffered
punishment.

Blacke Will
burnt at
flashing.

A wonder touch-
ing the
print of Ar-
dens dead bo-
die two yeares
after he was
slaine.

God heareth
the teares of
the oppressed
and taketh
vengeance:
note an exam-
ple in Arden.

A parliament.

A booke of
common praier
confirmed.

Abt. Fl. ex
I.S. pag. 1049.
Sweating
sickness.

rie truth of the matter, and vpon what occasion he told Cræne of blacke Will: neuertheless, he was condemned, and suffered. These condemned persons were diuerlie executed in sundrie places, for Michaele maister Ardens man was hanged in chaires at Feuertham, and one of the maids was burnt there, pitifullie bewailing hir case, and cried out on hir mistres that had brought hir to this end, for the which she would neuer forgive hir. Posbie & his sister were hanged in Smithfield at London; mistres Arden was burned at Canturburie the foure and twentieth of March. Cræne came againe certeine yeares after, was apprehended, condemned, & hanged in chaires in the high waie betwixt Woking & Woughton against Feuertham; blacke Will was burnt on a scaffold at flashing in Ze-land. Adam Foule that dwelt at the house de lice in Feuertham was brought into trouble about this matter, and caried vpon to London, with his legs bound vnder the horse bellie, and committed to prison in the Sparthallie: for that Posbie was heard to saie; Had it not bene for Adam Foule, I had not come to this trouble: meaning that the bringing of the silver dice for a token to him from mistres Arden, as ye haue heard, occasioned him to renew familiaritie with hir againe. But when the matter was thoughtlie ripped vp, & that Posbie had cleared him, protesting that he was neuer of knowledge in anie behalfe to the murder, the mans innocencie preferred him.

This one thing seemeth verie strange and notable, touching maister Arden, that in the place where he was laid, being dead, all the propotion of his bodie might be seene two yeares after and more, so plaine as could be, for the grasse did not grow where his bodie had touched: but betwene his legs, betwene his armes, and about the hollownesse of his necke, and round about his bodie, and where his legs, armes, head, or anie other part of his bodie had touched, no grasse growed at all of all that time. So that manie strangers came in that meane time, beside the towne men, to see the print of his bodie there on the ground in that field. Which field he had (as some haue reported) most cruellie taken from a woman, that had bene a widow to one Coke, and after married to one Richard Kead a mariner, to the great hinderance of hir and hir husband the said Kead: for they had long inioied it by a lease, which they had of it for manie yeares, not then expired: neuertheless, he got it from them. For the which, the said Keads wife not onelie exclaimed against him, in sheading manie a salt teare, but also cursed him most bitterlie euen to his face, wishing manie a vengeance to light vpon him, and that all the world might wonder on him. Which was thought then to come to passe, when he was thus murdered, and laie in that field from midnight till the morning: and so all that daie, being the faire daie till night, all the which daie there were manie hundreds of people came wondering about him. And thus far touching this horrible and heinous murder of maister Arden. To returne then where we left.

About this time the kings maiestie calling his high court of parliament, held the same at Westminster the three and twentieth daie of Januarie, in this fift yeare of his reigne, and there continued it, untill the fiftenth daie of Aprill in the first yeare of his said reigne. In this parlement the booke of common praier, which in some part had bene corrected and amended, was newlie confirmed & established. In the end of this parlement, namelie the fiftenth of Aprill the infectious sweating sickness began at Shrewesburie, which ended not in the north part of England untill the end of September. In this space

what number died, it cannot be well accounted: but certeine it is, that in London in few daies nine hundred and sixtie gaue vpon the ghost. It began in London the ninth of Iulie, and the twelfth of Iulie it was most vehement: which was so terrible, that people being in best helth, were suddenly taken, and dead in foure and twentieth houres, and twelue, or lesse, for lacke of skill in guiding them in their sweat. And it is to be noted, that this mortalitie fell chiefly: or rather vpon men, and those also of the best age, as betwene thirtie & fortie yeares. The speedie riddance of life procured by this sickness, did so terrifie people of all sorts, that such as could make thist, either with monie or frendship, changed their soile, and leaving places of concourse, betooke them (for the time) to abodes, though not altogether solitarie, yet lesse frequented: to conclude, manifold meanes were made for safetie of life. The first weeke died in London eight hundred persons.

The manner of this sweat was such, that if men did take anie cold outwardlie, it stroke the sweat in, and immediatlie killed them. If they were suffered to sleepe, commonlie they swoned in their sleepe and departed, or else died immediatlie vpon their waking. But the waie to escape danger was close keeping moderatlie with some ale and a little drinke, and the same to be posset-ale, and so to keepe them thirtie houres, & then was the danger past; but beware of sudden cold. Before men had learned the manner of keeping, an infinit number perished. This disease at that time followed Englishmen & none other nation; for in Antwerpe and other countries, our Englishmen being there amongst diuerse other nations, onelie our Englishmen were sicke thereof, and none other persons. The consideration of which thing made this nation much afraid thereof, who for the time began to repent and giue almes, and to remember God from whom that plague might well seeme to be sent among vs. But as the disease in time ceased, so our deuotion in that time decayed. At this time also the king with the aduise of his priuite counsell, and hauing also great conference with merchants and others, perceiuing that by such coins and copper monies, as had bene coined in the time of the king his father, and now were commonlie currant in the realme; and indeed a great number of them not worth halfe the value that they were currant at, to the great dishonor of the kings maiestie & the realme, and to the deceit & no little hinderance of all the kings maiesties good subiects, did now purpose not onelie the abasing of the said copper monies, but also meant wholie to reduce them into bullion, to the intent to deliuer fine and good monies for them. And therefore in the moneth of Iulie by his graces proclamation, he abased the peece of twelue pence, commonlie called a teston vnto nine pence, and the peece of foure pence vnto thre pence. And in August next following, the peece of nine pence was abased to six pence, and the peece of thre pence vnto two pence, and the pennie to an halfe pennie.

On the eleuenth daie of October, there was a great creation of dukes and earles, as the lord marquisse Dorset was created duke of Suffolke, the earle of Warwicke made duke of Northumberland, and the earle of Wilshire made marquisse of Winchester, & sir William Herbert maister of the hoshes; he also made William Cicill his secretarie knight, maister John Cheke one of his scholemaisters knight, maister Henrie Dudlie knight, & maister Henrie Heuill knight. The sixteenth daie of the said moneth being fridaie, the duke of Summerlet was againe apprehended, & his wife also, & committed to the tower; with him also were committed sir Michaele Stanhope,

John Case

Of this time
died Henry
Charles
of Charles
Stanley, the
other first, and
the young
after: for the
they both had
taken of
Suffolke.

Rich. Greke

Strawle
gained the
danger of the
sweating
sickness.

The imbr-
ing of the
count.

Two shill-
of monie.

Creation of
honorable
estates.

I.S. pag. 1049.

The duke of
Summerlet
againe appreh-
ended, and
committed to
the tower.

The duke ar-
ranged both
creation and
monie.

The people
supplie the
house to be
surre, gave a
great shout
for ioe.

The duke
committed to
the for felonie.

The duke of
Summerlet
committed
returner to
the tower.

The people
committed to
the dukes
condemnation

Poileis.

George Her-
rard maister
of the kings
chamber.

Dom. 1551

In Reg. 5.

John Cabot

Of this time
died Henry
Charles son
of Charles
Bazant, the
elder first, and
the younger
after: so that
they both dined
at Suffolk.

Rich. Grafton

Remedie
against the
danger of the
dysentery
sickness.

The imba-
ling of the
cone.

Two falls
of monic.

Creation of
honorable
estates,

I. S. pag. 109.

The duke of
Somerset
again appa-
red, and
committed to
the tower.

The duke ar-
rived both
at London and
Paris.

The people
supplied the
duke to be
sent home
with honour.

The duke
remained to
his felony.

The duke of
Somerset
remained
near to
the tower.

The people
murmured at
the duke's
condemnation.

Which.

Which
the duke
remained
near to
the tower.

Stanhope, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir Kase Wane, Sir
Giles Bartrige & other for suspicion of treason and
felonie, whereof they were all thought after indicted.
And so standing indicted, the second daie of Decem-
ber next following, the said duke was brought out
of the tower of London with the ar of the tower
borne before him, with a great number of billes,
gleaves, halberds & pollaxes attending upon him, &
so came into the Minster hall, where was made in
the middle of the hall a new scaffold, where all the
lords of the kings counsell sate as his judges: and
there was he arraigned and charged with manie ar-
ticles both of felonie and treason. And when after
much mild speech he had answered not guiltie, he in
all humble manner put himselfe to be tried by his
peeres: who after long consultation among them-
selues, gave their verdict that he was not guiltie of
the treason, but of the felonie. The people there pre-
sent (which was a great number) hearing the lords
saie not guiltie, which was to the treason, thinking
most certeinlie that he was cleerlie acquitted; and
chiefly for that immediatlie upon the pronouncing
of those words, he that carried the ar of the tower
departed with the ar, they made such an outcrie and
ioie, as the like hath not bene heard. Which was an
evident declaration of their good willes and hartie fa-
vors unto him, whose life they greatlie desired to
have saved, for that he had deserved right well of
most (though the good gentleman had some privat e-
nities) and had bene as a man made iustlie saie:

solamen magnum patrie, solamen amicis.

But neuertheless, he was condemned to the
death, whereof shortly after he tasted. The felonie
that he was condemned of, was upon the statute
made the last yeare against rebelles, and unlawfull
assemblies, wherein amongst other things is one
branch, that whosoever shall procure the death of anie
counsellor, that enerie such attempt or procurement
shall be felonie. And by force of that statute, the
duke of Summerfet, being accompanied with cer-
teine others, was charged that he purposed and at-
tempted the death of the duke of Northumberland,
the lord marquisse, the lord of Penbroke, and others
of the privie counsell, which by statute was felonie.

After the duke was thus condemned, he was a-
gain returned to the tower, and landed at the crane
of the vinetree, and so passed through London, where
were both exclamations: the one cried for ioie that
he was acquitted, the other cried out that he was
condemned. But howsoever they cried, he was con-
victed to the tower of London, where he remained
untill the two and twentieth daie of Januarie next fo-
llowing. The duke being condemned (as is afore-
said) the people spake diuerslie, and murmured a-
gainst the duke of Northumberland, and against
some other of the lords, for the condemnation of the
said duke: and also (as the common fame went) the
kings maiestie took it not in good part. Wherefore
as well to remove fond talke out of mens mouths,
as also to recreate and refresh the troubled spirits of
the young king; who (as saith Grafton) seemed to
take the trouble of his uncle somewhat heavilie: it
was devised, that the feast of Christs nativitie, com-
monlie called Christmasse then at hand, should be so-
lemnlie kept at Greenwich with open household, and
franke resort to court (which is called keeping of the
hall) what time of old ordinarie course there is al-
waies one appointed to make sport in the office, cal-
led commonlie lord of misrule: whose office is not
unknowne to such as have bene brought up in no-
ble mens houses, and among great house-keepers,
which be liberrall feasting in that season. There was
therefore by order of the counsell, a wise gentleman &
learned named George Ferrers, appointed to that

office for this yeare; who being of better credit & esti-
mation than commonlie his predecessors had bene be-
fore, received all his commissions and warrants
by the name of the maister of the kings pastimes:
Which gentleman so well supplied his office, both in
the way of sundrie sights and deuises of rare inuenti-
ons, and in act of diuerse interludes, and matters of
pastime played by persons, as not onelie satisfied the
common sort, but also were verie well liked and al-
lowed by the counsell, and other of skill in the like
pastimes: but best of all by the young king himselfe,
as appeared by his princelie liberalitie in rewarding
that seruice.

¶ On mondaie the fourth of Januarie, the said
lord of merie disposits came by water to London,
and landed at the tower wharffe, entered the tower,
and then rode through tower street, where he was
received by Maister lord of misrule to John Paitard
one of the Sherriffes of London, and so conducted
through the citie with a great compaignie of young
lords & gentlemen to the house of Sir George Warne
lord maior, where he with the chefe of his compaignie
dined, and after had a great banquet: and at his de-
parture, the lord maior gave him a standing cup
with a couer of silver and guilt of the value of ten
pounds for a reward, and also set a hogstied of wine,
and a barrell of beere at his gate, for his traine that
followed him. The residue of his gentlemen & ser-
uants dined at other aldermens houses, and with the
Sherriffes, and then departed to the tower wharffe a-
gain, & so to the court by water, to the great com-
mendation of the maior and aldermen, and highlie
accepted of the king and counsell.]

This Christmas being thus passed and spent with
much mirth and pastime, wherewith the minds and
eares of murmurers were metlie well appeased, ac-
cording to a former determination as the sequele
shewed: it was thought now good to proceed to the
execution of the iudgement given against the duke
of Summerfet, touching his consulation & atteindor
of the felonie before mentioned. Whereupon, the
two and twentieth daie of Januarie, then next fol-
lowing being fridaie, he was brought out of the
tower, and according to the manner, deliuered to
the Sherriffes of London; and so with a great compa-
nie of the gard & others with weapons, was brought
to the scaffold where he should suffer, without chan-
ging either voice or countenance, other than he was
accustomed to use at other times.

The same morning earlie, the constables of e-
uerie ward in London (according to a pcept direc-
ted from the counsell to the maior) stricke charged
euerie household of the same citie, not to depart anie
of them out of their houses, before ten of the clocke
of that daie: meaning thereby to restraine the great
number of people that otherwise were like to have
ben at the said execution. Notwithstanding, by sea-
uen of the clocke, the tower hill was covered with
a great multitude, repairing from all parts of the ci-
tie, as well as out of the suburbs. And before eight of
the clocke, the duke was brought to the scaffold, in-
closed with the kings gard, the Sherriffes officers, the
warders of the tower, & other with halberds: where
as he nothing changing neither voice or counte-
nance, but in a manner with the same gesture which
he commonlie used at home, kneeling downe upon
both his knees, and lifting up his hands, commended
himselfe unto God. After he had ended a few short
prayers, standing up againe, and turning himselfe
toward the east side of the scaffold, nothing at all a-
bash'd (as it seemed vnto those that stood by) heisset
with the sight of the ar, neither pet of the hangman,
nor of present death, but with the like alacritie and
cheerfulness of mind and countenance as before
times

Abri. Fi. ex
1. Stow 1055.

The Sherriffes
lord of mis-
rule.

1552

The executi-
on of the duke of
Summerfet.

Means to
restraine the
multitude
from the
dukes ex-
ecution.

John Fox.
The dukes
behaviour at
his death.

times he was accustomed to heare the causes & supplications of other, & speciallie of the poore (towards whome as it were with a certeine fatherlie loue to his children he alwaies shewed himselfe most attentive) he bitered these words to the people.

The words of the duke of Summerfet
at his death.

Derelie beloued friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit I neuer offended against the king, neither by word nor deed, and haue bene alwaies as faithfull and true vnto this realme, as anie man hath bene. But forsomuch as I am by law condemned to die, I do acknowledge my selfe as well as others, to be subiect thereto. Wherefore to testifie mine obedience which I owe vnto the lawes, I am come hither to suffer death, wherevnto I willingly offer my selfe with most hartie thanks vnto God, that hath giuen me this time of repentance, who might thorough sudden death haue taken awaie my life, that I neither should haue acknowledged him nor my selfe.

Whereouer (derelie beloued friends) there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching christian religion, which so long as I was in authoritie, I alwaies diligentlie set forth, and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but reioise therein, with now the state of christian religion commeth most nere vnto the forme and order of the primitive church. Which thing I esteeme as a great benefit giuen of God, both to you and me, most hartlie exhorting you all, that this which is most purelie set forth vnto you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living: which thing if you do not, without doubt, greater mischief and calamitie will follow.

When he had spoken these words, suddenlie there was a great noise heard, whereupon the people were straight dizen into a great feare, few or none knowing the cause. Wherefore I thinke it good to write what I saw (saith John Stow) concerning that matter. The people of a certeine hamlet which were warned to be there by sauen of the clocke to giue their attendance on the lieutenant, now came thorough the posterne, and perceiuing the duke to be already on the scaffold, the foremost began to run, crying to their fellows to follow fast after. Which suddenness of these men, being weaponed with bills and halberds, & this running caused the people which first saw them, to thinke some power had come to haue rescued the duke from execution, and therefore cried awaie awaie. Whereupon the people ran, some one waie, some an other, manie fell into the tower ditch, and they which tarried, thought some pardon had bene brought: some said it thundered, some that the ground moued, but there was no such matter.

This amazement of the people is in other words recorded by John Fox in the storie of this dukes troubles & death: which because they be effectually I thinke good to interlace. When the duke had ended his speech (saith he) suddenlie there was a terrible noise heard:

whereupon there came a great feare on all men. This noise was as it had bene the noise of a great storme or tempest, which to some seemed to be heard from a boue: like as if a great deale of gunpowder being inclosed in an armorie, and hauing caught fire, had violently broken out. But to some againe it seemed as though it had bene a great multitude of hostes men running together, or comming vpon them; such a noise was then in the eares of all men, albeit they saw nothing. Whereby it happened, that all the people being amazed without any evident cause, and without any violence or stroke stricken, they ran awaie, some into the ditches and puddles, they ran awaie, some into the houses thereabout. Other some being affraid with the horour and noise, fell downe groveling vnto the ground with their pollaxes & halberds, and most part of them cried out: Iesus saue vs, Iesus saue vs. Those which tarried still in their places, for feare knew not where they were. And I myselfe which was there present among the rest, being also affraid in this hurle burle, stood still altogether amazed, looking when anie man would knocke me on the head. It happened here, as the euangelists write, it did to Christ, when the officers of the high priests & Phariseis comming with weapons to take him, being astonished ran backe, & fell to the ground.

In the meane time, whilst these things were thus in doing, the people by chance spied one sir Anthonie Wrothorne riding vnto the scaffold: which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him comming, they coniectured that which was not true, but notwithstanding which they all wished for, that the king by that messenger had sent his vncke pardon: and therefore with great reioicing and casting by the caps, they cried out; Pardon, pardon is come: God saue the king. Thus this good duke, although he was destitute of all mans helpe, yet he saw before his departure, in how great loue and fauour he was with all men. And trulie I do not thinke, that in so great slaughter of dukes as hath bene in England within this few peares, there was so manie weeping eyes at one time: and not without cause. For all men did see in the decaye of this duke, the publike ruine of all England, except such as indeed perceiued nothing. The duke in the meane time standing still, both in the same place and mind wherein he was before, shaking his cap which he held in his hand, made a signe vnto the people that they should keepe themselves quiet: which thing being done, & silence obtained, he spake to them the second time in this maner.

The second speech of the duke of
Summerfet to the people.

Derelie beloued friends, there is no such matter in hand, as you bainlie hope or beleue. It seemeth thus good to almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet & necessarie that we be all obedient vnto. Wherefore I praise you all to be quiet, and without tumult: for I am euen now quiet, and let vs loine in praise vnto the Lord, for the preservation of our noble king, vnto whose maiestie I wish continually health, with all felicitie and abundance & all maner of prosperous successe: wherevnto the people cried out, Amen. Whereouer, I wish vnto all his counsellors the grace and fauour of God, whereby they may rule althings uprightlie with iustice, vnto whome I exhort you all in the Lord to shew your selues obedient, the which is also

Great feare among the people assembled on the tower hill. Rich. Grafton. John Stow.

Abr. Fl. ex lo. Foxi martyrologio.

John Fox the writer of this report.

The duke who you shall read of in the History of Valerius Maximus the second duke and last emperor.

The great sorrow of the people to the duke's death.

Doctor Cotes the dukes godlie father.

Abr. Fl. out John Fox in the Acts and Monuments. The godlie end of the duke of Summerfet.

10m. 1552.

Reg. 5.

A sudden
noise & care
of the people
at the death
of the duke of
Summer.

also verie necessarie for you, vnder the paine of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and safegard of the kings maiestie. And forsomuch as heretofore I haue had oftentimes affaires with diuers men: that it is hard to please euery man that hath bene offended or injured by me, I most humbly require and aske them forgiveness: but especiallie almightie God, whome thoroughout all my life I haue most grauously offended. And vnto all other, whatsoeuer they be that haue offended me, I doe with my whole heart forgive them.

And once againe (dearely beloved in the Lord) I require that you will keepe your selues quiet and still, least thorough your tumult you might cause me to haue some trouble, which in this case would nothing at all profit me, neither be any pleasure vnto you. For albeit the spirit be willing and readie, the flesh is fraile and wauering, and thorough your quietnesse I shall be much more the quieter: but if that you fall vnto tumult, it will be great trouble & no gaine at all vnto you. Whereouer, I desire you to beate me witnesse, that I die here in the faith of Iesus Christ, desiring you to helpe me with your prayers, that I maie perseuere constant in the same vnto my liues end.

When he turning himselfe about kneeled downe vpon his knees, vnto whome doctor Cox, which was there present, to counsell and aduertise him, deliuered a certaine scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a briefe confession to God. Which being read, he stood vp againe on his feet, without any trouble of mind as it appeared, and first had the thriffes farewell, then the lieutenant of the tower, & certaine other that were on the scaffold, taking them all by the hands. Then he gaue the executioner monie, which done, he put off his gowne, and kneeling downe againe in the straws, untied his shirt strings: and then the executioner comming to him, turned downe his collar round about his necke, and all other things which did let and hinder him. Then he couering his face with his owne handkerchiefe, lifting vp his eyes vnto heauen, where his onely hope remained, laid himselfe downe along, shewing no manner of trouble or feare; neither did his countenance change, but that before his eyes were couered there began to appeare a red colour in the middle of his cheeks.

Thus this most meke and gentle duke lieng along and looking for the stroke, because his doublet couered his necke he was commanded to rise vp and put it off: & then laieng himselfe downe againe vpon the blocke, and calling thise vpon the name of Iesus, saing: Lord Iesu saue me, as he was the third time repeating the same, euen as the name of Iesu was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life; and slept in the Lord Iesus, being taken awaie from all the dangers and euils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God: in the preferment of whose truth and gospell he alwaies shewed himselfe an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath receiued the reward of his labours. Thus gentle reader thou hast the true historie of this worthie and noble duke, and if any man report it otherwise, let it be counted as a lie.

This duke was in high fauour and estimation with king Henrie the eight, of whome he receiued

suche high & great preferments, by reason that the said king had married ladie Jane his sister, by whome he had issue king Edward the sixt. He was not onely courteous, wise and gentle, being daily attendant at the court; but forward and fortunate in seruice abroad, as may well appeare in his sundrie voiajes, both into France and Scotland. He was of nature verie gentle and pitifull, not blemished by any thing so much, as by the death of the admerall his naturall brother, which could not haue bene brought to passe in that sort, without his consent. But of this good duke (to let passe multitude of wordes) maister Fox hath written no lesse trulie than commendable, & no lesse commendable than deserueble, and no lesse deserueble than profitablie in his historie, whereto I refer the reader for further knowledge. Neuerthelesse of this vertuous duke by waie of application I saie as sometime one said (verie aptlie as some thinke) of the gracions ladie 'An Bullen,

*Discite vos viui, quid dira calumnia posuit,
Invidia alterius vix a comes arcta beatae,
Et falsi lingua commissa venena susurru.*

The duke of
Summer
described.

who as it is
supposed and
proued since
(saith Sleidan)
was
vniuersally
condemned.

The protectors of England collected

out of the ancient and moderne chronicles,
wherin is set downe the yeare of Christ,
and of the king in which they executed
that function.

Upon the death of this duke of Summer-
set protector of England, it shall not be
unfitting in this place to set downe all
the protectors (whereof I can as yet haue
intelligence) and who haue bene gouernors, regents, guardians, or deputies of the realme, and of the kings person during his minority and time of his insufficiencie of gouernement; or else of his absence being out of the realme: wherof I haue made an especiall title in my Pantographie of England, in which this my collection of the protectors, although perhaps I shall not set downe all (for *Barnardus non videt omnia*) yet it is better to haue halfe a loose than no head, knowledge of some than of none at all. Thus therefore I begin.

Guendoline the daughter of Cozimeus duke of Cornetwall (after the procurement of warre against hir husband wherein he was slaine) was by common consent (for that hir sonne Madzane which she had by Aocrine was insufficient by reason of his minority to gouerne the kingdome) made by the Britons ruler of the Ile, in the yeare of the world 2894, and so continued the same by the space of fiftene yeares, vntill hir sonne came to lawfull age.

Martha (the widow of Guenteline the king) by reason that Sicilius hir sonne was not of age convenient to wield the scepter (as one being but seven yeares old) obtained the gouernement both of the realme and of hir sonnes person, which she most worthily deserued, being a woman of rare vertue and iudgement.

Elojed, Ethelred, or Edred (for all these diuersities are found in authors) brother to Edmund king of England, while the sonnes of Edmund (Edwine and Edgar) were for their minorityes insufficient to dispose the kingdome, was appointed protector to his nephewes, in the yeare of Christ 940, who about six or seven yeares after his protectorship toke on him the kingdome at Kingstone on Easter daie, in the yeare of Christ, as hath John Stow 946, as others haue nine hundred fortie seven.

Emma the queene of England, the widow of king Ethelred, and of Canutus, both kings of England iointlie, with Godwine earle of Kent had the gouernement of the realme vnder Hardiknute king

The collectio
of Francis Thin
in the yeare
1585.

Guendoline.

Martha.

Edred.

Emma.

"Pantographie
John Fox the
superior of this
repose.

The like Ro-
rie you shall
read of Cam-
Marus in
Valerius Ma-
ximus the se-
cond booke
and six chap-
ter.

The great fa-
mour of the
people to the
duke of Sum-
mer.

Dr. Cox
to whome
public la-
ze.

Dr. Pl. out of
Fox in
his
Pantographie
of the
duke of Sum-
mer.

Harold.

king of England, who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ 1041.

Harold the sonne of Godwine at the death of king Edward the Confessor (which fell in the yeare of Christ 1066, and the thir and twentieth yeare of the same king) was by the testament of the said king Edward appointed regent of the yong Edgar Atheling (named heire in the life of the said Edward) and of the kingdome, after the death of king Edward, during the minority of the said Edgar. Beside which the like commending of the kingdome to this Harold, in respect of the quenes honour, as that before the successors right, is set downe by one that liued at that time, and wrote the life of king Edward, of erle Godwine, and of his children, in these words.

Correcte manu (meaning king Edward lying on his death bed, and speaking in the behalfe of Godtha the quene, sister to this Harold) *ad predictum nutricium suum fratrem Haroldum, Hanc inquit cum omni regno tutandam tibi commendo, ut pro domina & sorore ut es fideli serues & honores obsequio, ut quoad vixerit a me adepto non priuatus honore debito. Commendo pariter etiam eos, qui nationem terram suam reliquerunt causa amoris mei, mihi que haec omnia fideliter sunt obsequuti: ut si sepe a eis sita volunt fidelitate eos tuearis & retineas, aut tua defensione conductos cum annibus quae sub me acquisuerunt cum salute ad propria transferri facias, &c.* But he, when king Edward was dead, usurped the crowne to himselfe, and shortly after lost both his life and his kingdome.

Odo bishop of Baieux, and William Fitz-osborne earle of Hereford.

Odo bishop of Baieux, and William Fitz-osborne the first, being earle of Kent, and chiefe iustice of England, and the second being earle of Hereford, were gouernours of the realme, in the yeare of our Lord 1067, and the first yeare of William the Conquerour, when he went into Normandie after the conquest and indifferent quieting of the realme.

Lanfranke archbishop of Cantuarburie.

Lanfranke archbishop of Cantuarburie, as appeareth by Matthew Parker, writing in this sort in the life of the said Lanfranke: *Absente Gulielmo omnia Lanfranco mandabantur, qui summa prudentia cuncta moderatus, proceres & plebem in officio tranquille sine ulla motu atque tumultu continebat, adeo ut si quae defectio suspicio nascebatur, ad eam illico compescendam maximus & potentissimus quisque opem & adiuuentum illi imperanti praestitit.*

Sir Richard Lucie chiefe iustice of England.

Sir Richard Lucie knight, chiefe iustice of England was protector of the realme in the twelue yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the second, being the yeare of our Lord 1166, in the absence of the king when he was in Normandie, and in the parts beyond the seas. Which Lucie in the thirtenth yeare of the same king, being the yeare of our redemption 1167, did valiantly resist, and politikelie drue backe the earle of Bullongne inuading the realme. He built the abbeye of Leofnes or Westwood in the parish of Crich in Kent (and not in Southfleet as some haue written) in the yeare of Christ 1178, being about the foure and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the second; and further built the castell of Angier in Essex, in the diocese of the bishop of London. He had issue Godfreie bishop of Winchester, and thre daughters, who after the death of Godfreie their brother were his heires: the eldest daughter of which Sir Richard Lucie, was married to Robert the first called Fitzwater: the second daughter Anelina, was married to Kuers, of whome issued John de Kuers: the third daughter Rose, was married to Richard Warraine, son to king John, as appeareth by a deed (belonging to my selfe, who had the rectorie of Leofnes) beginning thus: *Rosa de Douer quondam uxor venerabilis viri Richardi filij regis de Chilian.*

Hugh Pudis bishop of Durham.

Hugh Pudis de Pudis: neque to king Stephen, being bishop of Durham, and erle of Northumberland, and William Longchampe bishop of Ely, had the gouernement of the realme for

Richard the first, upon his departure forth of the realme to take his iourne into the holie land. For in his absence he appointed this Hugh to haue the rule of the north parts, as chiefe iustice & warden of the realme from Yumber to Scotland, deliuering to him also the keeping of the castell of Winchester, the other parts of the realme, with the custodie of the tower, he assigned to the gouernement of William Longchampe bishop of Ely, whome he made chiefe iustice and warden of those east, south and west parts, making him also his chancellor: who being a man of great diligence and knowledge in the administration of things, was yet verie fatious and desirous of rule, honour and riches, farre above all measure. And with these two bishops he linked in authoritie by commission Hugh lord War-dolph, William Parthall the great, earle of Chep-stow, Sirigull or Penbrooke, Gesteie Fitzpeter, and William Brelwer, barons, men of great honor, wisdom & discretion. This the king did in the yeare of Christ 1190, and the first yeare of his reigne.

Walter de Constantijs sometime chancellor of England, bishop of Lincolne, and now archbishop of Roane, upon the misdeameor of the yong bishop of Ely William Longchampe, about the yeare 1192, had the custodie and gouernement of the realme committed vnto him, whilest king Richard the first remained still in the holie warres: who being called from that place in the yeare of Christ 1193 (with Eleanor mother to the king) to come to king Richard then imprisoned in Austria, the archbishop of Cantuarburie Hubert succeeded him in the yeare 1194, whome the said archbishop of Roane procured to be installed in the see of Cantuarburie, which Walter de Constantijs (as hath Euerselden) was made bishop of Lincolne in the yeare 1183, and the next yeare after bishop of Roane.

Hubert Walter, or Walter Hubert (for such a transmutation of the name is vsed amongst hystorographers) was made (upon the discharge and going of Walter archbishop of Roane beyond the seas to king Richard) gouernor and protector of the realme, before the returne of Richard the first into England after the said kings imprisonment (by the Duke of Austria and the emperour) procured by Sanaricus bishop of Glasterburie and Welles, a kinsman to the emperour, wherof our moderne printed chronicles nor our ancient writers, except one, make any mention. This Hubert died at his manor of Tenham, and was buried at Cantuarburie in the south wall, in the yeare of our redemption 1205, the third ides of Julie, being the seventh yeare of king John.

Eleanor widow to Henrie the second, and mother to Richard the first, was made protectresse of England, after the departure of hir son into France, when he had bene deliuered out of prison: in which office she continued during the life of hir sonne, which he ended in Poitiers in those French warres, by a hurt receiued from one that discharged a crossbow against him, on a Fridaye as he besieged Chalons. Touching whose death (sith I am now in hand with the same) it shall not be amisse to set downe such fewe all verses composed by severall men in severall sorts, as I haue read, and are not yet made common to the world, which verses be these, concerning his death and place of burfall, as hereafter followeth:

*Pictavis exta ducis sepelit, tellusque Chalus
Corpus duri claudi sub marmore fuit
Nensia tunc tegit cor inexpugnabile regis,
Sic loca per trina se sparsit tanta ruina,
Nec fuit hoc funus cui sufficeret locus unus.*

Wherof also another composed these following verses somewhat eloquentlie, as saith Matthew Paris (and so in truth they were, considering that age

se
fo
fo
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tr

Gesteie Fitzpeter earle of Essex.

Hubert archbishop of Cantuarburie.

Eleanor the widow of Henrie the second.

Matthew Paris

om. 1552.

Reg. 5.

which mostlie used a rinning kind of Latine verses, induced into the west part of the world by the barbarous Gothes) in his greater historie of the life of king Richard in manner and forme following:

*Ad Chalm cecidit rex regni cardo Richardus,
Hic ferus, hic humilis, hic agnus, hic leopardus,
Cafus erat lucis, Chalmus per seculi nomen
Non intellectum fuerat, sed nominis omen
Non patuit, res clausa fuit, sed duce cadente
Prodyt in lucem, pro casu lucis adeptus.*

Besides which verses of two severall men, it pleaseth my pen to ad also the third mans dowing, as well for that the number of thre is the holie number, as for that there is nothing so sweet, but that varietie doth refresh it: yet especiallie sith it is delightfull to see the severall inventions of manie wits, this third poet therefore, exclaiming against the daie in which the said king Richard the first receiued his death wound (being on a fridaie) doth thus write:

*O veneris damno! a dies! o fidus amaram!
Ille dies tua nox fuit, & Venus illa venenum,
Ille dedit lathum, sed postum ille dierum,
Primus ab undecimo, quo vita victum ipsum
Clauis utrag die: homicida tyrannide mira
Transigitur, clausus exclusum, telum opertum,
Prouidus incautum, miles inimicus inermem.*

This queene Cleano: the protectresse died in the yere of Christ 1205, being the seuenth of king John.

Geffreie Fitzpeter lord Ludgershall, who was by Richard the first made chiefe iustice of England, after the remouing of Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie, and was in the first yere of king John gited by him with the sword of the earldome of Essex, was also protector of the realme. Who being a man of great power and authoritie, was by nature gentle, by birth noble, in the lawes cunning, in reuenues great, and to all a good iusticer. This man was a hyde to king John, to restrain his insolencie; since he was confederat and alied in friendship & blood with all the nobilitie of England: & for that cause was greatlie feared of the k. who said of him, as he did before of the archbishop Hubert, that he then did fullie reigne, when they two were dead. For turning to those which stood by him, when news was brought unto him of the death of Fitz Geffreie, he sware by Gods feet, that he was then king & lord of England, and not before. Which words he would not vse, when the archbishop Hubert died; because this man was yet liuing, whome the king (as is alreadye said) greatlie feared. And therefore vpon the death of the archbishop, he did onelic saie that he began to reigne; but not vpon this mans departure out of the world, he said he was become a full lord & absolute king of England. This Geffreie Fitzpeter died in the yere of our redemption 1212, being about the fourteenth yere of the reigne of the said miserablie afflicted king John, who died in the yere of Christ 1216; whose death I haue bene the willinger here to mention; because I would set downe his epitaph (not else before set downe in our English chronicles) as I find the same of ancient report:

*Hoc in sarcophago sepelitur regis imago,
Qui moriens multum sedauit in orbe tumultum,
Et cui connexa dum vixit probra manebant,
Hunc mala post mortem timor est ne fata sequantur.
Qui legis hac metuens dum cernis te moriturum,
Disito quid rerum pariat tibi meta diurnum.*

This Geffreie Fitzpeter married Beatrice, daughter and heire of William lord Saie, by whom he had issue, Geffreie Hardensle earle of Essex, & spawd married to Humfreie de Bohuns, by whome the Bohuns became earles of Essex.

William Parthall surnamed the great, being erle of Penbroke, was made protector of the realme,

a person of the king, after that the king (being nine yeres of age) was crowned in the yere of our Lord 1216. Which office this William (being also marshall of England) used so honorablie, that he recovered a great part of the nobilitie (which toke part with Lewes son of the French king against king John father to this Henrie) to assist the young king Henrie against the said Lewes: who in the time of the said John had obtained a great part of the kingdome of England. By which means the said Lewes was expelled, and the kingdome wholie reconcered to the vse of the said young king Henrie the third.

This William Parthall married Isabell daughter and heire to Richard Strangbow earle of Penbroke, who made him a happy father in the multitude of his children. For by hir he had five sonnes, all which were in succession marshals of England, and earles of Penbroke; and five daughters. The sonnes were William, Richard, Gilbert, Walter, and Anselme; who all dieng without issue, the inheritance was deuolued to the five sisters; which were, spawd the eldest, married to Hugh Bigod, in hir right earle marshall; Jone the second, married to Maraine Montehensie, in hir right also earle of Penbroke, as hath Nicholas Triuet; Isabell the third, married to Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester; Sibill the fourth, married to William Ferrers erle of Darbie; & Que the fifth daughter, married to William de Berehuse, or de Broule. This William the great died in the yere of our redemption 1219, being the third (as hath Nicholas Triuet) or the fourth (as hath Matthew Westminster) yere of the reigne of the said king Henrie the third, and was buried at the new temple, on Ascension daie, being the seuenteenth calends of Aprill: of whome was made this epitaph by Geruashus Melkelecie, taking vpon him the person of the earle marshall:

*Sum quem Saturnum sibi sentit Eibernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.*

Which signifieth that he was a sharpe corrector and ruler of the Irish, an honor & glorie to the English, a counsellor and dispatcher of the affaires of Normandie, a warlike knight and invincible captain against the Frenchmen.

Petrus derupibus, or Peter of the Roch, being bishop of Winchester, was after the death of William Parthall earle of Penbroke advanced to the protectorship of the king; because that the young king was almost destitute of any of his owne kindred that might worthilie haue the rule of his person. For his mother queene Isabell was newlie married to Hugh Bune earle of March in France. This bishop of Winchester (who was both a wise and a stout prelat) being now in possession of the king, and mistrusting that he had entred into a more weightie office than he might well discharge, if all things were not done according to the fante of the nobilitie, procured diuerse graue and honorable men to be preferred to the kings counsell, as to be associats to him in the administration of the weale publike; and so entred into the administration of his new atchued honor. Which yet he did not long intole.

But as the bishop was at the first careful to plant such of the nobilitie about the king, for the support of the realme; so yet himselve being a Gascoigne, did after in the riper yeres of the king prefer to offices about the king such Gascoignes as both were of his owne blood and kindred; and by these extraneous dealing procured the nobilitie with an hard and vndutifull course to oppose themselues against the king. This Peter was advanced to the seat of Winchester, in the yere of our redemption 1204, being about the first yere of king John. After which

earle of Penbroke.

Peter de la Roches.

Walter de
Constantin
archbishop
of Monne.

Hubert arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie.

Cleane the
widow of
Henrie the
second.

ing
Pa-
age
bly

he went to Rome, and being a prelat more fit to fight than to preach, for Wars than for the mules ; did returne from Rome in the yeare of Christ 1205, being about the seventh yeare of King John. He remained bishop about two and thirtie yeares, and died at his manour house of Fernham, on the fifth daye of June, in the yeare of our Lord (as have Matthew Paris and Matthew Westminster) 1238, being the two & twentieth yeare of Henrie the third. And so somewhat before his death, about the one and thirtieth yeare of his bishoppyke, went into the holie land with the bishop of Exeter. He builded, and indued with possessions manie religious houses : amongst which he founded Twisfield in Hamphshire, of which Peter de la Roches, or of the rocks, Matthew Paris maketh a more large discourse.

Hubert de
Burrow earle
of Kent.

Hubert de Burow, constable of Dover castle, earle of Kent, and chiefe iustice of England, being of great account in the realme for his probitie and goodnesse, was made protector of the king and kingdom, in the yere of our redemption 1221, being the fift yere of king Henrie the third. This man in the yere of Christ 1221 (being the same yere in the which he was made protector) married at Poike, Margaret, sister to Alexander king of Scots. And here I thinke it not amisse to saie somewhat touching the issue of this Hubert of Burow, who in a certene namelesse booke (caried about in the hands of all men) treating of the nobilitie (created since the innation of William Conqueror) is said to die without issue: which cannot possible be so, if that be true which I haue seene: which I am led by manie reasons to beleue to be most true.

For I haue read of two children which this Hubert had, whereof the one being a sonne, was called Richard de Burow, who was knighted by Henrie the third (as it seemeth to me) after the death of his father: if this Richard be not the same John, of whose Matthew Paris writeth, that in the yeare of Christ 1 2 29, *Rex Anglorum Henricus, in die Pentecostes Iohannem filium Huberti Anglia iusticiarium cingulo militari donauit tercio nonas Junij.* The other child was a daughter called Margarete, married to Richard heire to the earldome of Gloucester, as noteth Iohn Beuer in these words: *Richardus heres comitis Glouernie Margaretam filiam Huberti de Burgo comitis Cantie in uxorem accepit.* This Hubert de Burow was a verie old man, who after manie persecutions by the king, and after so manie chances of both fortunes, departed this world on the fourth daies of Maie, in the yeare of our redemption 1 2 4 3, being the seuen and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third at his manour of Wansford, or Wansford. Whose bodie was honorable caried to London, and there buried in the church of the frier preachers, to whom in his life he had giuen great gifts; and amongst other things, his gublie place which stood not far from the palace of earle Richard of Cornewall (as I with some probable reasons coniecture) nere vnto Westminster, which afterward the archbishop of Yorke did procure. This wife the countesse of Bent, being likewise verie old, a woman that kept verie great hospitalitie, and that was well beloved, died in the yeare of Christ 1 2 5 9, being the three and fortyth yeare of Henrie the third, about fixteene years after the death of the earle his husband.

walter Greie
archbishop of
Yorke.

Walter Greie archbishop of Poze was made protector of the realme in this sort. The French king hauing vnjustlie given the earldome of Boffiers to his brother Adolphus; Hugh Buzone earle of March (the greatest of the nobilitie in that prouince) would not do homage vnto Adolphus; but wrote his letters to his son in law king Henrie the third. (whose mother Cleane he had married) that if he would

come into those parts, he should haue both aid of men, and furniture of war for the perfect restoring of those dominions to the crowne of England, for which cause Henrie the third assembling his power, did with his brother Richard (then lately returned from Ierusalem) depart the realme in the yere of our redemption 1242, being the six & twentieth yere of his government into Poitiers, & left the administration of the kingdome to Walter Errie archbishop of Dozke, whilste he should remaine in those parts. Which office the said archbishop held also in the yere of Christ 1243, being the seauen and twentieth yere of king Henrie the third. Of this man is more mention made in my collection of the chancellors of England; in this place onelie further setting downe, that this Walter died in the yere of Christ 1255, being about the nine and thirtieth yere of this Henrie the third. as hath Anonymus M. S.

Eleanor daughter to Richmond earle of Pro-
 vince, wife to king Henrie the third and quene of
 England, with Richard earle of Cornwall the
 kings brother (to whose custodie was committed
 Edward Longshanks, being after king of Eng-
 land by the name of Edward the first, son to the said
 king Henrie) were (in the yere of our redemption
 1253, being the seven and thirtieth yere of the reigne
 of king Henrie the third) appointed gouernours and
 protectors of the realme in the kings absence, whilst
 he went into Gascoine, whither he went to pacifie
 the nobilitie, and to keepe the same in safetie from
 the French. And because my pen hath here fallen
 vpon Richard earle of Cozntwall, I determine to say
 somewhat of him in this place, not hauing other oc-
 casion offered to me therefore. This Richard the son
 of king John was borne in the yere of Christ 1208,
 being the tenth yere of the reigne king John. He
 was made (and so called) earle of Poitiers by Hen-
 rie the third, about the ninth yere of his reigne, in
 the yere of Christ 1225, who also that yere with his
 vncle William earle of Sarisburie went into Poi-
 tiers, where he was sofallie receiued: he putteth the
 earle of sparch to flight, he recovereth that which
 was lost in Gascoine, he went into the holic land,
 refuseth the kingdome of Apulia offered vnto him,
 he is chosen emperor, and receiueh that honoz at Co-
 len, being there crowned king of the Romans: he
 subdued Alфонsus competitor with him for the em-
 pire, he after returneth into England: he is an eni-
 mie to Simon Montfort and the barons rebelling a-
 gainst his brother king Henrie the third; he is taken
 prisoner by the barons, and is afterward deliuered:
 he was created knight and earle of Cozntwall in the
 yere of our redemption 1225, as hath Matthew
 Westminster, but as saith William Packington, he
 was created earle of Cozntwall in the yere of
 Christ 1227. He married foure wives, if that Eli-
 sabeth his first wife and Isabel the widow of Gil-
 bert de Clare were not all one woman. But lea-
 uing that to further knowledge, I do for this time
 make them but one person; for so in truth it must
 be, whatsoeuer other wise shall be helued in mistak-
 ing their names. Elizabeth that was his first wife,
 as noteth Leland, was buried in the quere of Wel-
 land, being that woman which is called Isabel, and
 was the daughter of William Marshall earle of
 Penbroke surnamed the great: and the widow of
 Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester was married to
 this erle of Cozntwall, in the yere of our Lord 1231,
 being the fifteenth yere of king Henrie the third.

This Isabell died in the yeare of our redemption
1240, being the foure and twentieth yeare of the
reigne of king Henrie the third, after this manner.
For she being great with child, and nere to the time
of hir deliuerance, fell into a *verberum isterism*, or the
hicket,

to king
rie.

hickel, and deliuering a child into the world, which had life, and was baptised by the name of Nicholas, they both presentlie died thereupon. Which thing when the earle understood being then on his iourneie into Cornwall, he burst out in teares, and greatlie lamented that losse. Wherefore hastily returning, and learning his former iourneie, he honorablie buried his wife at * Welland or Beaulen, an house of religion builded by king John from the foundation, and replenished with Charterhouse monks.

His second wife was Sinthia or Sanctia, daughter to Ketmond earle of Province, and sister to the queene of England, wife to king Henrie the third, brother to the said Richard earle of Cornwall, who married the said Sinthia in the yeare of our redemption 1243, being the seuen and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. Leland also appointeth to him the third wife, which was Beatrix de Famaillais, whom he calleth queene of Almaine, & wife to king Richard, brother to Henrie the third. Which lady died in the yeare of our redemption 1277, being the first yeare of Edward the first, and was buried at the friers minors in Drford. This noble Richard erle of Cornwall died in Februarye at Berkhamsfield, in the yeare of Christ 1271, in the five and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, as saie Matthew Paris and Marthew Westminster: but Nicholas Triuer referreth his death to the yeare 1270, being the foure and fiftith yeare of Henrie the third: and the chonicle belonging to Guelham to the yeare 1272, being the six and fiftith yeare of Henrie the third. After whose death his hart was buried in the friers minors of Drford, and his bodie committed to the earth in the monasterie of Hales (being Charterhouse monks) which he had builded at his charge of 10000 marks, which at this daie at five shillings the ounce of silver amounteth to the summe of twentie thousand pounds. He had two sonnes, the one called Henrie by his first wife Tabell; the other called Edmund de Almaine by his second wife Sinthia. Henrie was slaine by Simon and Guic of Pontfort sonnes of the last Simon Pontfort earle of Leicester, in the life of his father Richard in Italie at Aiterbo, in the yeare of our redemption 1270. Which fact being done in saint Splucters church as he was at masse, occasioned the townesmen to paint the manner of his death on the wall of the church: and that picture being beheld by a certaine versifier, he was byged thereupon to compose these following verses:

*Regis Theutonici Richardi clara propago,
Sternitur Henricus, velut hac designat imago,
Dum redit à Tripoli, regum fulvus comitum,
In crucis obsequio patitur sub gente nociva,
Iruit in templum, post missam, stirps Guenelonis
Perfodit gladium hunc Simonis atque Guidonis,
Disposuit Deus ut per eos vir tantum obiret,
Ne renouatis his, gens Anglica tota periret,
Anno milleno Domini cum septuagena,
Atque duceno, Carolo sub rege sereno,
Præriterbina sit in eius carne ruina,
Celi regina precor ut sit ei medicina.*

His bones were brought into England, and buried in the monasterie of Hales, where his father was after also buried: but his hart was bestowed in a gullt cup, and placed beside the chaine of saint Edward the Confessor in Westminster abbeye. The other sonne to this Richard earle of Cornwall was Edmund of Almaine, who after the death of his father was inuested with the honor of the earldome of Cornwall, being borne at Berkhamsfield in the yeare of our redemption 1250, being the foure and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, to whom his uncle Bonifacius bishop of Canturburie was godfather, and called him Edmund in the

honor of saint Edmund archbishop of Canturburie and Confessor. This Edmund earle of Cornwall married the daughter of Richard earle of Clare, of whome shall be moze spoken when we come to treat of him as protector of England.

Boniface the archbishop of Canturburie, with others which follow, were protectors of the realme after this maner, as I haue gathered. It was ordered in the parlement at Drford called *Parlementum infanum*, that the king should chosse forth twelue persons of the realme, and the communalitie of the land other twelue, the which hauing regall authoritie in their hands, might as gardians of the kingdome take in charge vpon them the gouernment of the realme, & should from yeare to yeare prouide for the due election of iustices, chancellors, treasurers, and other officers, and further prouide to see to the safe keeping of the castles belonging to the crowne.

These foure and twentie persons appointed to that function, began to order all things at their owne pleasure: in the meane time not forgetting to vse things chieflie to their owne aduantage, as well in prouiding excheats and wards for their children and kinfolks, as also in bestowing of patronages of churches belonging to the kings gift, vnto their owne liking. So that these prouiders which should haue made careful and beneficiall prouisions for the realme, made speedie and plentifull prouision for them and theirs, in somuch that neither king nor Christ could get anie thing from these protectors. There be that write, how that there were but twelue or thirtene chosen to be gouernors at this time (which for this present I deme to be the truer opinion) whose names are as follow: Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Worcester, Roger Wigod earle of Hereford and marshall of England, Simon de Pontfort earle of Leicester, Richard de Clare earle of Gloucester, Humfrey Bohune earle of Hereford, Richard Fitzalane earle of Arundell, sir John Spansell chiefe iustice of England, sir Roger lord Mortimer, sir Hugh Wigod, sir Peter de Saunoe, sir James Audleie, & sir Peter de Pontfort. To these (as some saie) was authoritie onlie giuen to punish all such as trespassed in the breach of anie of the constitutions of the parlement of Drford. Others say that they were made rulers & protectors of the realme, and to dispose thereof, because the king was much misleed in the gouernment of the kingdome by the peruerse counsell of his flatterers. Which twelue gouernors I suppose did not long continue: for being euerie one priuatlie for himselfe, and so not iointlie for the common-wealth, they grew diuided, and that the one labored to set vp, the other sought to pull downe.

Boniface archbishop of Canturburie the second time, & the bishop of Worcester, with sir Philip Basset, or rather sir Hugh Wigod made chiefe iustice of England by the barons, were appointed in the yeare of our redemption 1260, being the fortie and fourth of king Henrie the third, to haue the gouernment of the realme in the absence of the king, whilst he remained in France at Paris about the affaires of Normandie: at that time a peace was made betwene the kings of England and France.

Gilbert de Clare the second of that name that was earle of Gloucester and Hertford, was the sonne of Richard de Clare erle of Gloucester and Hertford, which died in the yeare of our redemption 1262, being the fortie & first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, and was buried at Tewkesburie, with a great image of silver and gilt vpon his tombe, and the same sword and spures which he did weare in his life time. Of which Richard these verses were composed for his probitie and rarenesse of vertuous manners

Boniface
archbishop of
Canturburie.

Boniface
archbishop of
Canturburie.

Gilbert de
Clare.

maners and conditions, and set vpon his tome:

*Ere pudor Hyppoliti, Paridis genas, sensus Physis,
Aeneas pietas, Hectoris iracundia.*

This Gilbert (I saie) the sonne of the said Richard was after the death of Henrie the third (which happened in the yeare of our Lord 1277, & in the seuen & fiftith yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie) in the absence of king Edward the first in the holie warres made gouernour of the realme, vntill the returne of the said king Edward into England, to which function he was appointed by king Henrie the third, lieng on his death-bed: who caused the said Gilbert to sweare to keepe the peace of the land to the behoofe of Edward his sonne. Which he did most faithfully, vntill the second daie of August, in the second yeare of the said king, in which the said king Edward landed in England, being in the yeare of our redemption 1274, at what time the king was honorably interteined of the said Gilbert, and John earle of Murraine (a supporter to him in the charge of the kingdome) at the castell of Tunbridge in Kent, and Wigate in Surrie, which Gilbert with the other piers of the land, immediatlie after the death of king Henrie the third, assembling at the new temple brake the old seale of king Henrie, made a new seale in the name of king Edward, and appointed faithful officers for the sure keeping and obseruing of the treasure, the riches, the peace, and the lawes of the kingdoms.

This Gilbert had two wiues, his first wife was Alice the daughter of Hugh le Bzune erle of March, by whom he had issue a daughter, that was countesse of Fife in Scotland: his second wife was Ione the daughter of king Edward the first, called Ione of Acres, by whom he had one sonne, called Gilbert the third, earle of Glocester and Hertford, who married Mathe the daughter of Richard earle of Ulster in the yeare of Christ 1308 at Waltham, by whom he had issue a sonne, John bozne in the yeare of Christ 1312, being in the first yeare of Edward the second, that died without issue; after the death of which Gilbert the third, his lands and earldomes of Glocester and Hertford came to the sister of the said Gilbert the third, who was slaine in the battell of Striueling against the Scots in the seuenth (or as others haue the eight) yeare of king Edward the second, whom the Scots would gladlie haue kept for ransome if they had knowne him: but he had forgotten to put on his cote of armes to shew what he was, after which he was brought into England and was buried at Tewkesburie, vpon whose death the two earldomes of Glocester and Hertford were so dispersed, that there was neuer anie to this daie, that iointlie succeeded or possessed them both. Thus hauing digressed from Gilbert the second, in treating of his sonne Gilbert the third, let vs againe returne to him. He besides his sonne Gilbert the third, had by his wife Ione three daughters; Eleanor, first married to Hugh Spenser, second sonne to Hugh Spenser earle of Glocester, and after his death to William Zouch; Margaret married to Piers de Causton earle of Cornewall, and after to Hugh Audelcie; and Elizabeth or Isabell married in the yeare of our Lord 1308, being the first yeare of Edward the second, to John the sonne of Richard earle of Ulster. This Gilbert the second, before the marriage of his second wife, was on the fiftenth kalends of August diuorced from Alice his first wife, in the yeare of our redemption 1271, being the six and fiftith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third; and after in Westminster church the last of Aprill married his second wife, about the eighteenth yeare of Edward the first being the yeare of Christ 1290, which Gilbert the second, being taken atwaies by vntimelie death, departed

this world in the yeare of our redemption 1195 (being the thre and twentieth of the reigne of the said Edward the first) who was in word & deed, in commandement and authoritie the greatest person of the kingdome, next to king Edward the first: for which cause he well deserued to haue his sepulture among his worthy ancestors.

Edmund earle of Cornewall, of whom there is somewhat spoken before, being the sonne of Richard king of Almaine, and earle of Cornewall brother to Henrie the third, married Margaret the daughter of Richard de Clare erle of Glocester, he was made protektor of the Realme by Edward the first in the fourteenth yeare (as some saie) or in the fiftenth, as others saie (for there is so much disagreement amongst authozs for the accounts of yeares, as it pisseth anie one man to reconcile them in all points) when the said king went into Aragon to reconcile the two kings of Arragon & Naples. He continued in this office in the yeare of Christ 1287, or 1228, as hath Treuet, being the sixteenth yeare of Edward the first, in which he subdued Rife ap Iwerbach the Welsh prince, rebelling against Edward the first, and ouerthrew the castell of Dyffillane (as hath the said Nicholas Treuet) he was lord of Wallingford, did much cost therevpon, and died without issue, as hath Matthew Westminster, in the yeare of Christ 1300: but as hath Thomas Walsingham 1301, leauing the king of England his heire. Yet are there some pedegrees and other authozs, and those not the meanest, which saie that he had a daughter, Isabell married to Rojice Fitz Harding lord Warkele: so that these authozs, which saie that he died without issue, are to be vnderstood of the issue male, & not of the heire generall: for they account him to die without issue, which leaueeth no posteritie to continue his title of honor. The which their meaning they make more plaine, in that they saie that after his issuelesse death, the earledome came to the crowne. And here bicause there is mention made of Wallingford, I will set downe what Leland hath written touching the same, bicause I desire to make common, and to preserve all whatsoeuer monuments of Leland that come vnto my hands: thus therefore he writeth of Wallingford in his commentaries of England, written in the yeare of our redemption 1542, being the foure and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight in these wordes.

The towne of Wallingford hath bene a verie notable thing and well walled. The ditch of the towne, and the cress wherevpon the wals stand, be yet manifestlie perceived, and begin from the castell, going in compasse a good mile and more, and so continueth to Wallingford bridge, a large thing of stone ouer the Thames. There remaine yet the names of these streets amongst others, Thamestreet, Fishstreet, Woodstreet, Goldsmiths rolo. And by the patents and donation of Edmund earle of Cornewall and lord of the honour of Wallingford, it appereth that there were fourtene parish churches in Wallingford: and there be men yet alieue that can shew the places and churchyards where they stood, at this time there are but thre parish churches. The towne and the castell was soze defaced by the Danes warres, yet they maeilie flozished in the time of Richard king of the Romans earle of Cornewall, and brother to Henrie the third, he did much cost vpon the castell which ioineth to the north gate of the towne, and hath thre ditches (as vpon the cress of the same may appere) large and deepe, about each of the two first ditches (on the cress of the ground cast out) runneth an embatteled wall now soze in ruine, and for the most part defaced. All the goodlie buildings, with the tower and dungeon, be within the third ditch. There is

An.Dom.1287

An.Reg.

Edward
prince of
Wales.Piers de
Causton
erle of Corn-
wall.John de Wy-
lifford.Henrie Lucie
erle of Lin-
colne.

Edmund erle
of CornewallEdward
prince of
Wales.Piers de
Cauesfone
erle of Cornu-
wall.John de Dro-
ghda.Henrie Lacie
erle of Lin-
colne.

is also a collegiat chapell amongst the buildings within the third dyche. Edmund earle of Cornewall son to Richard king of Romans was the first founder and indower of this college. Prince Edward the blacke (as one told me) augmented this college. There is a deane, foure priests, six clerkes, and foure choristers. The late deane before doctoz London that now is, builded a faire steeple of stone at the west end of the collegiat chapell, to the making whereof he defaced (as it is said without licence) a pece of the kings lodging on the east end of the chapell. The deane hath a faire lodging of timber within the castle, and to it is ioined a place for the ministers of the chapell. Thus much Leland for Wallingford, & thus much I for Edmund earle of Cornewall and lord of Wallingford.

Edward of Carnaruan prince of Wales, sonne to Edward the first, was in the yeare of our redemption 1295, being the five and twentieth yeare of Edward the first, protector of England, in the absence of his father in Flanders, who because he was of tender yeares, had as tutors and governours appointed unto him Richard bishop of Durham (Eulogium hath the bishop of London) William Pontacute, with diuerse other knights, as Reignold Greie, John Giffard, & Alan Plunket, being wise, discret and expert soldiers.

Piers of Peter de Cauesfone a Gascoine borne, whome king Edward the second so tenderlie loued as that he preferred him before all men, was appointed gardian of the realme in the first yeare of the said king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1308, when the king went into France and there aboad to marrie Isabell daughter to Philip king of France, before that the said Edward was crowned king of England, as hath Radulphus Higden. Of this Piers I will here saie little, because I haue spoken more largelie of him in my panto- graphic of England.

John de Droghda bishop of Bath and Wells, was in the yeare of our redemption 1313, being the sixt yeare of king Edward the second, made protector of the realme in the absence of the said king Edward the second, and his wife quene Isabell, who went into France to solemnize the coronation of Philip (sonne to Philip king of France) who was at that instant created king of Navarre. This Droghda was the fourteenth bishop of Bath & Wells. Great contention was there betwene him and the deane and priests of that church. He succeeded in the bishoprike Walter Houelshab. This Droghda held the bishoprike about nineteene yeares, he beautified the same with manie goodlie buildings, procured manie priuileges vnto it, and greatlie exalted his kindred. He was buried at Welles before the high altar of saint John Baptist.

Henrie Lacie of Lacie earle of Lincoln, and of Salisburie, baron of Halton and of Pontfract, corruptlie called Pomfret, and constable of Chester, was made protector of the realme in the first yeare of Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1310, whilst the king remained in the warres of Scotland. Which Henrie died shortly after in the same yeare, and was buried in the new worke of Paules, who carried for his armes the purple lion contrary to the cote his ancestors had borne before. This man had done great seruice in the warres in the time of Edward the first, he married Margaret the daughter and heire of William Longespée earle of Salisburie, and had by hir a daughter named Alice, married to Thomas Plantagenet earle of Lancaster, Leicester, and Darbie. This Henrie (as I haue learned of other and read in Leland) had issue a bastard sonne, and hauing amongst manie other

lordships the manour of Grantchester besides Cambridge, he gaue the same with other lands vnto that bastard, and commanded that the same Lacie so set vp in Grantchester, should for himselfe and his successors euer name their sonnes and heires by the names of Henrie, which hitherto hath bene religiouslie obserued amongst them. And this was the originall of the houses of the Lacies in Grantchester, as Leland learned of him which was then heire of those lands.

Gilbert de Clare the third earle of Gloucester of that name, after the death of Henrie Lacie, was chosen gouernour of the realme (the king being still in Scotland) during the time that the king should make his abode in that countrie. Of this man see before in the discourse of his father Gilbert the second earle of Gloucester and Hertford, and protector of the realme.

Edward prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine, comming out of France with Isabell in the second yeare of Edward the second, his father was after his landing in England and the taking of his father made gardian of England vnder his father, which office he did not long continue: for depositing his father from the kingdome in the yeare of Christ 1326 he assumed the crowne himselfe in his fathers life.

Walter Keinolds archbishop of Cantuarburie was with others appointed gardian of England on this sort. Edward the third as before attaining to the crowne in the yeare of our redemption 1327, or as some others more trulie saie 1326, being fourtene yeares of age did then begin his reigne. But because he was so young (not being of power or policie to welde so great a charge) it was decreed in this first yeare of his reigne, that twelue gouernours of the greatest lords within the realme should possesse the gouernement, vntill he came to ripper yeares, whose names were as insue: Walter archbishop of Cantuarburie, the archbishop of Doke, the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Hereford, Henrie earle of Lancaster, Thomas Bozherston earle marshall, Edmund of Woodstocke earle of Kent, John earle of Warren, the lord Thomas Wake, the lord Henrie Percy, the lord Oliver de Ingham, and the lord John Kesse, who were sworn of the kings counsell and charged with the gouernement of the kingdome as they would answer for the same. But this ordinance continued not long, for in the second yeare of this king, Isabell the kings mother and the lord Roger Mortimer took the whole rule into their hands, in such sort that the king and his counsellors were in all affaires of state, and otherwise, onelie gouerned by their direction. Of this Walter Keinolds the archbishop, because he was sometime chancellor, and sometime treasurer, is more mention made in the large volume of the liues of the chancellors.

John of Eltham earle of Cornewall sonne to Edward the second, had in the fourth yeare of king Edward the third being the yeare of our redemption 1330 the gouernement of the realme committed vnto him, whilst king Edward the third had passed the seas onelie fiftene hoyses in his company, apparelled in clothes like vnto merchants, which office the said John of Eltham executed vntill the returne of the said king, and before that also when the said Edward the third, in the second yeare of his reigne, did before this time go into France to do his homage. He was made earle of Cornewall in the second yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ 1328, and died at Barwik, others saie at S. Johns towne in Scotland, in the month of October 1336, being the tenth yeare of Edward the third, and was honorable buried at Westminister, for the solemnization of whose buriall the king came

Gilbert de
Clare earle
of Gloucester.Edward
prince of
Wales.Walter Kei-
nolds archbis-
hop of Cantu-
rburie.John of El-
tham earle of
Cornewall.

Edward the
Blacke
prince.

John Strat-
ford.

Lionell duke
of Clarence.

Henrie lord
Persie.

Thomas of
Woodstocke.

John of Gaunt
duke of Lan-
caster.

came out of Scotland about the feast of the Epiphanie.

Edward the Blacke prince, eldest sonne to Edward the third, being about the age of nine yeares, was in the twelfth yere of his father, being the yere of our redemption 1338, or as saith Matthew Parker 1337, made gardian of England in the absence of his father being as then sailed into Flanders to procure the Flemmings to aid him against the French king. Under which prince as some write (or rather as I for the time take it) equall in commission to him it seemeth that John archbishop of Canturburie had the chiefe rule of the land, because that king Edward after his returne into England, which was about the fourteenth or the fiftenth of his reigne, charged the said bishop with certeine negligences which he used in collections of monie, whilest he had the chiefe rule of the land, when he was in the wars of France. Wherefore the words of Matthew Parker in the life of the said John Stratford (saient that the king held a parlement, in which *Omnem regni curam & gubernationem archiepiscopo commisit*) must needs be intended that he had that charge under or equallie with the said Blacke prince, as chiefeest counsellor to support the tender yeares of his sonne.

After which also in the yere of our redemption, as hath the same Matthew Parker 1342, being about the sixteenth of the said Edward the third, the king committed the care & gouvernement of the kingdome to the said archbishop, whilest the king was beyond the seas in the warres: for thus writeth the said Parker, fol. 257. *Ac paulo post nulla purgatione indicta* (speaking of the said bishop unjustlie accused to the king) *aut recepta, omnibus pene parlamentis ordinibus pro archiepiscopo deprecantibus, rex eum sua sponte legitime purgatum & excusatum pronuntiavit, eumque multo magis charum quam ante habuit, omnibusque gerendis in Anglia rebus se in militia absente prefecit.* Of which archbishop being sometime chancelor, and treasurer of England shall be set downe a more large discourse in my large booke of the lives of the chancellors.

Lionell third sonne to Edward the third, was in the ninth yere of the reigne of the said king Edward the third, being the yere in which the word became flesh 1245, made gardian of England, in the absence of his father, who as then was sailed into the parts (beyond the seas) of Flanders. Of this man there is more spoken in my following treatise of the dukes of England.

Henrie lord Persie, & Kase lord Beuill, when Edward the third was sailed into Normandie, were in the twentieth yere of the reigne of the said Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption 1346, appointed to be gardians of the realme in his absence with the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of Lincoln, and Thomas Hatfield bishop of Durham.

Thomas of Woodstocke being verie yong was made custos or gardian of England, in the yere that God took on him the forme of a servant 1359, being the thre & thirtieth of the reigne of the said king Edward the third, when he sailed into France with a 1100 ships. Of this man is more spoken in my discourse of the dukes of England, set downe in the time of queene Elizabeth: and in my treatise of the conestables of England, set downe in the time of Henrie the eight pag. 867.

John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, fourth sonne of Edward the third, because the king his father was feeble and sicklie (being now about thre score & five yeares of age, though Bodinus in his *Methodo historiae* saie that he died in his climactericall yere of thre score and thre: for the truth is, that the said Edward the third was fourtene yeares old when he began to reigne, and he reigned about one and fiftie yeares,

which make of his age thre score and five yeares) but especiallie for the sorow which the king inwardlie conceived for the death of that worthy prince his son, commonlie surnamed the Blacke prince. This John of Gaunt (after the death of the said Blacke prince, which died in the yere of Christ 1376, being the fiftieth yere of the reigne of Edward the third, whose death was deemed to be hastened by the said John of Gaunt aspiring to the crowne, the plat whereof though it took not effect in the life of the said John, yet it was performed in his sonne Henrie of Bullingbroke, who deposed Richard the second) was appointed by his father Edward the third to have the rule of the realme under him, the which he continued during his fathers life, which was not a full yere after that he had made the said John of Gaunt gouernour of England. After which death of king Edward the third, when Richard the second, a child of eleven yeares of age began his reigne, in the yere of our redemption 1377, in the first yere of the said Richard the second, after his coronation, the said John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, & Edmund of Langley earle of Cambridge brother to the said John of Gaunt, were appointed to have the gouernement of the kings person, and the administration of the common-wealth. But shortly after, in the same yere of the king, in the yere of our redemption 1378, the said John of Gaunt gaue up the same office. Of this man is more said in my treatise of the dukes of England.

William Courtenie bishop of London (but shortly after his protectorship advanced unto the see of Canturburie, in the yere of Christ 1381, about the ninth of Januarie, being about the fourth of Richard the second, was made gouernor of the realme in this manner. After (as is before said) that the duke of Lancaster had wiselie weied the sickle estate of the realme, and considered that by the euill gouernment of the nobilitie, and inconstant mind of the yong king, there must needs fall a change of the estate, & doubting that if any thing succeeded otherwile than the nobles liked, the cause and negligence might be imputed to him, as one who chiefe had the gouernment in his hands (and thanks howsoever the state was ruled he looked for none) did in the end after a few months authoritie (wholie mistaking the manners of the court, which commonlie are not of the best in the minority of princes) surrender his protectorship, and obtained licence of the king to depart, and so got him quietlie to his castell of Kenelworth, permitting others to have the whole swaie of the kingdome.

Notwithstanding all which, in the second yere of Richard the second, about the yere of Christ 1379 being not altogether carelesse of the kings well doing; this duke before his departing to Kenelworth, caused certeine graue persons with his full consent, to be ordeined, which should haue the gouernement of the kings person, and administration of the common-wealth. The names of whome were, William Courtenie before mentioned, Edmund Mortimer earle of March, Kase Ergumne bishop of Salisburie, and William lord Latimer, with others, of whome for the most part the people had conceived a good opinion: yet because the said bishop of Salisburie, and the lord Latimer were associat to the rest, and of equall authoritie with them, the commons murmured greatlie against them. The cause for which they so mistaked the lord Latimer, was for that he had sometimes bin too much fauouring to dame Alice Piers, concubine to king Edward the third, to whome the said lord Latimer was chiefe chamberleine, & therefore was of him best beloued, which two persons, the lord Latimer, and dame Alice, were by parliament in

William
Courtenie
bishop of
London.

in the fifth yeare of Edward the thirde removed from the king, for that they miscounted him, but especiallie with much mischief grew in the realme by the same Alice Piers. For she being now exalted in pride by overmuch love of Edward the thirde, would beyond the modestie and maner of women, sit in ingeminent with the kings justices, he with the doctors in the consistorie, turne sentences to what she would, and require manie things dishonest in themselves, and dishonourable to the king. Which woman, an old written chronicle belonging to the house of Cuesham, hath delivered to me these words: *Alicia Piers regis concubina supra modum mulierum nimis supergressa sui etiam sexus et fragilitatis femineae immemor, nunc iuxta iustitiarum regis nunc in foro ecclesiastico iuxta doctores sedendo, et pro defensione causarum suaderet, et etiam contra iura postulare minime verebatur, unde propter scandalum petierunt ab illo (which was the king) penitus amoveri in parlamento tento anno Domini 1376 et 50 Ed. 3.* Thus that autho.

And here before I go any further with my protectors, because some curious heads that find not all these matters in the records of the tower, which they daile turne with a churlish hand, or else thinke that nothing may be knowne out of the walles of their office, will seeme to seeke a knot in a rush, and saie that I in compasse of some few lines have written a contrarietie, in saieing that John of Gaunt thirdest after the kingdome, and for that cause hastened the death of his elder brother prince Edward the blacke as Richard the third did the death of his brother George duke of Clarence, which intent could not possible be in John of Gaunt, as appeareth by my olone following words: where I saie that he gaue over the protectorship of his nephue, because he would avoide all suspicion of euill gouernement: which hee would neuer haue done if he had so ment, that place being so apt for the execution of his purpose, and might giue occasion to him that neuer ment any such matter before, to attempt it being in that place, as Richard duke of Booke did attempt, but not perfoyme it, in the time of Henrie the first; and as Richard duke of Gloucester, being in the same office of protectorship, did not onelie attempt it, but brought to perfection. Whereunto I answer, that all this is no contrarietie, but onelie a manifest shew and confirmation, the one part of my words to the other. For sith he could not in the life of his father Edward the third before the crowning of king Richard the second (as Richard the third did) attaine the crowne, he would not now attempt it (the king being once crowned, and in full possession of the kingdome) so rashlie and vnadvisedlie (as did Richard duke of Booke against Henrie, for which he was in the end haine) least that thereby his part might seeme to carie the face of a rebellion, as in truth it should haue done. For whosoeuer either for colour of God, bene- fit to their countrie, or for whatsoeuer cause, lift up the sword against a crowned king, sitting at the sterne of gouernement, being one of the gods of the earth, the same must needs tend vnto a rebellion, which John of Gaunt would not seeme to execute, & for that cause leauing off his purpose at that time, he did in the end also leaue the whole matter to his son to perfoyme, especiallie sith he afterward perceived Richard the second so much to fauor and further him with monie, munition, and men, to recouer the kingdome of Castile & Arragon in Spaine, in the right of the wife of the said John of Gaunt. To whom and to his wife (as hath Henrie Knighton) king Richard the second gaue a generall crowne of gold to honour them withall, & to shew how interlie he loued them when they both went into Spaine. And for these causes the said John of Gaunt refused the oportunitie

of time & place in the king his nephues minority to execute it. But did he cease it so? No. For that sparke although it were a little cooled, was not utterly quenched, because he hastened the same in his son, whom he not onelie persuaded, but furthered (after the barishment of his said sonne Henrie of Bullingbroke by Richard the second in the life of the said John of Gaunt) to returne into England, and after his death to challenge by sword the earldome of Lancaster his right inheritance, and vnder the same to reuenge the death of the duke of Gloucester and others: and by that means, when Richard the second was out of the realme of England in Ireland, the said Henrie Bullingbroke sonne of John of Gaunt entered the realme, put downe the king, and got the crowne which his father sought. Thus this much digressing from the protectors, and to returne to that course which I haue in hand, I will leaue the discourse of policies to obtaine kingdoms, because they be no balles for me to bandie, and follow on my former intent as meete for my simplicitie.

Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwick was in the third yeare of Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1380, made protector in this sort. In the parlament holden the same yeare, at the speciall sute of the lords, and of the commons, the bishops and barons chosen (as you haue heard) before by John of Gaunt to be protectors of the realme, were removed, and the earle of Warwick especiallie elected to that function, to remaine continuallie with the king as cheefe gouernor of his roiall person; & one that should giue answer to all foreigners repairing thither, vpon what cause soeuer their coming were; hauing further as ample gouernment of the kingdome giuen vnto him, as the other removed gouernors had. Being placed in that office by the duke of Lancaster, he died the first ides of Aprill, in the yeare of Christ 1401, being the third yeare of Henrie the fourth. He married Margaret, the daughter of William lord Ferrers of Grobie; by whome he had issue, Richard earle of Warwick.

Thomas Fitzalane otherwile called Arundell bishop of Ely, the two and twentieth that inioined that seat, being two and twentie yeares of age, and the son of Richard Fitzalane earle of Arundell & Marren, was with others made protector of England in this sort. At a parlament holden at London in the tenth yeare of Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ 1386, were certeine gouernors of the kingdome elected, because the treasure of the realme had bene imbeilled & lewde wasted, nothing to the profit of the king and kingdome, by the couetous and euill gouernment of the deposed officers, which were Michaell de la Pole earle of Suffolke lord chancellor, John Fitzham bishop of Durham lord treasurer, & diuerse other persons that ruled about the king.

Now the gouernors elected by this parlament were in number thirtene; and by name Thomas Arundell bishop of Ely, then made lord chancellor; John Gilbert bishop of Hereford made lord treasurer; and Nicholas abbat of Waltham at that time made keeper of the priuie seale; William Courtenie archbishop of Canturburie, Alexander Penill archbishop of Booke, Edmund Langlete duke of Booke, Thomas of Woodstocke duke of Gloucester, William bishop of Winchester, Thomas bishop of Excester, Richard Fitzalane erle of Arundell, John lord Deuereur, and Reinold lord Cobham of Starbozow. These were thus by parlament chosen to haue vnder the king the whole ouersight and gouernment of the realme, as by their commission in the statutes of the tenth yeare of the said Richard the second it doth in the printed booke appeare.

A llll. iij. Edmund

Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwick.

Thomas Arundell bishop of Ely.

William Courtneie bishop of London.

of 79 m. th. it. nt. m. er. ie. ne. o. nd. e. ed. so. 10. s. he. re. the. nt. in.

Edmund Langley duke of York, uncle unto Richard the second, was in the eighteenth yeare of the said Richard, being about the yeare of our redemption 1395, ordeined lord gardian of England, in the kings absence in the realme of Ireland. This protector caused a parlement to be assembled at Westminster: where he dealt so effectualie, notwithstanding the untowardnesse of the burgeses, that a tenth was granted by the cleargie, and a fiftenth by the temporaltie; but not without protestation, that those payments were granted of a merke freewill, for the loue they bare to the king, and to haue the affaires in Ireland to succeed the better. After this, about foure yeares; king Richard the second in the two and twentieth yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1399, making another piage into Ireland (being the last and most unhaple that euer was to him, for before his returne he had in effect lost his realme, which after his comming he lost in deed) did againe in his absence substitute this Edmund duke of York as chiefe gouernor of England. Who in the absence of the king, assembled a power of men against Henrie of Bulkinghoke, now entered into the land to challenge the dukedome of Lancaster after the death of his father John of Gaunt, and vnder that colour to surpe the crowne. Which Edmund passing into Wales in the thre and twentieth yeare of Richard the second, was receiued into the castell of Barking, where remained untill the comming of Henrie of Bulkinghoke. Whom when he perceiued (for the power which the said duke of Lancaster had assembled from all parts of the realme) that he was not of sufficiencie to resist; he came forth into the church that stood without the castell, and there fell to parlex with the duke of Lancaster; after which he did neuer forsake the duke of Lancaster, untill he came to the crowne. Who, if he had faithfullie stood vnto his nephew, might perhaps haue saued vnto him both his crowne and life. Of this man is more said in my treatise of the dukes of England.

Jone de Hamures
widow to Henrie
the fourth.

Jone de Hamures sometime duchesse of Britaine, (widow to Philip Montfort, as saith Hypodigma; but Walsingham in his historie calleth him John duke of Britaine; being also the widow of king Henrie the fourth) was substitute gouernor of the realme by hir son in law king Henrie the first, king of England, in the thirde yeare of his reigne, being the yeare from the birth of the messias 1415, when the said Henrie the first tooke his tourne into France to conquer the same. This woman in the seuenth yeare of Henrie the first, which was in the yeare of Christ 1419, being suspected (as saith John Stow) to practise withcraft against the king, was committed to the custodie of John Mellam, or rather John Delham, who appointed nine seruants to attend vpon hir, and brought hir to Beuenfete castell to be gouerned vnder his prouidence. But shortly after clearing hir selfe, she was deliuered. This ladie died at Hauering at the bolwe in Essex the ninth of Iulie in the seuenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and seuen, and was buried at Canturburie with hir husband king Henrie the fourth.

John de
Plantagenet
duke of Bed-
ford.

John duke of Bedford son to Henrie the fourth, & brother to k. Henrie the first, was in the fourth yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie, being the yeare of our redemption 1416, by parlement appointed regent of the realme, to inioie the same office so long as the king was imployed in the French wars. Which place he possessed accordinglie; and in the ninth yeare of the victorious prince, king Henrie the first, being gardian of England, he, with Henrie

Beauford bishop of Winchester uncle to Henrie the first, and Jaqueline duchesse of Holland remaining then in England, were godfathers, and godmother to Henrie, after king by the name of Henrie the first, the son of Henrie the first; Henrie Churchie archbishop of Canturburie baptising the child. In the tenth and last yeare of Henrie the first, this John with a strong power conuied quene Katharine wife to Henrie the first, from Southampton into France. This man being duke of Bedford, earle of Arundmond and of Kendall, constable of England, and warden of the marches of Scotland, died the fourteenth date of September at Rome in 30. maner, who (hauing also bene regent of France, a most valiant gentleman, and one that kept the parts beyond the seas in great obedience to the crowne of England) had for his yearelie pension 20000 crownes at the least. After whose death all things went backward, and the English lost all that they had beyond the seas, Calis, & those dominions onlie excepted.

This man (I saie) died in the yeare of our redemption 1435, being the thirteenth yeare of the unfortunate government of the deposed king Henrie the first, and was honorably buried at Rome in our ladie church there. Touching whome it shall not graue me to set downe the answer of a French king lately in our age made to one of his nobilitie, saing vnto the king (then being in the said ladie church of Rome, and beholding the tome of this John of Bedford) that it were conuenient that the same tome were defaced and pulled downe; since he was the onelie man that brought the greatest damage that euer happened vnto France. To whom the king said; Hold thy peace sole, God forbid that euer we should do such reproch to him being dead; whome the proudest of our nation durst not looke in the face when he was liuing. This duke John married the second yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of Christ 1423, Anne the daughter of John duke of Burgogne, who died in the tenth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of Christ 1433, after which he married Jaques daughter to Peter earle of S. Paule in the same yeare, and yet died without issue. Of this man is mention made in my former discourse of the constables of England, pag. 868.

Humfrie duke of Gloucester brother to Henrie the first, and uncle to Henrie the first, was in the tenth and last yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1422, made regent of England, vpon the removing and departure of John duke of Bedford with quene Katharine, wife to Henrie the first into France. In which yeare (happening the lamentable death of that worthy prince king Henrie the first) the said Henrie vpon his death-bed appointed this Humfrie to be protector of the realme; which he did exercise in the time of the minority of Henrie the first, from the time of his first enterance into the kingdome. Who at that time taking vpon him that function, called vnto him graue and wise counsellors; with whose support he might with better honor to the realme, and benefit to the subiects, rule the ship of this kingdome, sailing in the dangerous waues of the kings infancie. By which means holding the sterne thereof, directed by the course of iustice, he did most honorably during his life discharge the dutie of so weightie an office. Who in the fourteenth yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1439, did with five hundred saile land at Calis, and for eleven dates spoiled the lott countries and so by Calis returned againe into England. This man in the five & twentieth yeare of king Henrie first, being the yeare of Christ 1447, was in his castell of Ales in Millhoire, & comming from thence

Humfrie
duke of Gloucester.

to the parlement was lodged in the hospitall, and arrested by John lord Beaumont high constable of England. But on the foure and twentieth daie of Februarye he died for sorrow as some saide, and as John Stow hath noted, because he might not come to his answer. Other write that he was murdered in the night by the queens procurement, to the great griefe of the commons, and in time following to the bitter destruction of the king and the queene. He was duke of Glocester, and also in the right of his wife duke of Holland and Zeland, earle of Penbroke, lord chamberleine of England, and protector of the realme, being highlie esteemed of learned men, himselfe also not meanelie furnished with knowledge, having rare skill in astrologie, wherof beside manie other things he compiled a singular treatise, obtaining the name of *Tabula directionum*, touching whose death I have read these verses following in John Whethamsted:

*Aemula fors varijs signanter honoribus altis
Causavit miserè mala multos flere ruina,
Latus erat Iulius, undis mersus Ptolemus,
Pulsus Tarquinius, exul factusque Tydens,
Dux nimis propere iam dictus tempora vitæ
Complevit tristis, heu indignatio regis
Causa fuit magna, maior detractio falsi,
Plebs et iuncta fallaci et insidiosa,
Nam regis patris, quamvis et proximus heres,
Tunc fueratque suus consultor in ordine primus,
Vir prudensque pius, vir doctus et ingeniosus,
Non tamen erubuit, nec pertimuit, ve pepercit
Hunc accusare falsè de proditiōe,
Discreto quodque suam clam vellet tollere vitam
Et sibi surripere violenter iura corona.
Ducit argentum, proprium qui captat in usum,
Desiderat medium quo vindicet aptius ipsam,
Sic regem plures comitantes collaterales
Se tantur prædon, mediat frans, dat dolum ipsam,
Fidior in regno regi duce non fuit isto,
Plisus fide stabili aut maior amator honoris,
Et tamen et prædo voto potiretur iniquo,
Fraudem consuluit, cum fraude dolum sociavit,
Sicque ducem falsi maculans cum proditiōe
Obtinuit votum, prædator eratque bonorum
Illius, et tristis obijt dux criminis expert.*

Which duke Humfrie was buried at saint Albons, being without issue, after he had married two wives; whereof the first wife was Iacoba or Jaqueline (daughter and sole heire of William of Baucier) being then the lawfull wife to John duke of Brabant then living, which wife this Humfrie married in England in the yere of our redemption 1424 being the third yere of king Henrie the first, upon which grew great warres, and Humfrie duke of Glocester challenged the combat of the duke of Burgognie, taking part with his cousine John duke of Brabant. But in the end the duke of Glocester left his wife at Mons & returned into England, and shee unto Gaunt, and so into Holland, & the combat staied by means of the duke of Bedford brother to the duke of Glocester. But after (as it seemeth) the duke of Glocester was divorced from this dutchesse, and then married Cleano: Cobham (whome he had tenderlie loved as his paramour before that) in the yere of our redemption 1428, being the first yere of the reigne of king Henrie the first. This woman in the nineteenth yere of the said Henrie the first (upon the taking of Henrie Bullingbroke for practising necromancie, thereby to consume the king) fled in the night to Westminster for sanctuary. which caused her to be suspected of treason. Whereupon Bullingbroke confessing that he wrought the same at the procurement of the said Cleano:, desirous to know to what estate she should come unto, the said dame Cleano: did oftentimes for the same fact appeare be-

fore the bishop, and in the end was consulted. After which in the twentieth of Henrie the first she did grievous penance therfore, and so escaped with hir life. And here because I have said somewhat of Jaqueline dutchesse of Holland, I thinke it not amisse to adde a little more of hir, being a woman of great beautie, and desire of change in performing the pleasures of the flesh: therfore I will set downe what I have seene written under the pictures of hir and hir husband Francis in this sort.

The subscription vnder the pictures of
the ladie Jaqueline, and of Francis
hir husband.

Iacoba Dei gratia comitissa Hannonia, Hollandia, & Zelandia, domina Frisia, Zutbuerlandia, terre Brilenfis, Forensis, & Gulielmi Bauariensis ducis filia & heres unica, quæ primo desponsata fuit Philippo Burgundiorum duci: postea Delphino Francorum regis filio: tertio Iohanni duci Brabantia Antony filio: deinde Humfrido Glocestria duci Henrici quarti Anglia regis filio: & postremo Franconi Burghensi comiti Osteruandia matrimonio copulatur. Quæ obiit absque liberis 8 Idus Octobris, anno Domini 1463 sepulta apud Hagam comitis in Hollandia.

Beside which was this written in Dutch:
Vrouen Iacoba van Byeren Graueenne van
Hollant starfe Anno Domini 1463.

The subscription vnder the picture
of hir husband Francone or Francis
was in this sort.

Franciscus Dei gratia comes de Osteruant (erfiginodt) in comitatibus Hollandia, Hannonia, Zelandia, & Friselandia, dominus de Boursalia de Viorne, Zuylen, Hochstraten, Kortene, de la Peer, Flushing, Zandenburge, terre Brilens, Sentmartinsdike, quo loco fundavit canobium canonicorum, &c: & regi Edwardo quarto fideliter assistebat, necnon equestri ordinis duci Antony.

Beside which also was this written in the Dutch tongue. Here vranck van Boselen graue van Osteruant starfe Anno Domini 1470.

Thomas Beaufort duke of Excester (appointed to that office by Henrie the first on his death-bed) was with Henrie Beaufort bishop of Winchester great uncle to king Henrie the first in the yere of our redemption 1422, being the first yere of the reigne of king Henrie the first (then but nine months old) made protector and gardian of the person of the yong king, to see him tenderlie and carefullie brought up and instructed in all such parts as were to be required in the person of a monarch. Which office he left about the fourth yere of king Henrie the first, and died on feluyeres daie at his manor of Crantwich in the said first yere of Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemption 1446: he married Margaret the daughter of Thomas Beuill of Hornesbie.

Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwick the son of the former Thomas Beauchampe, being beyond the seas, and there deputie for John duke of Bedford (being regent of France) did (whilest the said regent was come ouer into England) obtaine manie castels in his deputiethip; who being thus imployed in the foren warres, was in his absence out of his countrie (for his singular wisdom and valor) ordered by the three estates of the realme of England in open parlement, to be gouernor of the person of the yong king Henrie the first, in the place of Thomas Beaufort duke of Excester lately deceased: which Richard did not yet forthwith hasten his returne into England, but remained in France for a season, enlarging

Thomas Beaufort
duke of Excester.

Richard Beauchampe
earle of Warwick.

inlarging the fame of his martial exploits. This his election to the protectorship of the kings person, was in the first yere of Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemption 1426. He died in the yere of our Lord 1439, being the seicententh yere of the deposed king Henrie the first, at Hone in Normandie the last daie of Maie, as hath John Stow; and the fourth of October next following his corps was honorablie conueied, as well by land as by water from Hone to Warwicke, and there honorablie buried in the college of our ladie church founded by his noble ancestors. He married two wiues, the first Elisabeth daughter and heire of Thomas lord Barkeley, by whome he had three daughters, Margaret married to John lord Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, Cleane married to Thomas lord Rolle, and Elisabeth married to George Nevill lord Latimer. His second wife was Isabel the daughter and heire of Richard lord Spenser, by whome he had issue Henrie duke of Warwicke, and Anne married to Richard Nevill earle of Salisburie.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, sonne to Richard earle of Cambridge, and father to Edward the fourth king of England, notwithstanding that he made challenge to the crowne against Henrie the first, then in possession thereof, as heire to the house of Yorke, and was to be preferred before the house of Lancaster; and notwithstanding that he was by parliament appointed to weare the crowne after the death of Henrie the first: yet after all this, in the three and thirtieth yere of the same king, being the yere of our redemption 1455 (such was the imperfection of the king to gouerne) he was appointed protector of the realme, ruling the same at his owne disposition. Which office he did not long inioie, and that most worthilie: for the next yere after being the foure and thirtieth of king Henrie the first, and the yere of our redemption 1456, he was deposed from the same, and quene Margarete wife to Henrie the first toke againe the absolute regiment into his hands: which duke after in the nine and thirtieth of king Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemption 1460, the thirtieth daie of December, being lord of Wakefield, was there with his sonne the earle of Rutland slaine at the battell commonlie called the battell of Wakefield; of which I haue read these verses in Whetnhamsted once abbat of saint Albons:

Anno millesimo centum quater quoque sena,
Terdenoque die, duodeno mense Decembre,
Infra Eboracensem iuxta Wakefield comitatum
Dux dominus Wilhelms pugnans habuisse
Constitutum grandem contra gentem borealem,
Ac preceres plures preerant qua gentibus ipsi,
Quod docuit, quia fors quod res fortuna secunda,
Fatis habere moras, cecidit dux natus eius,
Ac comes insignis fors belli, fors fuit ipsi
Obiit, sicque satis regni fuerat brevis heres
Omen id latum lulerat mutamine mestum
Desendum multis, in regni, in fuit eius.

This was done 1561, counting the yere to begin at Christmas as some doe, or at Januarie as others doe.

He married Cicilie daughter to Rafe Nevill first earle of Westmerland, by whome he had issue Edward duke of Yorke, earle of March, and after king of England by the name of Edward the fourth: George Plantagenet duke of Clarence, Richard Plantagenet duke of Glocester, after king of England by the name of Richard the third: three daughters, Anne married to Henrie Holland duke of Excester, Elisabeth married to John de la Poole duke of Suffolke, and Margarete married to Charles duke of Burgognie.

George Plantagenet duke of Clarence

George Plantagenet duke of Clarence, and constable of England, sonne of the foresaid duke of Yorke, and brother to king Edward the fourth, with Richard Nevill earle of Warwicke (who set by and

pulled downe kings at his pleasure) were after the flight of Edward the fourth out of England into Burgognie to his brother in law (in the tenth yere of the reigne of the said king Edward, being the yere of our redemption 1470, when Henrie the first had by their means readeped the kingdome) made gouernors of the land, which office they inioied not long. For the said Edward the fourth returning into England, in the eleuenth yere of his reigne, being the yere of our redemption 1471, reconciled to him the duke of Clarence, did againe put downe king Henrie the first, and due the said earle of Warwicke (steing awate) at Barnet field, on Easter day, by one of the men of his campe. After this, on the fifteenth daie of Januarie began a parlement; in the eighteenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, being the yere of our redemption 1478, where this duke of Clarence was atteinted of treason, and the eleuenth of March following he ended his life in a but of malmeise, and was buried at Eukefburie beside his wife, who being with child died by poison a little before him. Of this man see more in my discourse of the constables of England pag. 869.

Richard Plantagenet third sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was constable of England and gouernour of the person of the king, of whome is more spoken in my discourse of the constables of England pag. 869. But here mentioning the constables of England, I thinke it better now than not at all, to mention also some imperfection and default in my former discourse of the said constables, set downe by me before in pag. 865. Which default of mine in that place grew by reason of ouermuch hast, which I used in sudden seeking for the same, whereby (according to the old prouerbe) I brought forth a blind whelp. For in the former description I haue omitted diuers the which were constables of England, the names of which were Henrie the first in the life of his father, Sigellus, and Robert de Dilie, with others of that line in descent, which Sigellus I can not as yet learne to be anie other but Sigellus de Dilie, brother to Robert de Dilie that came in with the Conqueror, who gaue Oxfordshire vnto the said Robert.

Besides which, if it shall seeme to anie that I haue in my former treatise rashlie written I know not what, & that here I make Henrie the first constable in his father the Conquerors time, & by contrarietie thereto did before make Walter constable also in the Conquerors and William Rufus his time: let them know that there is no contrarietie herein. For Walter might first be constable, & then Henrie the first, and both they in the Conquerors time, this office being taken from the first, and given to the latter by the Conqueror. After whose death William Rufus might take it from his brother Henrie, because he would not make him too great in England, for doubt least he might hereby put the crowne in hazard, being fauoured of the people as one borne in England, and for that cause might restore that office to Walter. Again it maie be, that some men reading that I haue before set downe, that Hawdo the emperesse gaue the constableness to Spilo the son of Walter in the first of king Stephan, and that king Stephan toke that office from Spilo in the first yere of his reigne, and gaue it to Walter Beauchampe, will condemne me therefore of like vnadvised writing: because it seemeth thereby that Stephan toke it from Spilo before that Spilo had it. Which is not so, for I can proue with some reason and authoritie, that Spilo had it a little before the death of king Henrie the first, and also after his death in part of the first yere of king Stephan, being witness to a deed by king Stephan, made and dated the first of his reigne, to

Richard Plantagenet duke of Glocester.

A digression concerning the constables of England not mentioned before in pag. 865.

Sigellus de Dilie constable of England.

The foundation of the hospital of St. John

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A digression
concerning
the constables
of Eng-
land not men-
tioned before
in pag. 865.

Algehus de
Ollie constable
of Eng-
land.

The founda-
tion of the ca-
thedral church
of Exeter.

to which he subscribed his name *Milo Constabularius*, after which king Stephan might in that yeare take that office from him, and so he did. Which *Palus* the emperesse understanding, and finding *Allo* (now fallen from king Stephan) one which assisted hir, the better to confront Stephan, gaue the constableship to *Allo* (accounting hir selfe as quene) in the first of Stephan.

This being thus spoken in defense of that which before I haue written pag. 866. let vs go to our other matter concerning the constables not mentioned before in the said discourse, wherein I find my selfe in a marvellous laberinth (out of which I doubt that the best antiquaries cannot lose themselves, no not he which thinketh and saith that he can controll all men, for I suppose he will be lame in this matter) how all these could be constables, vnlesse that in the time of Henrie the first, and of king Stephan, as it is most likelie, there was chopping & changing, putting in and taking out, setting vp and pulling downe one man in diuerse yeares of one and the selfe same king: for king Stephan was sometime a king, and sometime as no king, and then againe a king. And so likewise was it with *Palus* the emperesse at the same time, bearing hir selfe sometime as quene, and then dejected as no quene. But be it as it will be, I will here set downe what I find in ancient charters and pedegrees touching the constables of England not before mentioned, leauing the same to others (either to order for succession of time, or to amend for truth of matter) who peraduenture reading these things, which I haue scene and will here set downe, can bestow them in better order than I can, which I earnestlie praye them to do, whereby truth maie be brought to light and perfection; which as yet touching these constables set downe in this place, seemeth to be obscured and confused vntill the time that Roger Fitz Spiles had that office: for from his time the same is without all controuersie sufficientlie knowne. Wherefore, here before I enter into the descent of the Ollies, who were constables of England, I will set downe a strange note of thre persons witnesses to a deed, dated *Primo Stephani, anno Dom. 1136*, who do all subscribe their names as constables. Which charter being the same wherein king Stephan gaue the manor of Sudton or Sutton to the house of Winchester, the same was amongst other witnesses thus signed, *Robertus de Veer constabularius, Milo constabularius, Brientius filius comitis constabularius*: all who could not be constables of England at one time. Wherefore sauing correction I suppose that it is out of all controuersie, that neither the first nor the last of these thre were constables of England, but of some other places, as of Douer or other castles. And so to that which I haue further to saie of the kings constables in one descent and succession of the de Ollies, being tearmed the kings constables, both in ancient charters and pedegrees, thereof Nigellus before mentioned seemeth to be one.

This Nigellus was constable of England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and one, being the first yere of king Henrie the first, as may appeare by a deed of confirmation made by Henrie the first touching the cathedrall church of Exeter, whereof I thinke good to saie somewhat to bring in the proofe that this Nigellus was constable. This church was built for the most part in the time of William Rufus, by Herebert de Losinga the first bishop of Exeter, who translated the see from Ely into Exeter, in the yeare of Christ 1094, which church being finished and consecrated to the holie trinitie, was afterward confirmed by Henrie the first, and *Palus* his wife, in the first yeare of the said Henrie, being the yeare of our redemption 1101, to

the charter thereof signed by king Henrie & *Palus* his wife, were manie bishops, noblemen and abbats witnesses, amongst whom are these two set downe; Nigellus Constabularius, and Rogerus Cancellarius, of which Nigellus thus writeth Leland in his commentaries on the song of the swan in the word *Isidis insula*: *Erat Roberto frater Nigellus nomine, de quo fama non admodum multa refert*, which I suppose is this Nigellus de Ollie the constable, as I before said.

Robert de Ollie, sonne of the said Nigellus, did succeed his father, and was as may appeare by some authoers (who tearme him accordingly) great constable of England. This man together with his wife Edith were the founders of the religious house of Osney, touching whome I shall not graue to set downe what I haue gathered out of Leland and others. This Edith obtained of hir husband to build a church in the Isle of Osney in Oxfordshire, to our sauiour Christ, about the yeare of our redemption 1129, being about the nine and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, which church did after grow to be of great renoume and building, the occasion of building thereof is set downe by others in this sort. Edith being in great estimation with Henrie, first married the said Robert de Ollie by the kings procurement, which Robert began the priore of the blacke chanons of Osney by Oxford, amongst the Isles made by the riuer of Isis or Wolfe. This Edith used oftentimes to walke out of Oxford castell with hir gentlewomen for to solace and recreate hir selfe. At what time at a certeine place, as often as she came by the same, certeine pies assembled themselves in a tree, where they chattered and as it were spake vnto hir. This ladie much maruelling at the matter, happening so continuallie at one time in one place after one order, and with one maner of foules, was manie times astonished and feared therewith, esteeming it a verie strange wonder. Whereupon she sent for one Radulph or Rafe a chanon of saint Frideswide in Oxford, a man of vertuous life & hir confessor, asking his counsell vpon the same. To whom he answered (after that he had scene the order of those pies onelie chattering at hir comming thither) that she should build some church or monastrie in that place. Whereupon she intreated hir husband to build a priore, and so he did, making that Radulph the first priore of that house. All which matter, that is the coming of Edith to Osney, Radulph waiting on hir, and the tree with the pies were all extant (at the generall dissolution of the abbeyes in the time of Henrie the eight) to be scene painted on the north side of the high altar, in the arch of the wall ouer Ediths tombe in Osney priore, vpon which tome there laie a stone image of Edith in the habit of a dowresse holding a hart in hir right hand. This Robert de Ollie was buried in Osney in the verie middle of the presbiterie, vnder a flat marble stone; whereupon was a flowred crosse portraied, which Robert had issue Henrie de Ollie, baron of Hochinton, & the kings constable, which married Margerie the daughter of Humfrie de Bohune, by whome that Henrie had issue Henrie de Ollie baron of Hochinton, and the kings constable which died without issue. Thus this much by waie of digression, touching the constables of England, left out in my former discourse of those officers. And so againe to the protectors.

Katharine the daughter of Ferdinand king of Spaine, and wife to king Henrie the eight, was (in the absence of the said king beyond the seas in the the warres of Turuine and Carneie) made regent of the realme, in the yeare of Christ 1513, and the first yeare of king Henrie the eight, she had bene the widow of Arthur prince of Wales, eldest sonne vnto king Henrie the seauenth, and eldest brother to king Henrie

Robert de Ollie constable of England.

The foundation of the abbey of Osney in the yeare of Christ 1129, being about the thirtieth yeare of Henrie the first, as some write.

Katharine quene of England.

Henric the eight, who after the death of that Arthur was by dispensation of the pope married to Henric after king, by the name of Henric the eight, being younger brother of the said Arthur, from which king Henric she was afterward not onelie divorced, in the one and twentieth of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1529, but after by parlement also in the foure and twentieth of the kings reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1532, disgraced from the name of quene, and from thenceforth appointed onlie to be called the princeesse dowager of prince Arthur, about five yeares after which she died on the eight of Januarie, being the yeare of our redemption 1535, which was the seauen and twentieth yeare of king Henric the eight, and was honourable buried in the abbey of Peterborough, for which cause afterward in the generall dissolution of the abbeies, when all those houses were spoiled, this abbey was not onelie for hir buriall there spared and not defaced, but also further honored with a greater title, and turned into a bishoprike, by the said king Henric the eight.

Katharine Par, the daughter of sir Thomas Par, lord of Kirkbie Kenball, and wife to king Henric the eight, was by patent made protectresse of the realme of England, when king Henric the eight went in person to the wars of Bullongne, on the thirtenth of Julie in the yeare of our redemption 1544, being the sixt and thirtieth yeare of the triumphant reigne of the said king. This ladie Katharine being the lord Latimers widow, was married to the king at Hampton court, one the twelfe of Julie being the five and thirtieth yeare of his reigne, and the yeare of Christ 1543, who hauing no issue by the king, was after the kings death married to Thomas Seimer knight, lord Seimer of Sudleie and high admirall of England.

Edward Seimer knight, vicount Beauchampe earle of Hertford, & after duke of Summerfet, was protector of the kings person, and of the kingdome, in the first yeare of king Edward the sixt, his nephew which was in the yeare of our redemption 1546, the king being then but nine yeares old. Of this man is moze spoken in my following discourse of all the dukes of England by creation or descent since the conquest, with which duke of Summerfet, the last in office of protectorship, Francis Thim knitteth by this simple discourse of the protectors of England of the kings person.

¶ On the 17 of Februarie, on which date were receiued the booke of the reliefe of all the wards of London, towards the new hospitals, by the kings commissioners, the counsell dined at maister Compers the thirte, and after dinner maister Thomas Curteis alderman came thither to speake with the lord chancelloz for a matter he had depending afoze him in the chancerie, but for his misdemeanour in words and signes to the lord chancelloz at that time, the said maister Curteis was committed to ward in the Fleet. The sixt and twentieth of Februarie, sir Rafe Wane and sir Miles Partridge were hanged on the tower hill; & sir Michaele Stanthope with sir Thomas Arundell were beheaded there. The last of Aprill, through negligence of the gunpowder makers, a certeine house nere the tower of London, with the last of powder was blowne up and burnt, the gunpowder makers being fiftene in number, were all slaine.

The sixtenth of Maie was a goodlie muster of horsemen made before the king, in the parke at Greenwich, vnder the kings banner his band of pensioners, in number a hundred and fiftie, euerie pensioner two great horses and a gelding, the lord Wale their lieutenant. The duke of Northumberland,

great maister of the kings household vnder the white lion & the ragged staffe fiftie. The duke of Suffolke vnder the vnicozne in the starre a hundred and ten. The lord marquisse of Winchester, high treasurer, vnder his banner the falcon, one hundred men. The marquisse of Northampton high chamberleine vnder the maidenhead a hundred. The earle of Arundell lord priuie seale vnder the gose a hundred. The earle of Warwike maister of the kings horses vnder the white lion fiftie. The earle of Huntington vnder his banner fiftie. The earle of Rutland vnder the peacocke fiftie. The earle of Penbroke vnder the greene dragon fiftie. The lord Darcie vnder the maidens bodie fiftie. The lord Cobham vnder the Saracens head, fiftie. The lord Clinton lord admirall vnder the anchor, fiftie. The lord warden of the fine ports, vnder the rose in the sunne beames, one hundred.

¶ Not long after the death of the said duke of Summerfet and his complices, it chanced the reuerend father in God maister doctor Ribleie then bishop of London, to preach before the kings maiestie at Westminster. In the which sermon he made a fruitfull and goodlie exhortation to the rich, to be mercifull vnto the poze, and also to moue such as were in authoritie, to trauele by some charitable waie & meane, to comfort and relieue them. Whereupon the kings maiestie being a prince of such towardnesse and vertue for his peaces, as England before neuer brought forth, and the same also being so well reteined and brought vp in all godlie knowledge, as well by his vere uncle the late protector, as also by his vertuous and learned schoolmaisters, was so carefull of the gods gouernement of the realme, and chiefe to do and prefer such things as most speciallie touched the honor of almightie God. And vnderstanding that a great number of poze people did swarme in this realme, and chiefe in the cite of London, and that no good order was taken for them, did suddenlie and of himselfe send to the said bishop as soon as his sermon was ended, willing him not to depart, vntill that he had spoken with him (and this that I now write was the vertie report of the said bishop Ribleie) who according to the kings commandement gaue his attendance. And so soon as the kings maiestie was at leasure, he called for him, and made him to come vnto him in a great gallerie at Westminster, where (to his knowledge) and the king also told him so, there was present no mo persons than they two, and therefore made him sit downe in one chaire, and he himselfe in another, which (as it seemed) were before the comming of the bishop there purpose set, & caused the bishop (maugre his teeth) to be couered, and then entered communication with him in this sort.

First giuing him most hartie thanks for his sermon and god exhortation, he therein rehearsed such speciall things as he had noted, and that so manie, that the bishop said; Trulie, trulie (for that was com- monlie his oth) I could neuer haue thought that ex- cellencie to haue bene in his grace, that I beheld and saw in him. At the last, the kings maiestie much commended him for his exhortation for the reliefe of the poze. But my lord (saith he) ye willed such as are in authoritie to be carefull therof, and to deuise some good order for their reliefe, wherein I thinke you meane me, for I am in highest place, and therefore am the first that must make answere vnto God for my negligence, if I should not be carefull therein, knowing it to be the expresse commandement of almightie God, to haue compassion of his poze and needie members, for whome we must make an account vnto him. And trulie my lord, I am before all things most willing to trauele that waie, and I doubt

The citizen of London moued to be assistants in this charitable beaution.

The direct report of bishop Ribleie, which in due way is what trulie followed by his sermon. Ergo the hearing of the second question is precluded.

The ready of the lord to see the good

Degeing poze.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. 1051.

Curteis, alderman of London committed to ward for breuereend words and signes to the lord chancelloz.

Anno Reg. 6. Sir Rafe Wane & other executed. House blowne up with gunpowder.

Muster of horsemen before the king in Greenwich parke.

Dukes.

Alluso ad ety-
pon nominis
Eaduerdi.

allusion of Iohn Leland recorded in praise of this
most excellent prince, as followeth in this epigram:

*Quisquis Eaduerdum Romano expresserat ore,
Custodem fidei dixerit esse sacra.
Hoc ego crediderim puero feliciter orto
A superis nomen caluit esse datum.
Est pater antiquæ fidei defensor amicus,
Degener & nullo tempore natus erit.*

Sir William
Chester.
John Cal-
throp draper.

But to returne where we left. By example of the
charitable act of this vertuous yong king, sir Willi-
am Chester knight and alderman of London, and
John Calthrop citizen and draper of the said citie,
at their owne proper costs and charges made the
bricke walles and way on the backside that leadeth
from the said new hospitall, vnto the hospitall of
saint Bartholomewes, and also couered and bau-
ted the towne ditch from Aldersgate to Spewgate,
which before was verie noisome and contagious to
the said hospitall.

Richard Cas-
tell thowmaker.

This hospitall being thus erected and put in good
order, there was one Richard Castell alias Casteller,
thowmaker, dwelling in Westminster, a man of
great trauell and labor in his facultie with his owne
hands, and such a one as was named the cocke of
Westminster, for that both winter and summer he
was at his worke before foure of the clocke in the
morning. This man thus trulie and painfullie labo-
ring for his liuing, God blessed and increased his
labours so abundantly, that he purchased lands and
tenements in Westminster, to the yearelie value of
fortie and foure pounds. And hauing no child, with the
consent of his wife (who furnished him, & was a ver-
tuous & good woman) gaue the same lands wholie to
Christs hospitall aforesaid, for the reliefe of the inno-
cent and fatherlesse children, and for the succor of the
miserable, sore and sicke, harbored in the other hospi-
tals about London, whose example God grant ma-
nie to follow.

I. Stow, 1053.
A monster.

The third of August, at Spidleton eleuen miles
from Oxford, a woman brought forth a child which
had two perfect bodies from the nauill vppward, and
were so ioined together at the nauill, that when they
were laid in length, the one head & bodie was east-
ward, and the other west: the legs for both the bo-
dies grew out at the midst where the bodies ioined,
and had but one issue for the excrements of both bo-
dies: they liued eightene daies, and were women
children. The eight of August were taken at Dunt-
horow three great fishes called dolphins: & the weeke
following at Blackewall were six more taken, and
brought to London, the least of them was more
than anie horse.

Great fishes,

Such about this season there were three no-
table ships set forth and furnished for the great
aduenture of the unknowne voyage into the east by
the north seas. The great doer and incourager of
which voyage was Sebastian Cabato an English
man, borne at Bristow, but was the sonne of a Ge-
nowate. These ships at the last arrived in the coun-
trie of Spilcoute, not without great losse and dan-
ger, and namelie of their capteine, who was a wor-
thy and aduenturous gentleman, called sir Hugh
Willoughbie knight, who being tossed and driuen by
tempest, was at the last found in his ship frozen
to death and all his people. But now the said voyage
and trade is greatly advanced, and the merchants
aduenturing that waie, are newlie by act of parle-
ment incorporated and indued with sundrie priuile-
ges and liberties.

Sebastian
Cabato.

Three maria-
ges betwene
great estates.

About the beginning of the moneth of Maie next
following, there were three notable marriages con-
cluded, & shortly after solemnized at Durham place.
The first was betwene the lord Wilford Dukelet, the
fourth sonne of the duke of Northumberland, and the

ladie Jane, eldest daughter to Henrie duke of Sul-
folke, & the ladie Francis his wife, was the daugh-
ter of Marie second sister to king Henrie the eight,
first married to Lewis the French king, and after to
Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke. The second ma-
riage was betwene the lord Herbert, son and heire
to William earle of Penbroke, and the ladie Katha-
rine, second daughter of the said ladie Francis, by
the said Henrie duke of Suffolke. And the third was
betwene Henrie lord Hastings, sonne and heire to
Francis earle of Huntington, and ladie Katharine
yongest daughter to the forenamed duke of North-
umberland.

These marriages were compassed & concluded chief-
lie vpon purpose to change & alter the order of succe-
sion to the crowne, made in the time of king Henrie
the eight, from the said kings daughters, Marie and
Elizabeth, and to conueie the same immediatly af-
ter the death of king Edward to the house of Sul-
folke, in the right of the said ladie Francis: wherein
the said yong king was an earnest traoueller in the
time of his sicknesse, & all for feare that if his sister
Marie, being next heire to the crowne, should suc-
ceed, that she would subuert all his lawes and sta-
tutes made concerning religion, wherof he was
most carefull: for the continuance whereof he sought
to establish a meet order of succession, by the alliance
of great houses by waie of marriage, which neuer
thelesse were of no force to serue his purpose. For
tending to the disheriting of the rightfull heirs, they
proued nothing prosperous to the parties: for two of
them were sone after made frustrate, the one by
death, the other by dinorsie.

In the meane while, the king became euerie daie
more sicke than other of a consumption in his lungs,
so as there was no hope of his recouerie. Where-
vpon those that then bare chiefe authoritie in coun-
cell, with other prelates and nobles of the realme, cal-
led to them diuerse notable persons, learned as well
in diuinitie as in the lawes of the land, namelie bi-
shops, iudges, & other, who fell to consultation vpon
this so weightie cause, and lastly concluded vpon the
denise of king Edwards will, to declare the said la-
die Jane, eldest niece to king Henrie the eight, and
wife to the said lord Wilford, to be rightfull heire in
succession to the crowne of England, without res-
pect had to the statute made in the five and thirtieth
yeare of king Henrie the eight: the true meaning of
which statute they did impugn and ouerthrow by di-
uerse subtill sinister constructions of the same, to dis-
herit the said kings daughters, to whome the suc-
cession of the crowne of England of right appertei-
ned, as well by the common lawes of this realme, as
also by the said statute made in the said five and thir-
tith yeare of king Henrie, as aforesaid. To which
new order of succession, all the said kings counsell,
with manie bishops, lords, doctors and iudges of the
realme subscribed their names, without refusal of
any, except sir James Hales knight, one of the in-
fantes of the common pless, who being called to this
counsell, would in no wise giue his assent, either by
word or writing, as ye shall heare more in the histo-
rie of quene Marie.

Now when these matters were thus concluded,
and after confirmed by a number of hands, as aforesaid,
then the noble prince king Edward the first, by
long lingering sicknesse and consumption of his
lungs aforesaid, approached to his death, and departed
out of this life the first daie of Iulie, in the seuenth
yeare of his reigne, and seuententh of his age, after
he had reigned and noble gouerned this realme six
yeares, five moneths, and eight daies. And a little be-
fore his departing, lifting up his eyes to God, he
prayed as followeth.

The

The content
subiect to the
hitting of
these couples
in marriage
tended.

The kings
heire fell out
to be true.

The kings
sicknesse
creaseth.

An entrie
into
the consi-
deration of
counsellors.

Sir James
Hales the
only man.

The death of
king Edward
the first.

The comment-
ation of king
Edward.

Sir Iohn Fox
in the Acts &
Monuments
under the title
of Edward
the first.

The noble
memoire of
king Edward
and his rare
wit.

The prair of king Edward the
first at his death.

LORD God, deliuer me out of this
miserable and wretched life, take
me among thy chosen: howbeit
not my will, but thy will be done.
Lord I commit my spirit to thee, oh Lord
thou knowest how happie it were for mee
to be with thee: yet for thy choicens sake if
it be thy will, send me life and helth, that I
maie trulie serue thee. Oh my Lord blesse
thy people, and saue thine inheritance.
Oh Lord God, saue thy chosen people of
England. Oh my Lord God defend this
realme from papistrie, and mainteine thy
true religion, that I and my people maie
praise thy holie name. And therewithall he
said, I am faint, Lord haue mercie vpon
me, and take my spirit.

Thus did this good young king paied vp to God
his ghost the first daie of Iulie (as before is mentio-
ned) whome if it had pleased God to haue spared with
longer life, not unlike it was, but he should haue so
gouerned this English common-wealth, that he
might haue bene comparable with any of his noble
progenitors: so that the losse of so towarlike a young
king, greatlie discomforted the whole English na-
tion, that looked for such a reformation in the state of
the common-wealth at his hands, as was to be wis-
hed for of all good subiects: which bred such a liking in
them toward him, that euen among verie traitorous
rebels his name yet was had in reuerence, although
otherwile they neuer so much forgot their dutie both
towards him and other, appointed to gouerne vnder
him, through a malicious and most wilfull error; as
if his tender yeares had not sufficientlie warranted
his roiall authoritie, but that the same had bene in-
sarpred by others against his will and pleasure.

And as he was intierlie beloued of his subiects,
so with the like affection of kindnes he loved them a-
gaine; of nature and disposition make, much inclined
to clemencie, euer hauing a regard to the sparing of
life. Where wanted in him no promptnes of wit, gra-
uitie of sentence, ripenesse of iudgement, as his age
might beare, fauour and loue of religion was in him
from his childhod, his skill and knowledge in scien-
ces, besides his other excellent vertues, were such,
that to them he seemed rather bozne than bought vp.
I made some verie strange, that in his young yeares
(as maister Fox reporteth of him) he could tell and
recite all the ports, hauens, and creekes, not with-
in his owne realme onelie, but also in Scotland, and
likewise in France, what comming in there was,
how the tide serued in euerie of them; moreouer,
what burthen, and what wind serued for the com-
ming into each hauen: also of all his iustices, magi-
strates, & gentlemen that bare any authoritie within
his realme, he knew their names, their housekeeping,
their religion and conuersation what it was. He had
a singular respect to iustice, a vertue most commen-
dable in a prince, and chieflie to the dispatch of poore
mens suites. He perfectlie understood the Latine
tong, the French, the Graeke, Italian, and Spanish,
neither was he ignorant (saith Cardanus) in Lo-
gique, in the principles of naturall philosophie, or in
musicke.

To conclude, his towardlinesse was such in all
heroicall vertues, noble gifts, and markable quali-
ties conuenient for his princelie estate, that so much
was hoped for in his roiall person (if he had liued till
triall might haue bene had of the poore) as was to
beloued for in anie one prince that euer had rule

ouer this noble realme. ¶ The eight of Iulie, the lord
maior of London was sent for to the court, then at
Greenwich, and to bring with him six aldermen, as
manie merchants of the Staple, and as manie mer-
chant aduenturers, vnto whom by the counsell was
secretlie declared the death of king Edward, & also
whom he had ordeined to the succession of the crowne
by his letters patents, to the which they were sworn,
and charged to keepe it secret. ¶ But now to proceed
with the doings that followed. Immediate after
the death of this so worthy a prince king Edward,
the aforesaid ladie Jane was proclaimed queene of
this realme by the sound of trumpet, that is to saie,
the ninth daie of Iulie, at which proclamation were
present the lords of the counsell, the maior of Lon-
don, with others.

¶ The eleauenth of Iulie, Gilbert Pot, dialler to
Arthur Sanders vintner, dwelling at St. Johns
head within Ludgate, who was accused by the said
Sanders his maister, was set vpon the pillorie in
Cheape, with both his eares nailed, and cleane cut
off, for words speaking at time of the proclamation
of ladie Jane. At the which execution was a trumpet
blowne, and a herald read his offense, in presence of
one of the shiriffes, &c. About fixe of the clocke the
same daie in the afternone, Pinion Sanders, ma-
ster to the said Gilbert Pot, and John Owen a gun-
ner, comming from the tower of London by water
in a wherrie, and shoyting London bydge, towards
the blacke friers, were drowned at saint Maries
Locke, and the wherriemen saued by their oares.

The ladie Marie, a little before lieng at Honesdon
in Hartfordshire, hauing intelligence of the state of
the king hir brother, and of the secret practise against
hir: by the aduise of hir friends, with all speed toke
hir iourne toward hir house of Kenninghall in Nor-
folke, intending there to remaine, untill she could
make hir selfe more strong of hir friends and allies,
and withall wrote vnto the lords of the counsell in
forme as followeth.

A letter of the ladie Marie sent to the
lords of the counsell, wherein she claimeth the
croune now after the decease of hir
brother king Edward.



¶ Lords we greet you well, and haue re-
ceiued sore aduertisement, that our
dearest brother the king our late souer-
eigne lord is departed to Gods mer-
cie: which newes, how they be woofull
to our heart, he onelie knoweth, to whose will and
pleasure we must and doe humble submit vs, and all
our wils. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to
wit, now after his maiesties departure and death,
concerning the crowne & gouernance of this realme
of England, with the ritle of France, and all things
thereto belonging that hath bene prouided by act of
parlement, and the testament and last will of our
dearest father, besides other circumstances aduan-
cing our right: you know, the realme, and the whole
world knoweth, the rolles and records appeare by the
authoritie of the king our said father, and the king
our said brother, and the subiects of this realme, so that
we verelie trust that there is no true subiect that is,
can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of
our part we haue our selues caused, and as God shall
aid and strength vs, shall cause our right and title in
this behalfe to be published and proclaimed accor-
dinglie. And albeit this so weightie a matter seemeth
strange, that the dieng of our said brother vpon
thursdaie at night last past, we hitherto had no
knowledge from you thereof: yet we consider your
wisdomes and prudence to be such, that hauing
estimates amongst you debated, pondered, and well
considered.

I. Stow. 1553.
K. Edward the
death opened.

Ladie Jane
proclaimed
queene.

I. Stow. 1559.
Gilbert Pot
punished in
Cheape.

John Owen
drowned at
London bridge.

The ladie
Maries chieftie
longe to the
croune by
right of suc-
cession.

The crowne
was hereto the
hitting of
these couples
in marriage
tended.

The things
seare fellow
to be true.

Comment
of king
Edward.

The kings
sicknessen
creaseth.

An enuill
was con-
sidered of
the coun-
sellors.

John Fox
saith that
the king
was so
sick that
he could
not sit.

The noble
counsell
of king
Edward
was
advised.

St. James
was the
od man.

The death
of king
Edward
the first.

She certifieth the lords that she knoweth what is intended against hir.

She chargeth the lords upon their loialties to cause hir right to the regement to be proclaimed.

The lords aduertise the ladye Marie that the ladye Jane is quene.

A subtill shift to proue the ladye Marie illegitimate.

weighed this present case with our estate, with your owne estate, the commonwealth, and all our honours, we shall and may conceiue great hope and trust, with much assurance in your loialtie and seruice, and therefore for the time interpret and take things not to the worst, and that ye yet will like noblemen worke the best. For the lesse, we are not ignorant of your consultations to vnder the provisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands and provisions forcible, whereunto ye be assembled and prepared, by whome, and to what end, God and you know, and nature can feare some euill. But be it that some consideration politike, or whatsoeuer thing else hath moued you thereto, yet doubt you not my lords, but we can take all these your doings in gracious part, being also right ready to remit and fullie pardon the same, with that frellie to eschew bloudshed & vengeance against all those that can or will intend the same, trusting also assuredly you will take acceptance this grace and vertue in good part, as appertineth, and that we shall not be enforced to vse this seruice of other our true subiects and frends, which in this our iust and rightfull case, God (in whome our whole alliance is) shall send vs. Wherefore my lords, we requite you, and charge you, and euerie of you, that euerie of you of your allegiance which you owe to God and vs, and to none other, for our honour, and the seruice of our realme, onelie imploye your selues and forthwith upon receit hereof cause our right and title to the crowne and government of this realme, to be proclaimed in our cite of London, and such other places as to your wisdoms shall seme good, and as to this case appertineth, not falling hereof, as our verie trust is in you: and thus our letter signed with our owne hand shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalfe. Given vnder our signet at our manoir of Kenninghall the ninth of Iulie 1553.

To this letter of the ladye Marie, the lords of the counsell answered againe as followeth.

MAdam, we haue receiued your letters the ninth of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you iudge your selfe to haue to the imperiall crowne of this realme, and all the dominions thereto belonging. For answer therof, this is to aduertise you, that forsomuch as our soueraigne ladye quene Jane is, after the death of our soueraigne lord Edward the first, a prince of most noble memorie, inuested and possessed with the iust and right title of the imperiall crowne of this realme, not onelie by god order of old ancient good lawes of this realme; but also by our late soueraigne lords letters patents, signed with his owne hand, and sealed with the great seale of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, counsellors, iudges, with diuers other graue and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same: we must therefore, as of most bound dutie and allegiance, assent vnto hir said grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithfull subiects cannot) fall into greuous and vnspokeable enormities. Wherefore we can no lesse do, but for the quiet both of the realme and you also, to aduertise you, that forsomuch as the diuorcie made betwene the king of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, and the ladye Katharine your mother, was necessarie to be had, both by the euerlasting lawes of God, and also by the ecclesiasticall lawes, and by the most part of the noble and learned vniuersities of chifsendow, and confirmed also by the sundrie acts of parlements, remaining yet in their force, and thereby you iustlie made illegitimate, and vnder the crowne imperiall of

this realme, and the rules, dominions, and possessions of the same: you will vpon iust consideration hereof, and of diuers other causes lawfull to be alleged for the same, and for the iust inheritance of the right line, and goodlie orders taken by the late king Edward the first, and greatest personages aforesaid, surcease, by any pretense to ber and molest any of our soueraigne ladye quene Jane hir subiects, from the true faith and allegiance due vnto hir grace, assuring you, that if you will for respect thew your selfe quiet and obedient (as you ought) you shall find vs all, and severall, ready to do you any seruice that we with dutie may, and to be glad of your quietnesse, to prelerue the common state of this realme, wherein you may be otherwise greuous vnto vs, to your selfe, and to them. And thus we bid you most hartlie well to fare. From the towre of London this ninth of Iulie.

Tour ladieships frends shewing your selfe an obedient subiect,

Thomas Canturburie, the marquess of Winchester, John Bedford, William Northampton, Thomas Cle Chancellor, John Northumberland, Henrie Suffolke, Henrie Arundell, Francis Shrewsburie, William Penbroke, Cobham, R. Rich, Huntington, Darcie, Cheineie, R. Cotton, John Gates, William Peter, William Cecil, John Cheke, John Mason, Edward North, Robert Botwys.

All these aforesaid, except onelie the duke of Northumberland, and sir John Gates, were either by speciall fauour, or speciall or generall pardon, discharged for this offence against hir committed, after hir comming to be quene. But now vpon the receit of this answer, vnderstanding by hir frends that she could not lie in suertie at Kenninghall, being a place open & easie to be approached, she removed from thence vnto hir castell of Fremingham, standing in a wood countrie, & not so easie to be invaded by hir enemies. So sone as the counsell heard of hir sudden departure, and considering that all came not to passe as they supposed; they caused speialle a power of men to be gathered together. And first they agreed that the duke of Suffolke father to the new made quene, should haue the conduct and leading of the armie.

But afterward it was deuised and decreed vpon further considerations, and by the speciall means of the ladye Jane his daughter, who taking the matter heauilie, with weeping teares, made request to the whole counsell, that hir father might tarrie at home in hir companie. Where vpon the counsell persuaded with the duke of Northumberland, to take that vantage vpon him, saying, that no man was so fit therefore: because that he had achieved the victorie in Suffolke once already, and was therefore so feared, that none durst once lift by their weapon against him: besides that, he was the best man of warre in the realme, as well for the ordering of his camps and souldiers, both in battell and in their tents, as also by experience, knowledge and wisdom; he could both animate his armie with witty persuasions, and also pacifie and allate his enemies pride with his stout courage, or else to dissuade them (if need were) from their enterpryse. Finally, said they, this is the short and the long, the quene will in no wise grant, that hir father shall take it vpon him: therefore (quoth they) we thinke it good, if it may please your grace, it lieth in you to remedie the matter. With these & the like persuasions the duke was allured to put himselfe desperatlie vpon hazard:

Non morte horrenda non vllis terribus armis.

Insomuch that he reioined vpon their talke, and said: Well then, sith ye thinke it good, I and mine will go, not doubting of your fidelitie to the quenes maiestie,

maine night for part labie bon to h Ch mai ovi plac sam title I cou befo pel said othe not as f not thel sari conl hon you wor lean we c for o vs i and our whi ther cour you fræl high of fr requ pref hach orig tion as b thet foyt 2 wilf lice, the f duki spok of p to co in re ener this to m faith mat: us c thou pabl Ther God so th the q seale to be also,

maistie, which now I leaue in your custodie. So that night he sent for both lordes, knights, and other that should go with him, and caused all things to be prepared accordingly. Then went the counsell in to the ladie Jane, and told hir of their conclusion, who humbly thanked the duke for reseruing hir father at home, and beseeched him to vse his diligence: whereunto he answered, that he would do what in him laie. The morrow following, great preparation was made, the duke earlie in the morning called for his owne harnesse, and saw it made readie at Durham place, where he appointed all his retinue to meet. The same daie carts were laden with munition and artillery, and field peeces were set forward.

The same forenoone the duke moued off to the counsell to send their powers after him, as it was before determined, the same to meet with him at Newmarket, and they promised they would. He said further to some of them: My lords, I and these other noble personages, with the whole armie that now go forth, as well for the behalfe of you & yours, as for the establishing of the quenes highnesse, shall not onelic aduenture our bodie and liues amongst the bloudie strokes and cruell assaults of our aduersaries in the open fields: but also we do leaue the conseruation of our selues, children, and families at home here with you, as altogether committed to your trust and fidelities: whome, if we thought we would through malice, conspiracie, or dissention leaue vs your friends in the byers, and betraie vs; we could as well sundrie waies foresee and provide for our owne safegardes, as anie of you by betraieing vs can do for yours. But now upon the onelic trust and faithfulness of your honours, whereof we thinke our selues most assured, we do hazard our liues. Which trust and promise if ye shall violate, hoping thereby of life and promotion: yet shall not God count you innocent of our bloods, neither acquite you of the sacred and holie oth of allegiance, made frelie by you to this vertuous ladie the quenes highnesse, who by your and our intisement is rather of force placed therein, than by hir owne seeking and request. Consider also, that Gods cause, which is the preferment of his word, & feare of papists entrance, hath bene (as ye haue here before alwaies said) the originall ground whereupon ye euen at the first motion granted your goodwills and consents thereunto, as by your handwritings appeareth; and thinke not the contrarie, but if ye meane deceit, though not forthwith, yet hereafter God will reuenge the same.

I can saie no more, but in this trouble some time with you to vse constant hearts, abandoning all malice, enuie, and priuat affections. And therewithall the first course for the lordes came vp, wherefore the duke shut vp his talke with these wordes. I haue not spoken to you in this sort upon anie mistrust I haue of your truths, of which alwaies I haue euer hitherto conceiued a trustie confidence, but I haue put you in remembrance thereof, what chance of variance so euer might grow amongst you in mine absence: and this I praie you, with me not worde good speed in this iourne, than ye would haue to your selues. My lord, saith one of them, if ye mistrust anie of vs in this matter, your grace is farre deceived, for which of vs can wash his hands cleane thereof? And if we should thinke from you as from one that were culpable, which of vs can excuse himselfe to be guiltlesse? Therefore herein your doubt is too farre cast. I praie God it be (quoth the duke) let vs go to dinner: and so they sat downe. After dinner the duke went in to the quene, where his commission was by that time sealed, for his lieutenantship of the armie, and then toke his leaue of hir, and so did certaine other lordes also.

Then as the duke came through the counsell chamber, he toke his leaue of the earle of Arundell, who praied God be with his grace, saieing he was sozie it was not his chance to go with him and beare him companie, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood euen at his set. Then the earle of Arundell toke Thomas Louell the dukes boie by the hand, and said: Farewell gentle Thomas with all my heart. Then the duke, with the lord marquisse of Northampton, the lord Greie, and diuerse other toke their harge, and went to Durham place, and to White hall, where that night they mustered their men: and the next daie in the morning the duke departed with the number of six hundred men, or thereabouts. And as they rode through Shorwich, said the duke to the lord Greie: The people please to see vs, but not one saith God speed vs. The same daie sir John Gates and other went out after the duke.

Now as the duke went forward on his waie (with his commission from the whole counsell, and his warrant vnder the broad scale of England, without mistrust of that which after fortune to his owne destruction, as in the historie of quene Marie shall appeare, accompanied with no small number of lordes and gentlemen, hauing notwithstanding his times prescribed, and his iourneies appointed by the counsell, to the intent he would not seeme to do any thing but vpon warrant) what a do there was, what stirring on euerie side, what sending, what riding and posting, what letters, messages, & instructions went to and fro, what talking among the souldiers, what harburning among the people, what faire pretences outwardlie, inwardlie what priuie practises there were, what speeding and sending forth ordinance out of the towre, yea euen the same daie that quene Marie at euen was proclaimed quene, what rumors, and comming downe of souldiers as there was from all quarters, a world it was to see, and a processe to declare, enough to make (as saith master Fox) a whole volume, euen as big as an Atlas.

The greatest helpe that made for the ladie Marie, was the short iourneies of the duke, which by commission were assigned vnto him before, as aboue is mentioned: and happilie not without the politike forecast of some in fauour of the ladie Marie: for the longer the duke lingered in his sojage, the ladie Marie the more increased in puissance, the hearts of the people being mightilie bent vnto hir. Whereupon she in the meane time remaining at Fremingham, and hearing of this preparation against hir, gathered together such power of the noblemen & other hir friends in that countrie, as she could get. And first of all, the noblemen that came vnto hir aid, were the earles of Sussex, Bath, and Driford, the lord Wentworth, sir Thomas Cornwallis, sir Henrie Feringham, sir William Walgraue, with diuerse other gentlemen and commons of the counties of Suffolke and Suffolke. Here (as master Fox noteth) the Suffolke men being the first that resorted to hir, promised hir their aid and helpe to the uttermost of their powers, so that she would not go about to alter the religion which hir brother had established, and was now vled and exercised through the realme. To this condition she agreed, with such promise, as no man would haue doubted that anie inuocation of matters in religion should haue followed, by hir sufferance or procurement during hir reigne: but how soon she forgot that promise, it shall shortly after plainlie appeare.

In this meane season, the lord Windsor, sir Edmund Beekham, sir Robert Duncie, and sir Edward Hastings, called the commoners of the shire of Buckingham; vnto whome sir John Williams, which afterward was lord Williams of Thame, and

The earle of Arundell praied God be with his grace, saieing he was sozie it was not his chance to go with him and beare him companie, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood euen at his set.

Such a do on all sides during this his iourne, betweene the duke and the ladie Marie.

The old proverbie verified: Deaie by death danger.

Suffolke men the first that resorted to the ladie Marie.

Assistants to the ladie Marie.

Abr. Fl. ex l. § 1059.

The counsell perswade the duke to undertake this enterprise.

On the 10th of the month of May.

Assistants to the ladie Marie.

and sir Leonard Chamberleine, with the cheefe pow-
er of Wiltshire. And out of Northamptonshire
came sir Thomas Tresham, and a great number of
gentlemen out of diuerse parts, whose names were
too long to rehearse. These capitaine with their com-
panies being thus assembled in warlike manner,
marched forward towards Northfolke to the aid of
the ladie Marie, and the further they went, the more
their power increased.

Abr. Fl. ex
LS pag. 1062.

It is by wind
and weather
for quene
Marie that
was bent
against hir.

The duke of
Northumber-
land wroteth
for more suc-
cess.

Doctor Rids-
dale persua-
deth the peo-
ple in the title
of quene
Jane, &c.

The lords of
the councill
suspecting
that all would
go against
them, procla-
med the ladie
Marie queen.

About this time sir Shypps well manned, that were
appointed to lie before Portsmouth, and to haue taken
the ladie Marie if she had fled that waie, were by
force of weather driuen into the haven, where one
maister Jerningham was raising power on the la-
die Maries behalfe, who hearing thereof, came thither.
Whereupon the capitaine toke a bote and went to the
ships, but the sailers and souldiers asked maister Jer-
ningham what he would haue, and whether he would
haue their capitaine or no, and he said yea. Marie
said they, ye shall haue them or we will throw them
into the bottome of the sea. But the capitaine said
forthwith, that they would serue quene Marie wil-
linglie, and so brought forth their men, and conueied
with them their great ordinance. Of the comming
of these ships the ladie Marie was wonderfull ioy-
ous, & afterward doubted little the dukes puissance:
but when newes thereof was brought to the tower,
each man there began to drow backward: and ouer
that, word of a greater mischance was brought to the
tower: that is to saie, that the noblemens tenants
refused to serue their lords against quene Marie.

The duke thought long for his successors, and wrote
somewhat sharpe to the councill at the tower in
that behalfe, as well for lacke of men as munition,
but a slender answer had he againe. And from that
time forward, certaine of the councill, to wit, the erle
of Penbrooke, and sir Thomas Cheineie lord war-
den, and other, sought to get out of the tower to con-
sult in London, but could not. On the sixteenth of
Julie, being sundaie, doctor Ridsdale bishop of Lon-
don, by commandement of the councill, preached at
Pauls crosse, where he vehementlie perswaded the
people in the title of the ladie Jane, late proclaimed
quene, and inuied earnestlie against the title of la-
die Marie, &c. The same sixteenth of Julie, the lord
treasuror was gone out of the tower to his house in
London at night, and forthwith about seauen of the
clocke the gates of the tower vpon a sudden were
shut vp, and the keyes bozne vp to the ladie Jane,
which was for feare of some packing in the lord trea-
suror: but he was fetched againe to the tower about
twelue of the clocke in the night.]

The lords of the councill, being in this meane
while at London, after they vnderstood how the bet-
ter part of the realme were inclined, and hearing
euerie daie newes of great assemblies, began to sus-
pect the sequell of this enterprise. So that providing
for their owne suertie, without respect of the duke
(who now was at Burie) they fell to a new councill,
and lastlie by assent made proclamation at London
in the name of the ladie Marie, by the name of Ma-
rie quene of England, France, & Ireland, defender
of the faith, & of the churches of England & Ireland

supreme head. Of which proclamation, after the duke
of Northumberland, being then at Burie, was ad-
uertised by letters of discomfort from the councill,
he incontinentlie, according to the new order recei-
ued from them, returned with his power againe to
Cambridge. Now so sudden change of minds forth-
with appeared in his armie, that they which before
seemed most forward in that quarrell, began first to
flee from him, & so euerie man shifting for himselfe,
he that late before was furnished of such multitude
of souldiers, was suddenlie forsaken of all sauing a
few, whose perils were ioined with his.

But now before I proceed anie further in the hi-
storie of quene Marie, who was now receiued and
proclaimed quene, as then to succeed hir brother, I
will speake somewhat of the learned men that wrote
& published anie pamphlets or treatises in his daies,
as in deed there were manie: but for that the more
part of them died in quene Maries time, or in the
quenes maiesties time that now is, or else are yet
liuing, I do omit those here, meaning to speake of
them hereafter, if God shall permit, as occasion
maie serue. For the residue that ended their liues in
this kings daies, these I find: David Clapham a
lawyer and well scene in the Latine tong, wrote
sundry treatises; Robert Talbot a prebendarie of
Northwich, verie skilfull in antiquities; Edward
Hall a counsellor in the common law, but excellent-
lie scene in histories, wrote a notable chronicle of
the union of the two houses of Yorke & Lancaster.

Furthermoze Richard Tracie of Lodington in
Gloucestershire, an esquier, and verie well learned,
sonne to William Tracie; doctor Joseph an excel-
lent preacher; George Jole a Bedfordshire man, that
wrote diuerse treatises concerning diuinitie, and
died either in the last yeare of king Edward, or in
the beginning of quene Maries reigne, as appea-
reth by maister Bale; Alexander Barkleie a Scot, a
notable poet, and a good rhetorician, departed this
life in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and
two; William Hugh a Northfolke man, wrote, be-
sides other things, a notable treatise called the trow-
bled mans medicine, he deceased by the burking of
a veine, in the yeare one thousand five hundred fortie
and nine; Thomas Sternehold bozne in South
hampton, turned into English meter seuen & thir-
tie psalmes chosen forth of Dauids psalter. Of stran-
gers that liued and died here in this kings daies, ex-
cellentlie learned, and renowned for such treatises
as they published to the world, Martine Bucet and
Paulus Fagius are most famous. To end now
with this part of the booke concerning king Ed-
ward, I haue thought good to set downe Ierom Car-
dans verses, written as an epitaph of him (and reco-
ded by maister Fox in his historie) as here followeth:

*Flete nefas magnum, sed toto flebilis orbe
Mortales, vester corrui omnis honor.
Nam regum decus, & innenum flos, spesque bonorum,
Deliciae seculi, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis lacrymis, doctaque Minerva:
Flosculus heu misere concidis ante diem.
Te cumulo dabimus misera, supremæque silentis
Munera, Melpomene tristitia fata canet.*

I earned me
that wrote
the reigne of
king Ed-
ward.



1553
Quene Ma-
rie proclaimed.

Abr. Fl. ex
LS pag. 1064.

The duke
submitted
himselfe, and
is arrested by
the erle of
Strandell.

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teenth d.
Lord 1
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the duke
Camb.
Marie 1
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Thus farre the good and vertuous yooing prince Edward the sixth. successor
to Henrie the eight of most famous memorie.